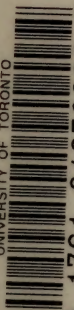


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Harold Philpott.

Memoirs
of the
Polynesian Society.
Vol. I.

Memoirs of the Polynesian Society, Vol. I.

History and Traditions

Of the

Maoris of the West Coast

North Island of New Zealand

Prior to 1840.

By S. PERCY SMITH, F.R.G.S.

President of the Polynesian Society,
Hon. Cor. Member Società d'Anthropologia d'Italia,
&c., &c.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND PLATES.

New Plymouth, N.Z.:
Printed for the Society by Thomas Avery.

1910.

DEDICATED TO MY FELLOW-WORKERS:—

W. H. SKINNER

ELSDON BEST

ALEX. SHAND

WATENE-TAUNGATARA

TE KAHUI KARAREHE

and RANGIPITO.

Without whose help this book could not have been written.

S. PERCY SMITH.



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Page	2,	line	21	from	bottom,	read	ranges	instead	of	range					
"	4,	"	12	"	"	"	Tihi	"	"	Tiki-manuka					
"	23,	"	8	"	top,	"	father	"	"	fathers					
"	48,	"	5	"	"	"	ano	"	"	auo					
"	57,	"	9	"	bottom	"	Eudynamus	instead	of	Endynamus					
"	61,	"	18	"	top,	Table XXII.,	read	Tangitoru	instead	of	Tangitoro				
"	80,	"	6	"	"	"	read	different	instead	of	difficult				
"	89,	"	4	"	bottom,	"	read	affecting	instead	of	effecting				
"	97,	"	10	"	"	"	delete,	the	poet	who	will	be			
"	111,	"	8	"	"	"	read	three	and	a-half	instead	of	two		
"	130,	"	8	"	"	"	at	Wai-ngongoro,	instead	of	in	the	Bay	of	Plenty.
"	132,	"	9	"	"	"	read	Ruanui	instead	of	Raunui				
"	186,	"	13	"	top,	read	Tama-ahua	instead	of	Tama-atua					
"	209,	"	11	"	bottom,	read	Turi	"	"	Tuir					
"	287,	"	3	"	top,	"	<i>Arai o</i>	"	"	<i>Araio</i>					
"	288,	"	6	"	"	"	Kaihihi	"	"	Kaihiki					
"	296,	"	18	"	bottom,	"	Wai-poua,	"	"	Wai-paea					
"	306,	"	6	"	"	"	This	"	"	Thus					
"	424,	"	2	"	top,	"	Western	"	"	Eastern					
"	558,	top	line,	read	1839	instead	of	1835,	and	Cape	instead	of	Captain.		

PREFACE.

IN the very early days of the Polynesian Society, a few of its members, having in mind the many omissions and inaccuracies in "The Life of Te Rau-paraha" (which at that time was practically the only history of the West Coast), determined to collect material for a more comprehensive history of that part of the North Island extending from Kawhia to Wai-rarapa. That was the origin of this history. Fifteen years passed in collecting the material herein printed; the mere writing and collating the vast number of notes thus secured occupied over twelve months. Some of the matter in this book was gathered from the Natives over fifty years ago.

Reference is made in Chapter II. hereof to the paucity of information relative to the *tangata-whenua*, or original inhabitants of this coast. Since that was published, some documents, written at the end of the fifties of last century to the dictation of one of the last of the learned men of the Whare-wananga, or House-of-learning, have turned up, and from them the following brief account of these people is abstracted:—"After the discovery of the country by Kupe (referred to in Chapter III.), and before the arrival of Toi-te-huatahi in *circa* 1150, several canoes arrived here, making the land in Northern Taranaki, where they settled down, building some of the *pas* still in existence. From there they spread north and south, so that at the time of Toi's arrival they occupied the West Coast from the North Cape to the Wai-ngongoro River—south of Mount Egmont—and the East Coast from the North Cape to the eastern side of the Bay of Plenty, and were a very numerous people. It is clear from the description of them which has been preserved that these people differed somewhat from the subsequent migrations from Eastern Polynesia, in that they had more Melanesian blood in them, and appear to have been more like the Fijians, though they spoke the Polynesian language. They were known by various names, but Te Tini-o-Tai-tawaro was that of those who principally occupied the Taranaki Coast. After the arrival of Toi and Whatonga from Eastern Polynesia, inter-marriages took place between the two migrations, and in the times of Awa-nui-a-rangi (*circa* 1200) wars of extermination commenced, ending in the practical extinction of the men of the *tangata-whenua*, whilst the women

PREFACE.

and children were absorbed by the conquerors. The remnant of Te Tini-o-Tai-tawaro fled across Cook's Straits to D'Urville Island, from which place they were driven, and finally made their way to the Chatham Islands, where they became the originators of the Moriori people." The evidence of all this cannot be given here; but in all probability the Polynesian Society will publish the full detail both in Maori and English before very long.

This history is much longer than perhaps suits the ordinary reader—indeed, it is over a hundred pages more than was originally contemplated. But the amount of information collected will prove of interest to those living in the localities mentioned in after times; and it could never be collected again, for the old men who gave it have now passed on to Te Hono-i-wairua.

To others than members of the Polynesian Society it is right to say that the book has been published in the Society's "Journal" by instalments—it would otherwise never have appeared on account of the expense—and that the number of maps in it is due to the liberality of the Government, who had them drawn and printed at their expense.

S. PERCY SMITH.

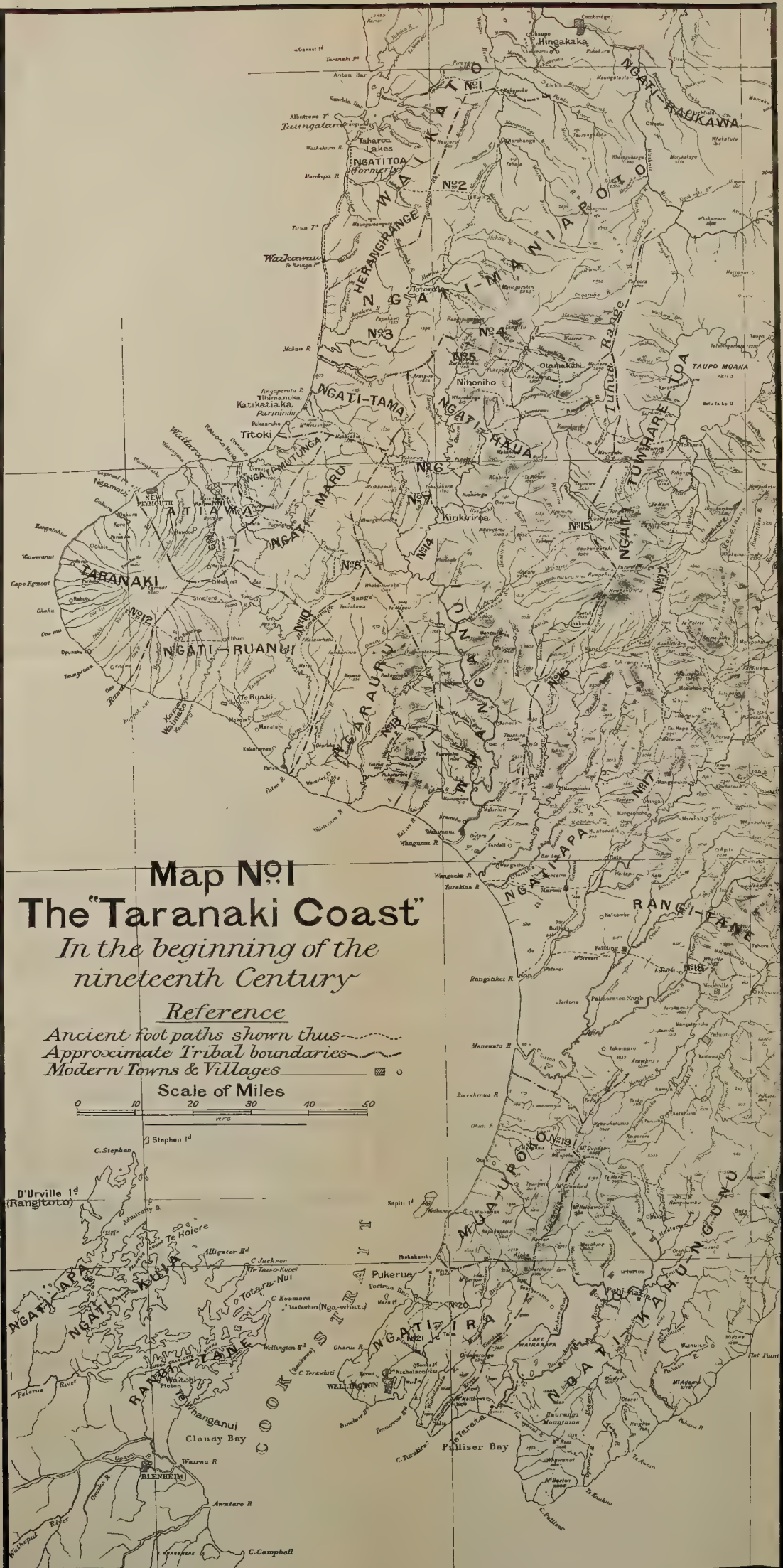
"Matai-moana,"

New Plymouth,

New Zealand.

November, 1910.





HISTORY AND TRADITIONS OF THE TARANAKI COAST.

CHAPTER I.

THE TARANAKI COAST PRIOR TO 1840.

IT is deemed advisable, in the interests of those who are not personally acquainted with the country to which the following Traditional and Historical notes refer, to briefly describe the coast, and indicate its main features—topographical and otherwise. First, let it be understood that the term “Taranaki Coast,” is here given a very much extended meaning, and includes all the West Coast from Kawhia to Wellington, a distance of about three hundred miles. Moreover, in this description, an endeavour will be made to depict the appearance presented by the country, at about the year 1840, when the first European settlers arrived, and commenced those operations incidental to the conversion of a wild into a cultivated country. This may prove of interest; for, immediately our energetic race came into occupation, changes set in, and went on so rapidly that now, after sixty-five years or so, the whole face of the country has so completely changed that little idea of what it was like originally can be formed. It is evident that the country, at the period mentioned, was not greatly different from what it was in those ancient times when the ancestors of the Maori people first occupied it. The changes introduced by a people in the neolithic stage were insignificant, and consisted, principally, in clearing the edges of the primeval forests by aid of the stone-axe and fire; the cultivation of a little land here and there, and the building of fortified *pas* and villages. Under these processes the forest margins had receded from the coast line to a greater or less extent, for it seems probable that the forest originally came right down to the sea before human occupation took place.

At the extreme South-west corner of the North Island (Te Ika-a-Maui) of New Zealand (Aotea-roa), stands the magnificent volcanic cone of Mount Egmont (Taranaki), that dominates the coast for very many miles north and south. The subterranean fires that originated

this noble mountain, have for ages ceased their action, leaving, as their handiwork, a symmetrical cone that rises to a height of 8,260 feet, the top of which is ever covered with a cap of snow. A sweep of the compasses, with a radius of sixteen miles and with one foot on the summit, closely defines the base of the mountain, which, from a point due north to another due south of the summit, is washed by the waters of the Tasman Sea, and Cook's Straits. From the snows of the top descend a vast number of pellucid streams, that make this the best watered part of New Zealand, and in the rapid beds of which the blue duck, or *whio*, was formerly very common. From about 4,000 feet downwards, extended the great forest that was continuous in a northerly direction to near the Manukau Heads, and to the south as far as Wellington; whilst inland, it approached the shores of Lake Taupo. North-west from the mountain extend the Pouakai and Patuha ranges (4,590 feet and 2,240 feet in height), which terminate at about twelve miles from the summit, and are still covered with forest. These ranges are probably of a more ancient date than Mount Egmont, a fact which seems, strangely enough, to have been known to (or guessed at by) the ancient Maoris, as we shall see later on in the legend of the origin of the mountain.

Beyond these, the only other mountains in the district under consideration worthy of the name, are the Tararua range, which, at the Manawatu Gorge, are about 2,000 feet in height; from which point they run in a generally south-west direction, gradually rising to Mount Dundas (4,940 feet), and as gradually decreasing in height until they end in Cape Terawhiti on Cook's Strait. The Herangi range, north of Mokau River, is not above 2,000 feet high, and it runs northwards to Mount Pirongia, throwing out spurs which gradually fall to the coast between Kawhia and Mokau. Both these ranges were entirely forest clad formerly, but the axe of the settler has already made considerable inroads into them.

The long stretch of coast line, included in the term "Taranaki Coast," offers some diversity of feature, but for long stretches it is very uniform in character. From Kawhia Harbour, south, to Mokau River it is generally precipitous, with undulating and broken lands on top of the cliffs, covered with light wood and forest for a mile or so inland, where the main forest commenced. There are beaches here and there along which was the only route in former days, but travelling along this coast was an arduous undertaking, from the constant steep cliffs that had to be climbed. And yet it was the road generally made use of by the many warlike incursions into Taranaki that will be related. This part was never apparently very thickly inhabited, though

there were several well-known *pas* and settlements, notably at Taharoa lakes, Marokopa river, Waikawau and the Awakino river. Mokau river was the seat of a much more considerable population, for several branches of the great Ngati-Mania-poto tribe lived near its mouth and up the course of this most beautiful river.

South of the Mokau to Puke-aruhe *pa*, just south of the White Cliffs, a distance of about twelve miles, was the home of the Ngati-Tama tribe—generally known as Pou-tama. This country has played a most important part in the history of the coast, and, therefore, is worthy of a little more detailed description, which Mr. W. H. Skinner supplies, as follows:—"From Puke-aruhe northward, the forest clad ranges and steep ravines effectually barred all passage, other than that by the narrow strip of beach at the base of Pari-ninihi,* or White Cliffs. The old Maori track wound down the slopes of the Puke-aruhe plateau, and came on to the beach at the Waikaramarama Gorge. From here northward to Te Horo, at the north end of the White Cliffs, a distance of three miles, the route lay along a fine stretch of sandy beach, but quite impassable at high-water, for the waves washed the foot of the high cliffs that rose for 900 feet from sea level the whole way. About mid-way, the Wai-pingao† stream flows out of a gorge in the cliffs, and offers a coigne of safety to those caught by the tide. It was here a tragedy occurred to be related later on (see chap. XI.) At Te Horo‡ the old Maori track turned abruptly up the cliff, the ascent being made by stakes driven into the earth to which ropes were attached. This ascent was necessary owing to a point of land jutting out into the sea called Te Rua-taniwha (the Taniwha's lair), and which presented an impassable barrier to those desirous of proceeding along the beach. Here it was that Te Whiti was killed (see chap. XI.) Strange to say, the small plateau at the summit of Te Horo, over which the old track passed was not fortified, the reason possibly being, that, although practically impregnable from an attack on the south, where no danger to Ngati-Tama was to be apprehended, the place lay open to the north, towards the enemy's country. From here the track descended into the Wai-kororo (probably Wai-karoro, the latter word

*The name comes from, *pari*, a cliff; *ninihi*, a species of *taniwha*, or fabulous monster. Probably there is some story connected with the name.

† *Wai*, water, stream; *pingao*, name of a plant that grows on the sand; the seed vessels of which are furnished with arms some two inches long, that radiate so as to make a ball, which is often seen trundling along the beaches before the wind. The botanical name is *Scirpus frondosus*. The long tough leaves were formerly used in making belts, &c.

‡ Te Horo means the land-slip.

meaning a sea-gull) valley at its junction with the sea. From here, at low water, the track led along the beach all the way to Mokau river; but at high water, Wai-kororo and Tamure-nui (great schnapper) streams were crossed; whence the track ascended to the plateau, which here lies along the top of the cliffs at an elevation of some two hundred feet above the sea. Here was situated Katikati-aka *pa*, at three and a-half miles from Puke-aruhe, and which was an important fortress in former days. It was built on a crag which jutted out into the sea, and on three sides was protected by perpendicular cliffs about two hundred feet high, and on the fourth, or inland side, by a steep ravine; the narrow neck between the edge of the cliff and slope of the ravine being only from thirty to forty feet wide. This was cut off by a deep double artificial ditch twenty-five to thirty feet deep, and served to make this *pa* one of considerable strength."

Between these two *pas*—Puke-aruhe (fern hill) and Katikati-aka, the White Cliffs, 900 feet high—offered an almost impassable barrier to warlike incursions from the north, for the very broken ranges of forest clad hills that ended in the cliffs, presented very great difficulties to any one attempting to penetrate their ravines and cliffs. Any force holding these *pas*, thus practically held the keys of Taranaki.

"About one hundred yards beyond Katikati-aka, the track turned down again to the beach—along a fault in the cliff—and then passed, at a-half mile further on, the Wai-kiekie stream, inland of which, on a slope, stood the Tihi-manuka (*Leptospermum summit*) *pa*, to be referred to in chap. XI. From this *pa* a track led through the forest country, directly inland to the Whanganui, striking that river at Marae-kowai. This and the Taumata-mahoe* track, starting from the Ure-nui river, were the only two in this part of the country affording means of communication between the sea coast and the upper Whanganui and the interior. For this reason, Tiki-manuka on the Tongaporutu track and Puke-whakamaru on the Taumata-mahoe track, were built as *pas* of refuge, to be used only in cases of great danger, or of defeat. Along these tracks Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Mutunga could retreat into the interior, or seek aid from their allies the Ngati-ha-ua, of Upper Whanganui, as has often happened.

"A short distance beyond Wai-kiekie there is a remarkable archway in the cliffs, and several isolated pillars of rock detached from the main land, forming islands at high-water. On one of these pillars, a

* The Taumata-mahoe (mahoe-brow) track was first traversed by Mr. (afterwards Sir Donald) McLean in the very early fifties, he being the first white man to make use of it.



PLATE No. 1.

Looking down the Tonga-porutu River. Pa-tangata
Island and Pa.

small party of Ngati-Tama took refuge from a large *taua* of Ngati-Mania-poto, and successfully defended it, finally making good their escape.

"The Tonga-porutu river is next reached, at a distance of seven miles from Puke-aruhe. Here, on the south bank stands Pa-tangata,* the great island *pa* of Taringa-kuri, and said to have been the scene of the treacherous murder of Rangi-hapainga, a Ngati-Maniapoto chieftainess of high rank; which was afterwards fully avenged at the taking of Tihi-manuka, for which see chapter XI. Pa-tangata is an island at high water, standing about 200 yards off the line of cliffs forming the shore. Its sides rise sheer to a height of from seventy to eighty feet, making it practically impregnable in the days before fire-arms were introduced.

"From Katikati-aka to the Mokau river, the edge of the forest recedes from the coast for a distance varying from a quarter to half a mile to the foot of the ranges. This open strip of coast land is usually very fertile, and at one time must have been highly cultivated to support the large population that dwelt in the numerous forts that are still to be seen perched on every point of vantage. The sea swarmed with fish, and along the coast are to be found some of the finest mussel reefs on the West Coast of this Island, the possession of which was a fruitful source of quarrels. Stories are told of many desperate fights that have taken place for the right of gathering this valuable article of food.

"About a mile north of the Tonga-porutu river the way is barred by another great fort—Omaha—originally a projection of the coast, but which has since been severed from the main land by a huge trench forty feet deep and sixty feet wide at the top, by which it was converted into an island at high water. The other sides are sheer cliffs one hundred feet high. Half a mile beyond Omaha the track again turned inland at the Otukehu stream, and at a mile further on comes down to the beach at the famous *pa* of Te Kawau—nine and a half miles from Puke-aruhe, and four and a half miles south of the Mokau river.

"Te Kawau *pa*, was in former times the key to the whole of the West coast, the buttress which for generations stemmed the tide of invasion from the north, by *tauas* of the powerful tribes of Ngati-Mania-poto and Waikato in their attempted incursions into the fertile Taranaki country to the south; and it was the home of the warlike

* See Plate No. 1.

brothers, Raparapa and Tupoki. The lament for the latter refers to Te Kawau, in the line :—

‘He tumu herenga waka, no runga, no raro.’

‘The anchorage of canoes (war parties) from north and south.’

“The main *pa* was situated on an isolated rock partly surrounded at high water; the extent of the top was about seventy-five yards by forty yards, and the only approach was from the landward side, by using ladders which were drawn up after the inhabitants had retired within the *pa*. On all other sides the cliffs rose sheer to a height of from eighty to one hundred feet. The other part of the *pa* was separated from this citadel by a deep rift or chasm* twenty yards wide and thirty-five yards deep. It was into this rift that the Ngati-Maniapoto chief Pahi-tahanga fell, in trying to escape after the failure of their attempted surprise of the *pa*. The landward portion of Te Kawau is one of those ready-made strong holds, which the ingenuity of man has converted into an impregnable retreat. The narrow neck—about twelve or fifteen feet wide—which connects this part of the *pa* with the main land, is almost completely severed by a deep trench, and along the neck was the only approach to the *pa*, and on all other sides the cliffs rose perpendicularly from the sea, and from the Kira-tahi stream, and sea beach, forming an impassable rampart. Around the base of this double *pa*, and northward on the beach called Rangi-kawaka, many a fierce battle has been fought. Some three hundred yards north of Te Kawau *pa* a reef or ledge juts out from the base of the cliff, and runs down to low-water-mark; this ledge was a favourite fighting place between the tribes; each of which sought to be the first to secure advantage of its height to hold it against the foe.

“The beach between Te Kawau and Hukunui at the mouth of the Mohaka-tino—a length of two miles—was the scene of numberless battles and skirmishes. Midway stands the historic Pou-tama rock, which gives its name to the surrounding country. Within the breakers in fine weather, it is only to be seen at very low tide, and when the beach is partly denuded of sand. Here stands Pou-tama transformed into a rock, in shape and form like unto a man (see the legend, chapter VII.) About one hundred yards from the south bank of the Mohaka-tino, on a small detached position on the coast, is Hukunui the last and most advanced stronghold of Ngati-Tama—the Mohaka-tino river just beyond being the boundary between that tribe and Ngati-Maniapoto. Near by is the Waiana Cave, the scene of a treacherous murder, to be described in chapter XI.”

* See Plate No. 2.



PLATE No. 2.

The chasm separating Te Kawau Pa from the Main-land.
The Pa on the right.

From the White Cliffs commences the level and undulating country which extends right away from there to Pae-kakariki, twenty-seven miles from Wellington. It is backed inland by broken ranges of no great height, as far as the Waitara river; the undulating country gradually increasing in width from its commencement at Puke-aruhe until at Waitara it is four or five miles wide. Most of this plateau was open fern land in 1840, with patches of wood here and there, especially in the valleys of the numerous streams that cross it to the sea, whilst the ranges behind were everywhere under forest. The coast line between these two points is generally lined with perpendicular cliffs, with breaks here and there, gradually declining in height until the Waitara river is reached, where the shore is low, with occasional sand hills. On the tops of these cliffs are many old *pas*, always situated at such points that the people could get down to the sea for fishing. It is a rich soil; and hence the numbers of *pas* scattered about this part, particularly at Ure-nui.

From Waitara southwards, the same level country continues, but with a greater width, sloping very easily and gradually up to Mount Egmont. It was open fern land for a width of from two to four miles in 1840, with many wooded gullies advancing towards the sea. The coast from Waitara to the Sugar-loaf Islands (Nga-Motu, the Islands) is generally low, with cliffs here and there, but of no great height, and the country is, as usual, intersected by many streams, along the banks of which, and scattered over the plain, are numerous old *pas*, which are invariably situated on some hill, or spur that has been taken advantage of to strengthen the artificial fortifications. It is a beautiful and rich country, now occupied by farms, and has always been from a very ancient date, thickly populated by the Native inhabitants; indeed, as we shall see, it was near the Wai-o-ngana (Ngana's river, for probably Ngana is a person's or a god's name) stream that the first settlement of Maoris on this coast took place.

At the Sugar-loaf Islands, the general outline of the coast is interrupted by a projecting point formed by a line of eruptive rocks that appear to be an offshoot from the Pouakai Ranges, and probably indicate the earliest symptoms of volcanic agency in the district. The point itself is emphasized by the remarkable rocky mount of Paritutu (*pari*, cliff; *tutu*, upstanding) that forms a land mark for many miles both north and south. It is 506 feet high, and on the top are to be found the signs of fortification; for this was a place of refuge during the warlike incursions that this rich district has so often been subject to. The same remark applies to the two larger islands, Motu-mahanga (*Motu*, an island; *mahanga*, twins) and Motu-roa (high island), both

of which were places of refuge. The surrounding district is noted for the number of Maori *pas*, some of large size; indeed, Pu-kaka* or Marsland Hill, in the Town of New Plymouth, is one of the largest in the district, and prior to the levelling operations undertaken by the Military in 1856, to form the site of the barracks, was a very fine specimen of a *pa*, its *tihi*, or summit, rising in terraces for over forty feet above the present level. Living as the Maoris did, very close together, this *pa* must have contained a large population prior to its abandonment. (See plan of Pu-kaka.)

From the Sugar-loaf Islands southward, the coast presents no prominent feature right away to Pae-kakariki (the parraquet's perch) twenty-seven miles from Wellington, and situated just at the point where the Tararua ranges wash their feet in Cook's Straits. It is alternately low, rocky or sandy, with here and there long lines of perpendicular cliffs of no great height, on top of which are many old *pas* as we shall see. Until Patea (white fort) is reached, there are few beaches, but south of that, most of the coast has fine hard sands that formed the ancient highway. This part of the coast is intersected by a large number of streams and some rivers of a good size, such as the Patea, Wai-totara (*totara*—river), Whanga-nui (big bay†), Turakina (thrown down), Whanga-ehu (turbid stream), Rangī-tikei (place of high stepping), Manawa-tu (the startled heart), &c.‡

From Pae-kakariki round the south end of the North Island, the coast is iron-bound, the spurs of the Tararua Ranges falling steeply to high-water mark. Even in quite recent times the whole was forest clad, and, indeed, some parts are still clothed in wood, but the axe of the settler has played havoc with most of the forest. This part of the coast is broken by the small harbour of Porirua and by Te Whanga-nui-a-Tara (the great bay of Tara§) or Port Nicholson, on the shores of which the city of Wellington is built.

Starting southward from the base of Mount Egmont, the whole of the country inland of the coast line is either level, undulating, or

*The meaning of Pu-kaka is somewhat uncertain, and no Maori of the present day can say what it means. It probably means a bunch of parrots, when they are tied together by the necks for carrying. This would imply that the hill was forest clad in Maori times, and possibly was frequented by the *kaka* or parrot.

† This name seems a misnomer; but, if the Maori traditions are correct, to the effect that the sea once came right up to where the town of Whanganui now stands, then the name is appropriate.

‡ The origin of many names of places along the coast south of Patea are given in an old Maori song, published in *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. XIV., p. 133.

§ So named after Tara, eponymous ancestor of the Ngai-Tara tribe that formerly owned Port Nicholson.

slightly broken, which character it maintains for varying distances inland, but gradually rises to the interior ranges. At the time of arrival of the first European settlers, there was a strip of open fern land varying in breadth all along the coast. The greatest width was about Feilding, some fifteen miles from the coast; but there were even here large patches of wood dotting the plain. Palmerston North, even as late as 1870, was a mere clearing in the forest, and from there to Paekakariki along the present Manawatu Railway line was practically one solid forest the whole way, excepting a narrow belt along the coast. From Whanganui southward, the vegetation of the open country was principally *toetoe*, flax, tea-tree and cabbage-trees, which took the place of the bracken of the northern parts.

It was along this open belt of country, described above, that most of the Native inhabitants lived; excepting on the Whanganui river, and in a few other places, the country inland was not occupied permanently, though excursions were constantly made inland to obtain birds, eels and other forest produce. The great forest that has been described extended, without break, from the site of Wellington City to near the Manukau Heads. Taking a somewhat sinuous line through the centre of it, it had a length of about 350 miles, and a varying width of from twenty to sixty miles of solid forest, which, but for the few native paths leading through it, and a few villages here and there, was practically uninhabited, and formed a barrier to incursions of hostile parties from outside. A large part of this great forest has disappeared in the operation of clearing and settling the country, and with it has gone much of the sylvan beauty that characterised the region. With the forests have also disappeared the vast number of birds whose song was at one time an ever present accompaniment to the traveller who passed through these parts. The forest was a storehouse of food for the Natives. In the season, expeditions were made inland by the whole of the able-bodied inhabitants of a village—men, women and children—where they gathered the forest fruits, speared the birds, such as pigeons, parrots, tuis, parraquets, bell-birds, and others; or hunted the kiwi and weka with the old breed of dogs brought with them from Hawaiki. Many trees that attracted the birds were individual or family property. Such trees usually had a special name, and many of them are famous in song and story. In the *miro* trees, vast numbers of pigeons were caught as they came to feed on the little red drupes, the eating of which caused great thirst in the birds. The Maoris took advantage of this, to place in the branches small wooden troughs filled with water, round the edges of which were snares made of the delicate epidermis of the stem of the *Mouku* (*Asplenium bulbiferum*) fern, that

was quite the commonest of the vast variety of ferns that carpeted the old forests, and added so much to their beauty. The long bird spear (*here*) often twenty to forty feet long with its six-inch barb of bone was also used with great dexterity, especially for spearing the *kaka* or parrot. Rough shelters of branches were built, sufficient to hide a man, and in front of it a horizontal rod was placed with tufts of *rata* flowers at either end; the bird-catcher, sitting within his shelter, a long rod in hand, would imitate the cry of several birds by aid of a leaf between his lips, especially the *makomako*, or Bell-bird, and as they alighted on the horizontal rod, would knock them over. In this manner large numbers were taken. The larger birds were frequently potted in their own fat for winter stores. It was a free life enjoyed by all, as they wandered through these grand old forests. The elders would take the opportunity of pointing out, to the younger generation, the boundaries of the tribal and family lands, repeating the names of each place, and telling of any incidents that had occurred there concerning their ancestors. It is astonishing how numerous these names were; every stream, hillock, or rock, or other natural feature was well-known and had a name, and generally each was derived from circumstances connected with individual or tribal history. Maori place-names are but rarely descriptive, or topographical; hence the uncertainty of the translations of them.

ANCIENT HIGH-WAYS.

Having no animals but the dog, and no vehicles, the Maori roads were all foot-paths. It must be remembered that the Maoris in former times were possessed of no sharp-edged tools with which to clear tracks through the dense under-growth that every where characterises the New Zealand forests, but formed their tracks merely by walking over the ground, breaking, by hand, the shrubs and small trees that obstructed them. The method was as follows:—One man who knew the direction of the objective point—and in respect to orientation all were highly endowed by nature—proceeded in advance, selecting the parts where the vegetation offered least resistance, and breaking with his hands the smaller shrubs, always bending their heads in the direction he was going; others followed in his tracks continuing the same operation. The general direction of a track was fairly straight, but with many minor bends and turns in it, due to obstructions which had to be avoided. The top of a ridge was generally preferred for a track, and whenever it came out on to any part where a view could be obtained, the bushes were broken down to allow of seeing over the country; for few people admire an extensive view more than the Maori.

These places generally bear the name of "Tau-mata" to this day, meaning a brow of a hill; and such place-names are very common. As party after party followed in single file along these rude tracks, breaking away each year's growth, in process of time they became well-worn by the repeated pressure of bare-feet. In the open country the annual growth of fern, flax, *toetoe*, and other vegetation, proved a constant hindrance to travellers; hence the fire-stick constantly carried was repeatedly applied and the vegetation burnt away. All Maori tracks, except in the vicinity of villages, were thus only suited to marching in single file, and that was the order in which all *tauas* travelled. A war-party thus often covered a great length of road as it progressed. At the first alarm of danger given by the scouts in advance, the party gathered together round the chiefs to await the arrival of the rear guard of warriors who marched behind the large body of slaves carrying provisions, and who themselves, in times of scarcity, often served their masters for that particular purpose.

There was one principal road that followed the coast from Kawhia to Port Nicholson, which took advantage of every little piece of beach that existed, but in the more thickly inhabited parts, it ran inland from *pa* to *pa*, or village to village, but still never very far from the coast. It was by this main road that most of the northern war-parties travelled in the many expeditions we shall have to recount. Sometimes these *tauas* made use of the Mokau river, which would lead them from the open country of the Waikato and Waipa valleys to the coast, but very rarely did any hostile incursion face the difficulties of the forest tracks of the northern part of the district. Hence the great forest formed a barrier to the east and a protection to the coast-dwellers.

Such of these main tracks as are known may be indicated here—they are sketched on the map No. 1 accompanying—but there are numbers of others intersecting the country, which cannot be shown on a map of so small a scale:—

1. The most northerly track in the district under consideration was that which connected Kawhia with the open valley of the Waipa river. It left the harbour at its N.E. corner, at Oparau, and ran thence along the spurs of Mount Pirongia, crossing to the south of that mountain into the Waipa valley, at or near the modern town of Pirongia (lately Alexandra).
2. From Marokopa river, fifteen miles south of Kawhia, a main track crossed the forest ranges into the Waipa valley; coming out near Otorohanga on the Main Trunk Railway line.

3. The Mokau river already mentioned, which is navigable for canoes from the sea to the open country near Totoro.
4. From near Totoro above, a track named Tapui-wahine ran in a S.E. direction up the Mokau-iti stream, and then over the Tapui-wahine ranges into the Kohatu-mangawha stream, across the head of the Ohura river to Kawakawa, a village on the Ongarue river, and thence up the Mangakahu stream to Taringa-mutu river, and by way of the Tuhua ranges to the south end of Lake Taupo at Pukawa.
5. A branch road from Mokau-iti on No. 4 track ran southerly, following generally, but not in, the Waikaka valley to Niho-niho on the Ohura river. From there this track continued E.S.E. to the junction of the Ongarue and Taringa-mutu rivers.
6. The track called Tihi-manuka, which left the coast at Katikati-aka *pa*, ran in a general E.S.E. and easterly direction along the forest ranges, passing Tihi-manuka *pa*, and crossing the Tanga-rakau river near the gorge on the (modern) Ohura road, and thence striking E.N.E. over the ranges, and the Heao river at Ara-rimu, the Ohura river near Opatu falls, coming out on the Whanganui river at Koiro, whence the track followed up that river to Taumarunui.
7. A branch from the above track struck off at the Tanga-rakau crossing, and ran E.S.E. over the ranges and the Heao river, coming out on the Whanganui river at the old settlement of Kirikiri-roa.
8. The Taumata-mahoe track ran generally in an E.S.E. direction from the coast at Onaero and Urenui rivers; but an equally important track started from the north bank of the Waitara river, passing generally up the course of the Waitara river, but not in the valley, until it junctioned with that from Onaero, at the Tara-mouku stream. From there it passed up the valley of that stream and on to near Purangi, where the Waitara river was crossed. This was in the heart of the Ngati-Maru country. From there the track followed the same general direction, crossing the Mangaehu stream, and the Taumata-mahoe range, coming out on the Whanganui river at the mouth of the Tanga-rakau river. Mr. (afterwards Sir Donald) McLean was the first white man to traverse this track in the mid-forties of last century.
9. The Whakaahu-rangi track (the origin of which name will be found in chapter IX.) started into the forest at Kairoa, a fine

old *pa* near Matai-tawa, a little inland of the present village of Lepperton, and ran in a S.E. direction crossing the vast number of streams descending from Mount Egmont, and keeping to the east of the present railway line and of what was subsequently known as Nairn's and General Chute's track; crossing the Manganui branch of Waitara at Tatara-moa, about half a mile below the present bridge over the river on the Tariki road; thence it ran through the Ahuroa block to the Patea river, which it crossed about two miles east of Stratford. From here it ran due south, to the west of the Ngaere (quaking) swamp, and close to the eastern side of Eltham Borough, Te Roti, an old clearing on the present Mountain Road; and along this road line to Kete-marae, a famous old settlement about two miles east of the present town of Normanby, where it junctioned with the coast road from Kawhia to Wellington. Here the track reached the open country. This was a very important line of communication, used by many a war-party; it avoided the country of the Taranaki tribe.

10. The Kaharoa track started from the mouth of the Patea river and ran generally due north, passing along the Kaharoa range, the Mangachu and Mangarewa valleys, and junctioned with No. 8 above where that track crossed the latter stream. From there it ran N.N.E., and joined the Tihi-manuka track near where the latter crossed the Tanga-rakau river.
11. Was a branch road from No. 9 above, leading out to Puke-rangiora *pa*, and so on to Waitara, with branches to other *pas* in the neighbourhood. The two tracks joined where they crossed the Manganui river.
12. Is not properly speaking one of the main highways. It traversed the Taranaki tribal lands; starting from near Tapui-nikau (inland of Rahotu), and passed *via* Maru over the southern flanks of Mount Egmont, eventually joining No. 9 above.
13. The Waitotara track, which followed up the Waitotara river (which river was navigable for canoes for many miles) to the junction of the Makakaho stream, up the course of which and over the ranges, it led to Pipiriki on the Whanganui river.
14. The Whanganui river itself has always been a great highway, leading into the upper branches of that river to Tau-maru-nui at the junction of the Ongarue, above which canoes travelled for a few miles both on that and the main stream,

and from near Taumarunui a main road led easterly to the south end of Lake Taupo.

15. The Manga-nui-a-te-ao branch of the above river was navigable for canoes for some miles, and from the head of navigation a track led to Wai-marino plains, lying to the west of Rua-pehu mountain, and so on to Lake Roto-aira and Lake Taupo.
16. From Upoko-ngaro, on the Whanganui river, ten miles from its mouth, a track led N.N.E. over the hills to the Mangawhero river, and up its course for many miles; and then over the broken ranges to Karioi on the plains S.E. of Rua-pehu, from whence it passed to the east of that mountain to Lake Taupo.
17. From the settlements on the north bank of the Rangi-tikei, a track led in a N.N.E. direction through the present town of Hunterville, and thence by high ranges to the valley of the Hautapu at the falls of Turangarere; whence the open country was reached, which was followed to a junction with No. 16 at or near Karioi.
18. From the same starting place as the above, a track crossed the open country, and not far from Feilding, thence ran easterly through the forests to the Manawa-tu gorge and over the Rua-hine ranges by Te Ahu-a-Turanga (see the origin of the name, chapter VIII) down to the forest clad plains at Tahoraiti, and thence northerly to the open country of Hawke's Bay. Branches running into this track also started from Lower Manawa-tu.

From No. 18 above, for some distance along the coast to the south, information is defective, but there doubtless existed tracks, mainly used by war-parties, leading from the West Coast over the Tararua ranges into Wairarapa and the Seventy Mile Bush.

19. Kaihipu track led from the coast at Ohau river, crossing the Tararua Ranges into Wairarapa; used often by hostile parties.
20. Pu-rehurehu: this track was used mostly in war-time, and led from Paua-taha-nui, on Porirua Harbour, over the ranges into Here-taunga, or the Hutt Valley.
21. The Taua-tapu track was a part of the main line of communication from north to south; but the name applies only to that part which left the coast at Wai-mapihi near Pae-kakariki, and thence went south to Taupo on Porirua Harbour. The

continuation of this track led over the ranges to Port Nicholson, coming out at Pito-one (called by Pakehas, Petone) near Wellington.

The above were the principal lines of communication, but there were numerous others, which it would be tedious to mention, that connected the above together, or led to the birding places of the old time Maori. From Mokau to the Whanganui river these tracks seem rarely to have been used by hostile incursions—the northern tribes seem always to have preferred the coast, notwithstanding that they had to face the redoubtable Ngati-Tama in their strongholds around Pou-tama.

In one respect the inhabitants of the Taranaki district were much more fortunate than those dwelling on the East Coast, who equally suffered during the early decades of the nineteenth century from the incursions of the warlike Nga-Puhi. But for the prevalent westerly winds and the consequent rough seas along the West Coast, Taranaki would have suffered much more without doubt; had those northern warriors been able to use their canoes for conveying themselves thither the fate of Taranaki would much sooner have been settled. In this respect the two coasts differ very materially. Whilst the West Coast is frequently subject to boisterous weather, rendering navigation by canoes dangerous, the East Coast in Summer time is more generally favourable with smoother water, and hence the great naval expeditions of Ngu-Puhi in the early decades of the nineteenth century.*

Much of the information from which the above tracks have been described was furnished by District Surveyor H. M. Skeet, and also by Messrs. W. H. Skinner and Elsdon Best.

* For which see “Wars of the Northern against the Southern tribes,” &c.

CHAPTER II.

THE ANCIENT INHABITANTS OF THE TARANAKI COAST.

WHILST there can be but little doubt as to the history of the people who came to New Zealand with the *heke*, or great migration in the six well-known canoes, it is far otherwise with those who preceded them. Indeed, it seems unlikely, at this date, that we shall ever know anything very definite about this aboriginal people—at any rate so far as this Coast is concerned. At the same time, there are many indications in the traditions of the people that point to earlier migrations than that alluded to above, but we have little certain information as to the names of people, or descents from them, to guide us in fixing the dates of their arrival. Probability seems to point to there having been several early migrations and visits from the Pacific Islands prior to 1350,* which is the approximate date now generally accepted as that at which the *heke* arrived. The best information to hand on this subject is that derived from the traditions of the Ngati-Awa tribe of the Bay of Plenty, and these show that at twenty generations, or five hundred years, back from the time of the *heke* (1350), there were people living in the Bay of Plenty, and with strong probability in many other parts of the country. At that period Ti-wakawaka arrived from Mata-ora in the canoe “Te Ara-tau-whaiti,” and not long afterwards he was visited by one of the Polynesian navigators named Maku, who, however, did not remain in the country, but returned to Hawaiki from whence he came.† This tradition, then, fixes an approximate date at which the two voyagers, at different times, arrived in New Zealand. In support of this, Hapakuku Ruia of Te Rarawa says:—“This island originally belonged to Ngu, who lived at Muri-whenua (North Cape), and he was the ancestor of the people called Karitehe, or Turehu, and their descendants are still amongst the tribes of Au-pouri (the North Cape) and Ngati-Kuri (of Whangape Harbour).” Then he recites a genealogy from Ngu to Tamatea, who flourished at the time of the *heke* circa, 1350; there are twenty-one generations on this line, and this

* This date is arrived at by allowing twenty-five years to a generation, and taking the mean of a very large number from the date of the *heke* to the present time, *i.e.*, about twenty-two generations down to the year 1900. These numbers have been checked by the genealogies of Tahiti, Hawaii and Rarotonga, which are all in very fair accord when deduced from common ancestors.

† E. Best, Tran.: Proceed. N.Z. Inst., Vol. xxxvii., p. 121. &c.

agrees very well with the number quoted above, and the two serve to fix an approximate date at which people were known to be living in New Zealand as the year 850.

It has been shewn elsewhere,* that it was about the year 650 that the Polynesians commenced that series of extraordinary and daring voyages, that in 250 years from that date carried them to all parts of the Pacific, and as New Zealand—under its Rarotongan name, *Avaiki-tautau*—is mentioned amongst the list of islands visited by some of these voyagers, we may fairly assume that, between the two dates mentioned, this country was first settled, and by people of the same Polynesian race as those that comprised the *heke* of 1350.

It seems probable, and also natural, seeing their positions, that the Bay of Plenty and the Northern Coasts were first settled, and from there the people spread to other parts, until, at the date of the *heke*, the aborigines seem to have occupied most of the North Island and probably parts of the Middle Island as well.

From indications that may be read by any one who will study the question, it seems a fair generalisation to say that, at the first occupation of this country, practically the whole of the North Island and large parts of the Middle Island were forest-clad. At the time of settlement of the Colony by the Europeans early in the nineteenth century, the largest areas of open country in the North Island were the central Kaingaroa plains—using that term with a somewhat extended meaning—the open country of Hawke's Bay and the Waikato valley. But in all these places there are nearly everywhere signs of former forests, the more persistent and durable indications of which are the mounds and pits left by the roots where the giants of the forest in their old age and decay fell prostrate to the earth. In the Middle Island tradition relates that the open plains of Canterbury were very generally covered with forest, until destroyed by fires some 250 years ago; and to this day the remains of charred logs are to be seen on the foot-hills of the Southern Alps, scattered all over the surface, in places where no native trees are to be found now within very many miles. On the Kaingaroa Plains, North Island—barren desolate pumice wastes—innumerable tree trunks, converted into charcoal, are still to be seen in road and other cuttings at various depths in the pumice, showing that the country was forest-clad anterior to the latest volcanic eruptions. In this same district there are remains in the form of isolated woods still flourishing on the pumice surface, denoting the former extension of great forests,

* “Hawaiki,” second edition, 1904.

which probably covered the whole of the present open country subsequent to the latest volcanic outbursts.

In the district we have particularly under consideration, there is little doubt that at one time the forests extended right down to the sea shore, and that the narrow belt of open country fringing the coast, found by the early European settlers, was due to the action of fires and clearings originating with the early Maori inhabitants.

Even as late as the times of Kupe (? Kupe the second) the navigator, whom the genealogies and traditions place in the generation preceding the *heke*, or about 1325, the country would seem to have been very generally forest-clad along the coasts, for we have an expression of his that has come down with the ages, which refers to the difficulties he experienced in traversing the country. *Nga taero o Kupe*—the “obstructions of Kupe”—referred originally to the *tataramoa* (bramble) and *matakuru* (or wild Irishman) through which he found so much difficulty in forcing his way. This expression has, in more modern times, become emblematical of mental troubles also. We do not know how far Kupe went inland, except in the north, where he crossed from Hokianga to the Bay of Islands; nor do we know with any certainty the date at which he arrived here—it was clearly before the *heke* of 1350. But on the subject of Kupe, see chapter III.

These forests were teeming with bird-life. The stately *Moa* stalked with majestic mien through the forests—though perhaps preferring such open spots as existed—the *kiwi*, the *weka*, the *parera* or wild duck,* and probably some of the large extinct birds, were still plentiful, at the time of the first occupation by the Maoris, whilst *kakas*, pigeons, *tuis*, and other birds that formed such a large item in the old-time Maori *cuisine* were in great abundance. The streams contained eels and other fish, all forming sources of food in old days; to which the vegetable kingdom contributed in the form of the *nikau*, *mamaku*, *ti*, *pohue*, *karaka* and *hinau* berries, &c., and last, but not least, the *aruhe*, or root of the bracken, found only in the open parts. Now, it is principally due to the presence of these natural foods that it was possible for the original inhabitants to exist, and more particularly to spread from the sea shore. For, so far as can be ascertained, prior to about the year

* It seems somewhat doubtful if the *pukeko* was one of the original birds of New Zealand. This is a question, however, for naturalists to decide. The Maori traditions on the subject are so persistent in saying that the bird was brought here with the *heke*, that there must be some foundation for them. The bird is common in Samoa and other islands, and if the Maoris did introduce it, they probably picked it up on their way when they called at the Kermadec Islands, where it still is to be found.

1300, the *kumara* and *taro* were unknown in New Zealand, the original migrations having succeeded in bringing over only the *hue* or calabash. It is due to this absence of the staple foods of Polynesia that Polynesian visitors in the generation preceding the *heke* gave to the leading chief of the Bay of Plenty, whose descendants were living at Whakatane when they arrived, the characteristic name of Toi-the-wood-eater, for their food was fern root, *mamaku*, and other wild vegetables. But for these native wild foods, all expansion of the people from the place of their original landing must have been by the coast, either by canoe or overland, in order to allow of contact with the sea, from whence so much of their diet was procured. And probably this—the line of least resistance—was the route first taken as the population spread, though it is clear, that at the date of the *heke*, people had occupied the centre of the island, and also that they had reached Taranaki and the Middle Island. Some of the canoes, the names of which have been preserved, and about which so little is known, are possibly those of coastal voyagers from the North or Bay of Plenty, and not those from far Hawaiki, as has been supposed; some of these are mentioned later on.

The statement above, that the Moa inhabited the forests may be taken exception to, principally because their bones are to this day chiefly found in the open. But they are sometimes found in the forest, and the many names of places there are in which the word *moa* enters, now under forest, seems to show that the monster bird did inhabit the forest; though no doubt preferring the open and the forest margins.

There are probably only one or two actual statements in Maori traditions as to the killing of the Moa, one of which is to the effect that Apataki, the son of Maka (who came here in the "Arawa" canoe) was killed by the kick of a Moa. The strong probability is that the bulk of the Moas were destroyed by the *tangata-whenua* people of New Zealand before the *heke*, but that a few survived to later times. The late Chief Judge Fenton told the writer that he had found near his home in Kaipara bones of the Moa within an old Maori *pa*, that tradition says was built by the Titahi people on their migration south from Hokianga to Taranaki, *circa* 1550.* He adds, "I remember a Maori telling me that the way they used to kill the Moa was this: Approaching them in scrubby or other places where it was difficult for the Moa to run, they used to await the stroke of the bird, which consisted in lifting up the leg and with it striking forward. The Maori, armed with

* This seems to be the date as derived from Northern traditions, but others state the presence of the Titahi people in the Auckland Isthmus as early as the years 1375-1400.

a long stick, then struck the standing leg, when the bird fell down and was disposed of by aid of a club."

Old Hiha of Moawhango, in the Mokai-Patea country, told the writer that neither his father, nor his grandfather, had ever seen the Moa, but that his forefathers had hunted and killed it long ago. He often had seen the bones, and once found those of a complete head; it was about eighteen inches long. In former times such bones were very plentiful on the hills in that district, but generally rotten (as he put it), whilst in the streams they were quite hard and well preserved. The Moas, he said, lived in cliffy places, but went out to feed all over the country, eating leaves, etc. When attacked they stood on the left leg, whilst the other was raised up close to the body, and so soon as the hunter approached within striking distance, the bird kicked out; if the hunter was struck, it killed him. The bird, he knew from tradition, was about ten feet high, and their way of killing it was by throwing spears at it. One very effectual way was to strike the leg the bird stood on with a long heavy pole which usually brought it down, when it was killed by spears or clubs. The bird was—says Hiha—quite clever at warding off (*karo*) thrusts made at it, with the upraised leg. This confirms Mr. Fenton's account of the method of killing the bird. It may be added, that in his younger days (say about 1840) Hiha had hunted and caught numbers of Kakapo in the Kai-manawa mountains—the last the writer knows of was caught by Te Kepa-Puawheawhe in those mountains in 1895.

Now that we know the effects of environment on all life, it is obvious that great changes must have taken place in the Maoris after a sojourn of some centuries in a country so different from the tropical islands, from which they came hither. No longer could they depend on nature to supply them with the means of existence without effort on their part: no longer would the forests furnish the abundance that is referred to in the old Maori saying, "*Hawaiki kai*." Hawaiki the prolific, and in the words of the old song:—

Ka toi au ki Hawaiki,	I will away to distant Hawaiki,
Ki te kai ra, i rari noa mai,	To the food there abundantly given,
Te raweketia e te ringaringa.	Not touched (produced) by hand.

Daily was strenuous effort necessary to procure from the sea, the rivers, and the woods, the where-with-all to keep off the *onge-kai* (starvation); and long distances must be traversed in search of these foods, gradually leading to a knowledge of the country and its productions. In a colder climate, the thin garments so suitable to the tropics, and made of *aute* bark, had to be abandoned for warmer material, which they luckily found in the *harakeke* or native flax, the

strong silken fibres of which they discovered how to separate from the leaf, and form into woven garments of great strength and warmth, adorned with handsome patterns (*taniko*), which patterns, however, were probably brought with them, for we see an almost identical one on the garments worn, at this day, by the people of Pleasant Island, but no where else. The houses common to the Tropical regions had likewise to be abandoned for others of a warmer nature, and hence these old-time people invented the *whare-puni*, quite unlike any thing in the Pacific until we reach the shores of far Alaska, and this implied most arduous labour, with the tools they possessed—stone axes and adzes, in the finish of which no other branch of the race approaches—only equalled by their beautifully adorned canoes, excelling any thing of the kind in other parts of the Pacific. The Maori carving likewise appears to be an art of local origin or of great local development, for it is not found elsewhere in so perfect a form. Tradition says it was invented by Rau-ru—some say by Rua—who flourished some five or six generations before the *heke*; but may be, he in reality only improved on ideas which had long previously been initiated. The same remarks apply to their tattooing; it is apparently local—no other branch of the race possessed it in the Maori form, though some form of tattooing was common wherever the Polynesians are found.

It would seem also that this forest environment has affected the mental aspect of the people towards their gods. We know for certain, in some branches of the Polynesian race—and there is a strong probability in the case of others—that Tane was the great god of the Polynesians at one time; he seems to have been the supreme ruler (always excepting Io, about whom we know little or nothing) subsequently deposed to an inferior rank on an equality with several others, or even superseded almost wholly in some branches by Tangaroa, who, with the Maoris, takes quite a secondary rank. Tane, with the Maoris, seems to have retained much of his ancient glory, but owing to the forest environment he has developed into the god of forests and all connected with wood-work, and the feathered inhabitants thereof. This seems to be a natural development, just as Tangaroa, god of the sea and all connected with it, should have developed in some cases to be the supreme diety of all; as in the case of most of the Polynesians whose lives were largely passed on the deep.

The extremely ancient cult of Rangi and Papa, seems to have been retained by the Maoris more fully, with more persistence and greater detail than any other branch of the race. And this seems due to the early isolation of the *tangata-whenua*, who brought with them from the Pacific the full knowledge of this cult, which was not greatly affected

by the invasion of more recent modifications introduced by disturbing elements from other parts of the Pacific. In the islands, Rangi and Papa are certainly known, but amongst the Maoris alone is to be found the great detail and full belief of the origin of all things through them. For proof of this we have only to refer to the traditions of the Moriori of the Chatham Islands, where we shall find the same belief in, and detailed account of Rangi and Papa—modified in some respects, no doubt by their environment, but still the same fundamentally. And no one at this date will probably deny that the Morioris represent most closely the ancient *tangata-whenua* of New Zealand. All evidence seems to indicate that those people migrated from here a few generations before the date of the *heke*.*

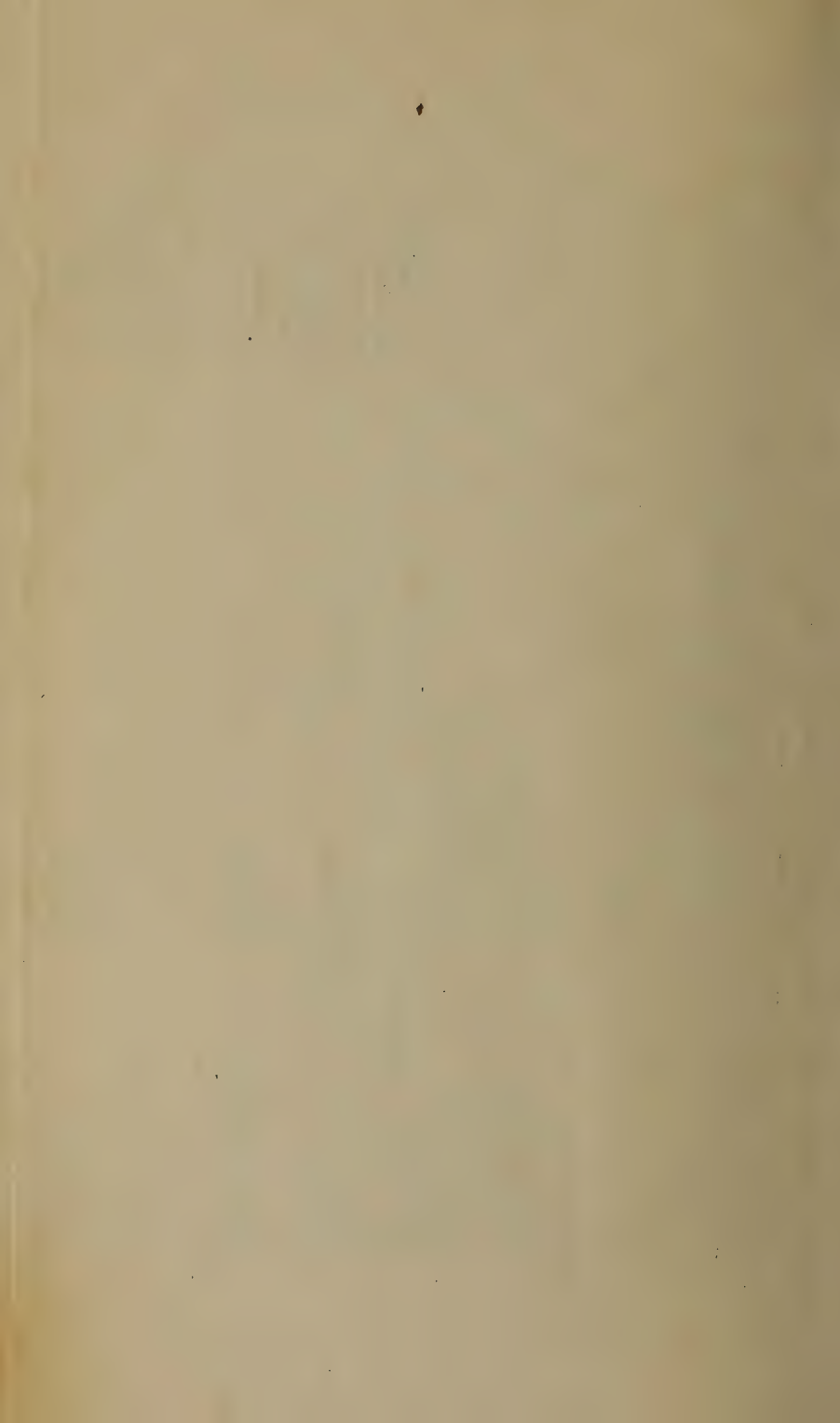
The only native writer on the old *tangata-whenua* was Hamiora Pio, now gone to join the majority. He refers in many places to the peaceful lives led by this old-time people, and states that wars and troubles only arose after the arrival of the *heke*. This may have been true as a general statement, in fact seems highly probable, for some of the common causes of war were non-existent at that time—there was abundance of room for the people to spread—the forests, lakes and mountains would not, at that period, have been appropriated so closely by family and tribal claims, such as obtained afterwards. Moriori history, whilst accounting for the migration to the Chatham Islands by war, would seem to confirm the idea that peace was the rule with the *tangata-whenua*, otherwise the agreement come to by the people during the first generation of their occupation of that island, to the effect they should live in peace in future, as they did from that date until their conquest by the Maoris in 1836, would not have been possible.

Against this theory of Hamiora Pio's, we have the fact that a great many of the fortified *pas* still existing were built by the *tangata-whenua*, which seems to show that the necessity for protection had arisen in some parts, and, moreover, the Maori *pa* is a feature peculiar to New Zealand.

* In "Transactions, N.Z. Institute," vol. xxxvii., p. 604, is to be found the following:—"In the discussion which followed, Captain Mair mentioned that the Morioris were quite a distinct race from the Maoris, but they appeared subsequently to have intermingled with the Maori, and formed with them a mixed race, introducing into their own language a proportion of Maori words." After thirteen months residence in the Chatham Islands, and a constant study of the Morioris, the writer must differ entirely from Captain Mair—there can, we think, be no doubt as to the identity of the two people in physique, traditions and language, somewhat modified by their long isolation and their environment.

BANGI-NUTI = PAPA

* Died in August, 1907, aged about 65.



It is now necessary to enter more particularly into the evidence of the early occupation of the Taranaki district, and, as will be seen, it is somewhat meagre. In doing so some long genealogies will have to be quoted, but as these have never been printed before, it is considered advisable to herein preserve them for future reference. The first is one obtained by Mr. John White in the sixties, and is of great interest, for it does not, as so often occurs, start with one of the crew of the *heke* of 1350. It was recited by the fathers of Mahau,* last but one on the pedigree. It will be observed that the list begins with Rangi and Papa—the Sky-father and Earth-mother—but it does not necessarily follow that the old *tohungas* believed that Kahui-ao was the actual son of these two; rather does it mean that he was a descendant of the common parents. Indeed, the name implies a tribe rather than a personal name.

Table No. I. comes from the Ngati-Awa, or Ati-Awa tribe of Waitara, Taranaki, which tribe derives its name from Te-Awa-nui-a-rangi who, in this table, is shown to have flourished forty generations ago, which is too long, according to other lines, which make him to have been the son of Toi-kai-rakau, who flourished about thirty-one generations ago (see chapter IV.) But it is possible there may have been one of that name who lived amongst the *tangata-whenua* prior to the son of Toi. The following story is about this Awa-nui, and the old people of Waitara and Wai-o-ngana believe the Ati-Awa tribe descend and take their name from him: “Tamarau-te-heketanga-a-rangi was a spirit (*wairua*), and was the Ati-Awa ancestor. He descended from heaven,† and at the time of his arrival he saw Rongo-ue-roa, who was down at the water washing her child, to do which she had stripped off her clothing. Whilst there, Tamarau approached and saw her; he came quite close to her without being seen by the woman. But presently, looking down at the water she saw the reflection of a man in it. This startled her very much, but she remained a long time gazing at the reflection; and then turned round, when to her surprise she saw a strange man standing at her back. The man sprung forward and embraced her. As he left he said: “If you have a male child, name him Te Awa-nui-a-rangi, after the stream (*awa*) to which I descended

* Old Taranaki settlers will remember Mahau, a finely tattooed old warrior who lived at Mahoe-tahi, a fortified and pallisaded *pa* in the forties, and where the battle of Mahoe-tahi was fought between the Maoris and Taranaki Volunteers under Major (afterwards Sir Harry) Atkinson, November 6th, 1860, and H.M. troops.

† Which possibly means that he belonged to some visiting canoe from Hawaiki.

from heaven (*rangi*).” Hence is the saying about our tribe—‘*Te Ati-awa o runga o te rangi*;’ ‘Ati-awa from the heavens above.’”

In “Journal Polynesian Society,” Vol. III., p. 12, is a genealogical table of the Middle Island people, showing a descent from one Awa-nui-a-rangi who flourished thirty-seven generations ago, whereas the child referred to in the above story is shown, by the table, to have lived thirty-nine or forty generations ago. There may be nothing at all in this approximation of dates, but it is clear from the nature of the story that it is very ancient. Much the same story is related of other ancient ancestors.

It is a question of great interest to genealogists as to whether this Awa-nui (40 in the table) is, or is not, the son of Toi-kai-rakau, the well-known *tangata-whenua* ancestor. It is possible he may be misplaced on Table No. 1, and really should come two places after Te Manu-waero-rua, which would make the position agree with the East Coast genealogies. But it is impossible now to settle these questions, though they are really all important as the only basis on which dates may be determined.

At twenty-seven generations from the present time we find Te Manu-waero-rua, who was undoubtedly one of the *tangata-whenua* living in New Zealand, and is given by the East Coast traditions as either father or mother* of Toi-kai-rakau, who by a mean of numerous line, flourished thirty-one generations ago. See chapter IV.

The first three names on the line beginning with Tu-mua are called Te Kahui-Tu, and the first six on the right are the Kahui-Ru—*Kahur* meaning a flock, a name which is only applied to the *tangata-whenua* people. These lines do not tell us when the junction occurs with the crew of the *heke*, but the marriage shown at generation twenty-four is about the period.

Te Kahui-Tu people, or Tribe, are said by tradition to have lived at Waitara and the names of their *whare-kura* (houses of learning, council, &c.) have been preserved—they are as follows: Ramaroa, Uro-weka, Puaki-taua, Maruarua, and Poporo-tapu.

Te Kahui-Rangi and Te Kahui-Tawake are also mentioned as tribal names of people who formerly lived at Waitara. These possibly refer to the people shown in Table No. 1 as the descendants of Rakei-haea, and of Rakei-tiutiu, under the heading of Te Kahui-Ru.

The above is from the Ati-Awa tribe; the following is from the

* The name is generally no indication of sex in Maori.

Taranaki tribe which lives south of the Sugar-loaf Islands. The first part is a recitation of the ages preceding man.

“This is the line; it commences with the descendants of Rangi and Papa”:—

TABLE II.

Po-tuatahi (the first age of darkness)

down to—

Po-tua-ngahuru (the tenth age of darkness)

(Descended from the darkness, was darkness again) as follows:—

Po-niho-uri

Po-niho-koi

Po-niho-tara

Tara-mamaunga

5 Te-mamaunga-i-te-po

Potiki-o-te-po

Te Po-i-huri

Te Po-i-keu

Te Po-i-kakai

10 Te Po-i-takataka-ki-te-oti

Tawhito-po

Ka-tipu-te-po

Ko-te-po

Tangaroa

15 Tangaroa-tu-ki-uta

Tangaroa-tu-ki-tai

Kahu-kura-i-te-iho-toki

Pupuke

Mahara

20 Hiringa-nuku

Hiringa-rangi

Hiringa-tau

Hiringa-te-manu-mea

Hunaki-tangata

(The *ira*—mole, flesh mark, ? germ—of man grows, or appears, in the world of Being, and world of Light.)

25 Puia-nuku

Puia-rangi

(Appears the flashing light of heaven)

Tu-whenua

Tu-mounga

Tu-parara

30 Te Hono-atu

Para-karukaru

Para-whenua-mea

Rua-te-whanaunga

Rua-te-manu

(or Lower Ranges) were so called, because they represented a post or pillar of Rua-tupua and Rua-tawhito, who are supposed to have been ancestors in the distant past—indeed so ancient are they that we find these two names in the traditions of several branches of the race. It is questionable, however, if they represent ancestors—at any rate in many cases—but rather, ages, or stages, in the development of man.

Below will be found a *tatai*, or recitation of names in ordered sequence, which is not a genealogical table properly speaking, but is yet considered as a series of mythical stages which have had to do with the genesis of man. There is no doubt it originated, or was part of the system of knowledge of the *tangata-whenua*; and is printed here to preserve it. It also is said to have been used by Te Mounga-roa, the chief and priest, who came here in the “Kura-haupo” canoe, *circa* 1350—a statement which does not conflict, in the writer’s opinion, with that which precedes it.

TABLE III.

1 Huki-nui	Rua-te-korero	25 Te Ariki-o-rangi
Huki-roa	Rua-tupua†	Te Atitau-ma-rehua
Huki-tapua	15 Tama-ki-te-rakeiora	Heke-i-tua
Huki-taketake	Te Whetu-rere-ao	Heke-i-waho
5 Rua-tupua* }	Toko-whia	Heke-i-te-uru-o-rangi
Rua-tawhito }	Toko-manga	30 Te Pipiri
Rua-hora	Toki-kai-ariki	Te Wawai
Rua-maemae	20 Te Rangi-kokouri	Te Whakatea
Rua-tawhito†	Te Rangi-kokomea	Te Rangi-keokeo
10 Te Kahui-rua	Te Rangi-hikaia	34 Te Rangi-whete-ngu
Rua-te-pupuke	23 Te Iwi-kahu	
Rua-te-mahara	Te Whakahaua	

Mere lists of names like the above are of little interest to the ordinary reader, but to anyone who will take up the study of the ancient cult, of which these form a part, they are pregnant with meaning. This, however, is not the place for that—they are printed here to preserve them for the future student, for no where else are they to be found, in their present form.

There is a reference to Te Kahui-rua mentioned above, to be found

* Ka ingoatia a Pou-a-kai maunga, ko te pou a Rua-tupua rana ko Rua-tawhito. (From whence Pou-a-kai ranges take their name, the pillar of Rua-tupua and Rua tawhito.)

† From him descend the *Kahui*, or flock of Ruas.)

‡ (In his time were great earthquakes.)

in a song about the celebrated axe "Te Awhio-rangi,* as follows:—

'Ko "Hahau-tu-noa," te waka o Te Kahui-rua,
I ruku ai nga whatu, i
Ka rewa ki runga ra
Ko te whatu a Ngahue
Hoaina, ka pakaru.'

'Hahau-tu-noa was the canoe of Te Kahui-rua
From which were the stones dived for,
And then floated up above
The Stone of Ngahue,
By spells broken up (were made into axes) etc.'

If we may take this for history, it shows that Te Kahui-rua was a man, or, perhaps, with more probability, a company of men, and they must have made a voyage in the canoe "Hahau-tu-noa" to the West Coast of the Middle Island, and there have procured, by diving, some greenstone, for Te Whatu-a-Ngahue (or Ngahue's stone) is an emblematical or poetical term for the jade; a large piece of which was taken by Ngahue to Rarotonga and Tahiti, and from it were formed the axes with which some of the canoes of the *heke* were made.† This again shows that the greenstone was known to the *tangata-whenua* before the arrival of the *heke*, and consequently they must have been acquainted with the West Coast of the Middle Island, for there alone is it to be found. Moreover, in the Chatham Island genealogies, long before the Moriori migrated to that place, we find a man named Pounamu, which is the Maori name of the jade. Again the Morioris have a tradition of a celebrated axe brought with their ancestors Moe, from New Zealand, named "Toki-a-ra-meitei" which is supposed to be buried at the ancient *tuahu*, or altar, at Owkata, on that island, and, as Mr. Shand says, was described by Tapu, the late learned man of the Morioris, as made of jade. This seems to corroborate the following quotation from Judge F. R. Chapman's paper—"On the working of Greenstone,"‡ where he says:—"Mr. Stack thinks that Ngati-Wairangi occupied the West Coast (of the Middle Island) in very early times, and that the story told him at the Thames that a *hei-tiki* held by the natives there was brought by their ancestor Maru-tuahu from Hawaiki, may indicate that some of the Taranaki and Cook's Straits people obtained greenstone from the Ngati-Wairangi at a very early date, long

* Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. ix., p. 231.

† See "Hawaiki," p. 209.

‡ Tran: N.Z. Institute, Vol. xxiv.

before it became widely known." We shall see later on that Rev. Mr. Stack was misinformed as to Maru-tuahu coming from Hawaiki—his parents lived near Hawera, Taranaki. From information Mr. Stack derived from the East Coast, Middle Island, natives of the Ngai-Tahu tribe (amongst whom he lived for many years), he deduces the date at which those particular people became acquainted with the greenstone as the year 1700. But it will be shown in its proper place that voyages in search of the greenstone were made long before 1700. (See chapter VIII.)

On the subject of the early visits to Milford Sound, on the West Coast of the Middle Island, the following is interesting and has not—it is believed—been recorded before. In January 1891, Mr. Lewis Wilson, then Under Secretary, Marine Department, on his return from Milford, told the writer that the prisoners, who had been sent to that place to make a road up to and along the shores of Lake Ada, in excavating for a house-site, at three feet from the surface a Maori stone-axe was found. The surface of the land was covered with very large trees. On 14th February, 1891, Professor Aldis, who had just returned from Milford, told the writer the same story, which he and Professor Hutton obtained from the gaoler in charge. But the Professor called the object a chisel; it was two and a-half inches broad, not made of greenstone, and was found under two and a-half feet of shingle and sand, the surface of which was covered with large trees. This object must have been lying there a very great many years to have allowed of large trees growing over it. Of course it does not follow that the *tangata-whenua* made, used, and lost the axe.

The story of Tama-ahua,* and the greenstone, belongs to this period of the *tangata-whenua*. It is a Taranaki story. In it he is said to have belonged to "the Kahui-maunga,"† viz.: to those people who, it is claimed, came to Aotea-roa by way of land; "they walked here," which is merely another way of saying that the circumstances of their arrival had been completely lost. In the name Kahui-maunga, we again see the word *kahui*, a flock, applied to a people, denoting its *tangata-whenua* origin. It is also claimed in the account of Tama-ahua, that his wives were daughters of Rakei-ora, grandson of Uenuku, which Uenuku flourished either in Tahiti or Rarotonga three or four

* Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. v., p. 233.

† In a note by Tutange, a leading chief of Patea, he says.... "But there were people here before even Kupe. Tai-kehu was the name of one, and the canoe he came in was named 'Kahui-maunga.'" He lived at Patea.

generations before the *heke*. This particular and mythical story is no doubt founded on a dimly remembered account of a voyage made to the West Coast of the Middle Island, in search of the greenstone. Nor does it contain any more of the marvellous than the ancient Greek account of Jason's search for the Golden Fleece.

The following genealogical table also traces descent from the *tangata whenua*, at least it must be assumed so, for there is not a single name on it that can be traced to the tables of the *heke*. It is from the Ngati-Ruanui tribe of Patea, Taranaki. It commences by stating that Tu-tange-te-okooko-riri, who flourished as late as 1840, "descended from Rangi-nui (the great Heaven father) and Te Whani married Marama (the Moon?) from whom descended :—

TABLE IV.

Tikaro	Ki-taua	
Maukoro	Kuru-tongia	
Te Hohongo	15 Para-tongia	
Taki-aho	Te Ata-rewha	
5 Te Whakapunipuni	Rangi-pinea	
Te Whakamarumaru	Maru-kawau	
Te Whakahohahoha	Hoe-whango	
Matua-tuarau	20 Wero-karihi	
Moe-hangarau-tatangi	Tai-o-hua	
10 Hona	22 Te Rangi-ka-ko	Turi—of "Aotea"
Tai		canoe
Marama	23 Uehenga-ariki	
	Uehenga-puanake = Tane-roroa	
	Rua-nui, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Ruanui tribe, who lived twenty generations ago.	

Of Uehenga-puanake we shall have to speak later on, in chapter VII. It will be observed that there are twenty-two generations down to the time of the *heke*, which seems to imply that Tikaro was the first of this line to come to New Zealand, and that the date is about the same as that derived from the other genealogies preceding.

The following is also a *tatai* from the Ngati-Ruanui tribe, partly no doubt a recitation of ages, or periods, partly a genealogical table, which ends at one who was a contemporary of Turi—of the "Aotea" canoe.

TABLE V.

Te Kahui-ao	Rona
Ao-nui	Mata-o-tu and Mata-whetu-rere
Ao-roa	Rangi-huki
Ao-potango	Rangi-whatino
Ao-whatuma	Hoe-wha
Ao-kehu	Tu-te-tawha
Whaka-tapatapa-i-awha	Tu-tange
Kamaru-te-atinuku	Toka-ariki
Ao-po-iho	Mahuru
Ao-po-ake	Mawete
Ao-whakatiri = Te Uiarei	Tokainga
Maihi	Tamatea-kuru-mai-i-te-uru-o-Tawhiti-nui

The Tamatea with the long name above was the father of Rua-uri, who married Whakaari, who will be mentioned in chapter VII. This Tamatea is said by my informant to be the same as Tamatea-pokai-whenua who was drowned at the Huka falls, Taupo—but I doubt it. At any rate his name shows him to have come from Tahiti here. The above Tamatea is said to have visited Turi at Patea, after the latter had settled down here—and this gives us his period as shortly after the arrival of the fleet in 1350.

THE STORY OF MOUNT EGMONT.

The story of Mount Egmont's travels is of the same order as the account of Tama-ahua, and evidently on the face of it very ancient: Mount Egmont (Taranaki) once lived in the neighbourhood of Tongariro mountain, in the centre of the North Island, whose wife was Pihanga—that graceful wooded mountain, with crater near its top, now filled with water. Taranaki fell in love with the Lady Pihanga, much to the wrath of Tongariro, who ordered him to leave, enforcing his command with so powerful a kick, that Taranaki was driven away to the west. In his flight he followed down the course of what is now the Manga-nui-te-au branch of the Whanganui river, opening up its course down to the main river. Then, in his flight, scouring out the Whanganui river itself. At about ten miles seaward of the Ohura junction there is a group of rocks in the Whanganui river, said to have been dropped by Mount Egmont in his hasty flight. Again, inland of Wai-totara, are other rocks dropped in the same manner. From this place he came westwards as far as the great Ngaere swamp, where he rested, and by his great weight made a depression in the ground, since filled by the swamp. "Continuing his journey," says Mr. Skinner, "he arrived just at dark, at the south-east end of the Pou-a-kai ranges,

which had been in their present position ages before Mount Egmont arrived. Having arrived at Pou-a-kai, he was persuaded to stay the night, and whilst he was asleep he was bound fast by a spur thrown out from the ranges towards the south-east, from which the Wai-wera-iti stream (the ancient name of Stoney River) flows. Awakening in the morning he found himself a prisoner, and has remained there ever since." There are various accounts of the adventures of Mount Egmont, differing in detail, but the main facts are the same. One version says that when he was stopped by Pou-a-kai, he pulled up so suddenly that the top was carried onward, and is now seen in the boulder called Toka-a-Rau-hotu near Cape Egmont.

The kick, or blow, given Egmont by Tongariro is still to be seen in the hollow on its south-east side under what is called Fanthom's peak. The place where Egmont formerly stood became filled with water, and now forms Lake Roto-a-Ira (Rotoaira on the maps). From this story arises the Taranaki saying :—

Tu ke Tongariro,
Motu ke Taranaki,
He riri ki a Pihanga,
Waiho i muri nei,
Te uri ko au—e!

Tongariro stands apart,
Separated off is Taranaki,
By the strife over Pihanga,
Leaving in after times,
Its descendant in me!

With the poetry that is so common to the Maori, he adds to this legend, that when the mists and clouds cover the summit of Mount Egmont, this indicates that he is still bewailing and crying over the loss of his lover Pihanga; and that when Tongariro (or rather Ngauru-hoe) is in eruption and emits smoke and flame, and the volcanic forces rumble down below, this is the enduring anger of the husband against his wife's lover.

Mr. Skinner adds the following :—"Taranaki on his journey from Taupo was preceded by a stone—a female—of great *mana*, called Toka-a-Rauhotu, which acted as a pilot, or guide, keeping well in advance of Taranaki. The day preceding the capture of Egmont by Pou-a-kai, Toka-a-Rauhotu had reached within a short distance of the coast, on the south side of Wai-wera-iti (Stoney river). On awakening in the morning she turned to see if Taranaki was following, and then discovered that Pou-a-kai had thrown out a new arm, or spur, in the night encircling and making a prisoner of Egmont. Toka-a-Rauhotu has remained until the present day, a thing of great veneration to all the tribes, still looking upon her old friend and follower with longing eyes. But the great *mana* (supernatural power) which she once possessed has since the coming of the Pakeha departed, and men who now fearlessly touch her, do not die as in former times. The carvings



PLATE NO. 3.
Teka-a-Rauhotu Rock near Cape Egmont.

on the face of this rock were done generations ago by a party of Ngati-Tama,* seventy in number, who dug up the stone with great labour, and removed it; but the same night it returned to its old resting place. The infringement of the *tapu* implied in this act of Ngati-Tama brought its own reward, for they all died under the influence of *makutu*, or witchcraft. Toka-a-Rau-hotu in its journey from Taupo, was accompanied by many familiar spirits in the shape of lizards, who dwelt around the rock." (Plate No. 3 shows Te Toka-a-Rau-hotu.)

There are numerous similar stories of the travelling of mountains, not alone confined to New Zealand, but found wherever the Polynesian is located—indeed, such stories are world-wide.

Allusion has already been made to the paucity of direct statements as to the ancient peoples of this coast to be found in Maori tradition. It is only from incidental mention, as a rule, that we learn of them; for the arrival of the fleet in 1350, and the consequent absorption of the older element of the population in that of a more masterful people, tended to give predominance to the knowledge and history introduced by the newcomers, and gradually and slowly led to the belief that the country was first peopled by the *heke*. But there are, nevertheless, a few direct references, of which are the following :—

There are stories current on this coast of a people called Maero, who are described as wild men of the woods, and who probably were the remains of some of the original people driven to the forests and mountains by the incoming crews of the *heke*. Even so late as the fifties of last century, they were supposed to inhabit the great forests in inland Taranaki. They have sometimes been confused with the Patu-pai-arehe, or fairies—so called—but this is quite a modern idea. At Puke-koikoi, on the Whanganui river, was a hill occupied by the Maero before that river was inhabited by the present tribes, and which the Maero abandoned after the place had been visited by the newcomers—they did so, because the *tapu* of their homes was desecrated by the invasion of newcomers.

It is a question if in some cases the term Tu-rehu—generally identified with Patu-pai-arehe—does not refer also to the old-time people. When Kupe the navigator called in at Kawhia, on his voyage down the coast, he saw people there whom he called Tu-rehu. The people he also saw at Patea—though said to be birds—were probably men; for

* It seems unlikely that a party of strangers, such as Ngati-Tama were, should have made the carvings.

we also have the statement, "Turi (of Patea) and his son slew the men of this island; the name of that race was Kohikohi."

The Rev. T. G. Hammond of Patea, a conscientious and careful inquirer, who will be quoted several times in the course of this narrative, says (1891):—"I am of opinion from what I can gather that there was a race of men in this and other parts of New Zealand when the Maoris (those of the *heke*) arrived. Hone Mohi Tawhai (a very intelligent and well-educated Maori, long since dead) I am sure, quite believed that the Turehu were a race of real men inhabiting Hokianga when his great ancestor Kupe arrived there." See what Hapakuku Ruia says as to the Turehu on the first page hereof.

Wi Hape, an old man of Te Ati-Awa, living at the Hutt, has stated the fact that on the arrival of the "Tokomaru" and other canoes on the Taranaki Coast, the crews found people living there.

"A people named Te Kahui-toka were found living at Patea when Turi, captain of the 'Aotea' arrived there." Note again the word *kahui* as a name for a tribe. Their names were:—Tokanui, Tokaroa, Toka-whareroa, Toka-kahura and Toka-potiki, probably all brethren.

The following is translated from "Nga Mahinga," etc., by Sir G. Grey—p. 123. It refers to the arrival of Manaia and his party in the "Toko-maru" canoe, *circa* 1350: "Then they paddled on down the coast until they arrived at Tonga-porutu, where the canoe was finally left, and the people travelled on overland to Puke-aruhe, then to Papatiki, then along the beach of Kuku-riki to Mimi* river which they waded, afterwards crossing the Motu-nui plain to Kaweka, and to the Ure-nui river. This river had another name previously, but on the arrival of Manaia and his son Tu-ure-nui at that place, it was named after the latter. They forded this river, then proceeded on overland to Rohutu at the mouth of the Waitara river, where they settled. Now, there were people living there, the native people of this island; but they were killed by Manaia and his party, and the country taken by Manaia, his sons and followers. The reason they were killed by Manaia was so that they should possess the land."

It is unfortunate that Sir G. Grey, having, as he had at that time, about 1849-50, the opportunity, did not follow this statement up and learn more particulars of this ousted people. No doubt his informant could have told a great deal about them, but it is too late now. It will be noted above that Ure-nui had a name before Manaia's time, as no doubt had Waitara, the origin of which we shall see later on.

Mr. Wells, in his History of Taranaki, p. 4, quoting Mr. John

* Wrongly called Onaero in the narrative.

White, says:—"The people found at Wai-tara by Manaia, were called Ngati-Moko-torea"; but I have nowhere else come across this name. No doubt these people were some of the original Tini-o-Awa, later called Ati-Awa.

Tracing, as some portions of the Taranaki tribes do, their descent and tribal name from Awa-nui-a-rangi, they could claim to belong to that wide-spread people, Te Tini-o-Awa, who have been found North of Auckland, in the Bay of Plenty, the Hawke's Bay district, Wairarapa, and with little doubt also in the Middle Island. For all these widely dispersed branches of that ancient tribe take their name from the same man, who was a son of Toi-kai-rakau, and flourished *circa* A.D. 1150. The collective names of the families or tribes of the *tangata-whenua*, differ entirely from those terms used by the immigrants of the *heke*. It is only after the arrival of the latter that we become familiar with the now common *Ngati* as a collective word for a tribe. Previously, the names were *Kahui*, *Tini*, *Whanau*, etc.* *Ngati* is used exactly in the same manner in Raro-tonga as in New Zealand. The Tahitians have the word '*Ati*,' which, as they do not pronounce the *ng*, is identically the same word with the same meaning, but it is not used in the same manner as in New Zealand. For instance, Te Teva and Te Oropaa clans of Tahiti are not, I think, ever called '*Ati-Te-Teva*,' '*Ati-Te-Oropaa*,' etc., though the Missionaries have very appropriately used it in the Tahitian Bible, as in the case of Ati-Iuda, the children of Judah, etc., etc. In Samoa, Ati "denotes a number of chiefs of the same name or title; as '*O le Ati Tagaloa*.'" In Paumotu *Ngati* is a tribe, but in no other of the Polynesian dialects is it found (according to the Dictionaries). Hence the *Ngati* is peculiarly Eastern Polynesian, which we might expect seeing that the *heke* came from there to New Zealand. But did the *tangata-whenua* come from the same quarter of the Pacific to New Zealand?

The writer is strongly of opinion that they did not—that in fact they came from Western Polynesia, but the evidence is so slight, and depends upon so many considerations, that it cannot be stated here. The direct evidence of names does not help us much, though this is the most important of all, for the *tangata-whenua* traditions have mostly been lost. Hamiora Pio, already referred to, states that Maku (who visited New Zealand *circa* 850) came from Mata-ora, a name that cannot be identified. Some of the northern accounts seem to indicate—though this is not certain—that some, at least, came from Mata-te-ra

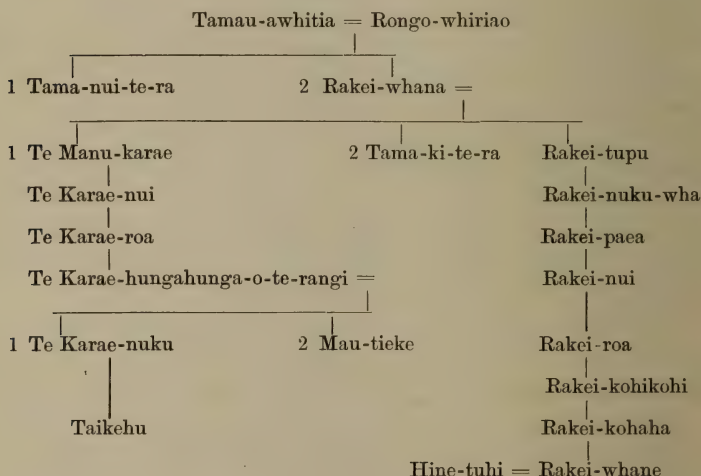
* Many months after the above was written, I found that Judge Wilson, in his "Sketches of Maori Life and History," had come to the same conclusion as myself.

and Waerota, names which equally cannot now be identified; but the general position of which can be fixed from Tahitian and Rarotongan traditions as islands lying to the N.W. of Fiji, or, possibly some of the Fiji Islands themselves. The Hawaiki of the *tangata-whenua* is probably Savai'i of the Samoa group, whilst that of the *heke* is Hawaikirunga, or Tahiti and the adjacent groups.

A very astute man of the Taranaki tribe states positively that his ancestors who came over in the *heke*, found a numerous people here called Kahui-maunga with whom the newcomers amalgamated, and he supports this by arguments which are convincing, and really more like those of a European than a Maori, though the probability is that he never discussed the matter with any one before the writer questioned him on the subject. He claims that Rua-tupua, Rua-tawhito, and Rua-Taranaki shown on the Tables No. 2 and 3, belonged to this Kahui-maunga people, and that their descendants are still to be found amongst the Taranaki tribe.

Again, the Ngati-Ruanui tribe claim the following genealogical table as showing a descent from the *tangata-whenua* :—

TABLE VI.



“This is the aristocratic line of this island from Tamau-awhitia and his descendants, who owned this island, whilst Paikea and his descendants lived in the Middle Island. Tamau-awhitia owned Te Ikaroa-a-Maui (North Island), and he was of the Kahui-maunga. His canoe was the “fishing line” of his ancestor Maui-Potiki. In the times of Turi and his canoe “Aotea,” then were these two canoes amalgamated,

and the land called Aotea-roa." Although the position of Tamau-awhitia cannot be stated with regard to the date of the *heke*, he flourished in New Zealand before Turi of the "Aotea" canoe arrived.

In the above, the "fishing line" of Maui-Potiki may be taken as equivalent to saying, that the origin of these people is unknown—that they date from the time when Maui-Potiki "fished up" New Zealand from the depths, as he is accredited with doing in the case of so many islands—in other words his "fishing" was his discovery of the Islands. This seems to lend support to Judge Wilson's and Col. Gudgeon's theories, that one Maui-Potiki was the ancestor of all the *tangata-whenua* people. One Tai-kehu is said to have been a contemporary of Turi of the "Aotea," but not the man shown last in Table No. VI., and after him was named originally the river called by Turi, Patea-nui-a-Turi,* but formerly known as Te-Awa-nui-a-Taikehu. This change is said to have been made by agreement between the two men, in reference to their two sons, Kura-waiho and Turanga-i-mua—an obscure statement. Tai-kehu's home at Patea was Wai-punga-roa; his *paepae*, or latrine, Peketua; his food-store, Rakenga; his drinking spring, Wai-puehu; his *tutu*, or bird preserve, Rangi-tuhi. The former name of the river next to the south of Patea was Wai-kakahi, renamed by Turi, Tarai-whenua-kura. The traditions of Ngati-Ruanui say that Tai-kehu lived before Kupe and Turi—a point we shall have to allude to later.

This chapter commenced with the statement that very little of the history of the *tangata-whenua* of this coast has been preserved. All that is known or may legitimately be deduced is stated above, and it will be seen how little it is. Their history has been so overlaid by that of the more forceful *heke*, that it has even been doubted if ever such a people existed. But this idea is now exploded and the *tangata-whenua* must take their place as forming a large element in the present population. Some writers have supposed that, prior to the *heke*, New Zealand was occupied by a non-Polynesian race; in the writer's opinion there is no justification for such a belief. It is probably true that on one or two occasions Melanesians may have arrived in New Zealand on board vessels under the command of Polynesians, and that a few *may* have remained in the country. But these would be extremely few in number. So far as we know, they all returned with

* Patea is probably an old name brought here by the *heke* of 1350, for we find there was a *marae* of that name in Tahiti in former times.

their masters to the Central Pacific—they in fact would be slaves brought to paddle the canoes.

We now proceed to discuss the date of Kupe's arrival in New Zealand, and then will describe that element of the population of the Taranaki Coast, derived from the crews of the *heke* or migration of 1350.

CHAPTER III.

KUPE—THE NAVIGATOR.

THOSE among us who take a real interest in the history of the Polynesian Race, and especially those who have studied the matter somewhat deeply with a view of eliminating errors in the Native histories, and bringing the discordant *data* into the semblance of real history, are aware that the date at which Kupe the Polynesian Navigator visited New Zealand is very uncertain. Many Maori traditions accredit him with the original discovery of these islands. It is worth while, therefore, endeavouring to clear the matter up—if it is possible. In the following notes, all that is known of Kupe is for the first time brought together into one focus. We may, perhaps, thus come to some definite conclusion on the subject.

First, it is abundantly clear that Kupe was one of those South-Sea rovers—the product of the age of navigation which, commencing at the period when the Polynesians occupied the Fiji group, ended with the discovery and colonisation of, probably, every island in tropical and temperate Polynesia. Trusting to the Rarotongan traditions and genealogies, we can assign an approximate date to the dawn of this period, which has been shown to be about the year A.D. 650.* It did not close until nearly all Polynesia had been colonised; and the last memorable voyages we have any record of were those that brought the latest emigrants to New Zealand in A.D. 1350. Kupe must have flourished during this era of navigation, for no one has ever suggested that he made his voyages later than the great *heke* to New Zealand, although some traditions state the fact that he was a contemporary of those who came here in the fleet. Others again show him to have lived many generations prior to that period—and herein lies the difficulty which we must now attempt to solve. In the first place let us consider the place-names in New Zealand connected with Kupe.

There are a number of such names, but nearly all on the West Coast of the North Island. The following for instance:—

* “Hawaiki,” 2nd edition, p. 123—Whitcombe & Tombs, Christchurch, 1904.

1. Matakītaki, a large flat-rock on the east side of Palliser Bay, so called because it was here that Kupe first saw Tapuae-uenuku mountain, inland of Kaikoura, standing out snow-covered, apparently in the sea. He staid there some time looking at it (*matakītaki*) hence the name of the place. "His daughters remained at that place. Near the rock is a pool of water which is red in colour with streaks of the same tint running down to it from the rock. These are supposed to be the blood from the girls, which flowed down there when they cut themselves in mourning for Kupe when he left."
2. Nga-ra-o-Kupe (the sails of Kupe). The name of two triangular patches of light-coloured cliff showing against the green vegetation a few miles to the west of Cape Palliser. The story connected with this is, that Kupe and his companion Ngake were camped here on one occasion, when a contention arose as to who could succeed in first completing a canoe sail (*ra*). So each started to work in the evening to make a sail; Kupe had finished his a little after midnight, whilst Ngake did not complete his until dawn. Thus Kupe won. The sails were then hung up against the cliffs, "and may be seen there to this day" says my informant.
3. Nga-waka-o-Kupe (the canoes of Kupe) a range of hills east of Greytown, Wai-rarapa, where the rocks are said to be shaped like a canoe.
4. Nga-waka-o-Kupe (the canoes of Kupe) is the name of a group of rocks in Admiralty Bay, near D'Urville Island, something like a canoe in shape.
5. Te-kakau-o-te-tohi-a-Kupe (the handle of Kupe's axe) a rock on Te-uira-ka-rapa Point in Tory Channel, just opposite Moioio Island, which latter was an old Ati-Awa *pa*. This axe is that with which Kupe is supposed to have killed the octopus, named Te Wheke-a-muturangi, in Tory Channel (see *infra*). Te Ana-o-te-Wheke-a-muturangi, is the name of a cave at Castle Point.
6. Taonui-o-Kupe (great spear of Kupe) Jackson's Head, Queen Charlotte Sound—so called because Kupe cast his spear from the North Island across Cook Straits towards this point, but it was carried away by the current of the Straits. He threw the spear with the object of joining the two islands together; but how this was to be effected my informant could not say.
7. Nga-tauari-a-Mata-hourua (the thwarts of Mata-hourua—Kupe's canoe) a place on the bluff called Pari-nui-a-whiti,

that lies 4 miles south-east of the mouth of the Wairau river (Middle Island), and is called by Europeans, White Bluff.

8. Te Kupenga-a-Kupe (Kupe's fishing net) is a place near Jackson's Head, Queen Charlotte Sound.
9. Te Ure-o-Kupe (Kupe's membrum virile) one of the pointed rocks on Barrett's reef at the entrance of Wellington Harbour.
10. Te-tangihanga-a-Kupe (Kupe's lamenting) Barrett's reef above —so called because Kupe here bewailed his daughters or nieces, when leaving them (see below).
11. Matiu (Soames Island) and Makaro (Ward's Island, south of the former) islands in Wellington Harbour called after two nieces of Kupe.
12. Te-ra-o-Mata-hourua (the sail of Mata-hourua) name of a place near Ohariu, on Cook Straits, west of Wellington; another story says the sail is at Hataitai, Lyell's Bay, Wellington, but on the sea-coast.
13. Te-punga-o-Mata-hourua (the anchor of Mata-hourua) a stone with a hole for the cable, lying on the sandy flat north-east side of the railway bridge, Porirua.
14. Mata-hourua canoe is said to have landed at Wai-tawa, just inside Porirua heads, south side.
15. Wairaka, a rock on the coast near Pae-kakariki, said to represent one of Kupe's daughters.
16. Orongo-mai-ta-kupe, a place near Cape Egmont, but whether it has anything to do with Kupe is uncertain.

Fanciful as the above names are, they seem to show a connection with the celebrated navigator. All these places are on the shores of Cook Straits, excepting Numbers 3 and 16, and there are also two rocks on the coast near Rimu-rapa, Sinclair's Head, near Wellington, named Toka-haere and Mo-huia, which represent Kupe's daughters mourning for him, when he crossed the Straits to prosecute his discoveries in the Middle Island.

Passing over for the present Kupe's connection with the Patea river, Cook Straits, we now come to the places connected with his name in the north, the information having been gathered by Mr. John White some fifty or sixty years ago.

17. Te-au-kanapanapa (the flashing current) a projecting point to the east of Whangaroa harbour, East Coast, where the water is clear and sparkling, and here tradition says Kupe first landed when he came to New Zealand. It may be added that this place is traditionally known as one of the starting points for voyages made back to Hawaiki, and no doubt the fact of

this being Kupe's first land-fall has something to do with its subsequent use as a point of departure. In this respect it resembles Ke-ala-i-Kahiki (in Maori, Te-ara-ki-Tahiti), a point on the S.W. coast of Hawaii Island, where voyagers in former times took their departure for Tahiti and the Southern groups.

18. Tapuae-putuputu. Mr. John White says this was one of the names of Kupe's canoe, and in it was brought the native rat (*kiore*), and a certain kind of fern-root (*roi*), called *putuputu*, which was planted at Ohuri, Waima, and Hokianga. It is probable that *putuputu* is the name of some food plant introduced by Kupe and which did not flourish, for of course the common fern with the edible root, is native to New Zealand.
19. The anchor of Kupe's canoe is said to be at Rangiora point, on the west side of The Narrows, Hokianga Harbour.
20. The bailer of Kupe's canoe, as a stone, is to be seen not far from Te Whakarara-a-Kupe, (see below) at a place called Te Tou-o-Puraho.
21. Another bailer is pointed out on the beach near Te Kohukohu, Hokianga Harbour, said to belong to Kupe.
22. Kupe's dog. "At the mouth of the Whirinaki river, Hokianga, the old natives point out a stone in the shape of a dog, which is said to represent Kupe's dog left there when he visited that part." It is on the east side of the river.
23. Te Whakarara-a-Kupe. Kupe once gave a great feast at a place between Kerikeri, Bay of Islands, and Whangaroa, and instead of using poles to support the baskets of food (as in *hakari*?) he used stones. These stones are to be seen at this day at Tarata-roto-rua. (? Who were the people to whom Kupe gave the feast.)
24. "Kupe, when travelling from Kerikeri to Hokianga, carried a stone which he left in a valley of a branch stream of the upper Waihou, at a place called Te Puru. This is at the head of Hokianga river. When any Maoris pass that way they utter the *karakia* or invocation called *whakauru* or *uruuru-whenua* which is always used by strangers entering a district new to them. When doing this they cast on the stone sprigs of *karamu* or *kawakawa*, or pebbles which they have brought, and then pass on, taking care not to look back at the stone." There are several *karakias* extant relating to this ceremony, which is a placating of the *genii locii*.
25. At Wharo (? Waro) on the coast north of Hokianga are the

foot-prints of Kupe's feet, indented in the rock. Near there also the foot-prints of his dog are to be seen.

26. The real name of Hokianga Harbour is Hokiaunga-a-Kupe (the returning of Kupe) so called because it was from this harbour he departed on his way back to Hawaiki. "He came to this land to look for Tuputupu-whenua, and searched all over the south before he finally discovered him at Hokianga—whence he returned—hence the name. He was the first man to come to this Island."
27. The *toheroa* shell-fish, found in great abundance on the West Coast, north of Auckland, is supposed to have been placed there by Kupe (as well as others) "as food for his daughter Tai-tuauru-o-te-marowhara." The great rolling waves on that coast have been named after her. So says the proverb: "*Tai-hauauru i whakaturia e Kupe ki te maro-whara.*" The western sea, opposed by Kupe with the war belt.

The last statement, but one, to the effect that Kupe was the first man to come to this island may not be correct, but it seems apparently to indicate, at any rate, in the minds of many that his voyage must have been long anterior to the date of arrival of the fleet in 1350, notwithstanding the persistent accounts in some of the histories of the "Aotearoa's" voyage, that Kupe gave to Turi the directions for finding New Zealand.

Kupe is supposed to have separated the North from the South Island, which action is referred to in the following *ngeri*, or words sung to a war dance:—

Ka tito au, ka tito au,
Ka tito au ki a Kupe,
Te tangata nana i hoehoe te moana
Te tangata nana i topetope te whenua
Tu ke a Kapiti, tu ke a Mana,
Tau ke a Aropaoa.
Ko nga tohu tena
A toku tupuna a Kupe
Nana i whakatomene Titapua,
Ka toreke i a au te whenua nei.

I will sing, I will sing,
I will sing of Kupe,
The man who paddled over the ocean—
The man who divided off the lands;
Solitary stands Kapiti, separated is Mana,
Removed is Aropaoa.
Such were the great signs
Of my great ancestor Kupe.
'Twas he that caused Titapua to sink,
(Nor) will I leave any land remain.

(Notes.—Kapiti and Mana, two well-known Islands in Cook's Straits. Aropaoa, the island forming the east side of Queen Charlotte's Sound. Titapua, an island that is said to have stood off the east entrance of Cook's Straits, and from whence albatross were obtained; now sunk below the sea, according to Maori tradition. Te-rau-o-Titapua (or titapu), feather-plume of Titapua, has become emblematical for a plume, or ear-pendant of albatross feathers. This is a strange tradition, for there are no signs of a submerged island. Can it have referred to the Chatham Islands where the albatross is very common?)

There are numerous references to Kupe in old Maori poetry, some few of which that are pertinent to this story are quoted below :

Kia koparetia te rerenga i Rau-kawa	Let the eyes be blind-folded in crossing Rau-kawa,
Kia huna iho, kei kitea Nga-whatu	To conceal them so Nga-whatu may not be seen.
Kia hipa ki muri, ka titiro atu	Only when they are passed may they be looked at.
Kia noho taku itl, te koko ki Te Whanganui	Then let me rest in the bay at Te Whanganui
Nga mahi a Kupe, i topetopea iho.	The result of Kupe's cutting off.

(Notes.—Rau-kawa is Cook's Straits. Nga-whatu, the Brothers' Rocks, in passing which for the first time, in old times, the eyes of strangers were blind-folded so that these rocks might not be seen ; otherwise a storm would arise. Te Whanga-nui is Cloudy Bay, on the Middle Island.)

Kei te kotikoti au—e	I am cutting up,
Nga uaua o Papa-tua-nuku	The sinews of the Earth.
Nga taero a Kupe—e.	The obstructions of Kupe.

Here the last line refers to the *kareao* (supplejacks), *tataramoa* (brambles) and *tumata-kuru* (spear grass), *ongaonga* (nettles), and other obstructions to travel in the forest and open, which are called *nga taero a Kupe*, the obstructions of Kupe, when he was exploring the country. This expression is now often applied to mental difficulties and obstructions.

We may now consider what tradition says as to Kupe's visit to New Zealand, and will first translate the earliest account that appeared in print, viz. : that to be found in Sir George Grey's "Nga mahi a nga Tupuna," p. 109—published in 1854—which describes the departure of the "Aotea" canoe from Rai'atea Island for New Zealand. This account is said to have been furnished to Sir George by Rawiri Waimako, father (? or uncle) of Tauke, the present learned man of Ngati-Ruanui, living at Okaiawa, near Hawera.

... "Then Rongorongo (Turi's wife) went to fetch a 'way' (a canoe) for them from his (Turi's) father-in-law, Toto ; and 'Aotea' was given as a canoe. Waiharakeke was the name of the river where 'Aotea' (as a tree) grew, and Toto had hewn it out. When the tree fell to the ground it split, and 'Mata-atua' canoe was formed of one part, 'Aotea' of the other. Whilst 'Mata-horua' canoe was given to Kura-marotini, 'Aotea' was given to Rongorongo (Turi's wife) Toto's two daughters. 'Mata-horua' was the canoe that travelled to many distant lands, when Reti was the man in charge.

"Now Kupe and Hotu-rapa went out to sea to fish, and when the canoe of these two was anchored, Kupe let down his line. When the line got to the bottom, Kupe thought he would deceive his companion

with it, so said to his younger brother—‘Friend Hotu, my line is caught, dive for it!’ Said Hotu-rapa—‘Give it to me’ (let me try to get it up.) Kupe replied—‘It cannot be done, but you jump into the water and dive for it.’ But it was deceit on the part of Kupe, in order that Hotu-rapa might be drowned, and then he would be able to have Kura-marō-tini (Hotu-rapa’s wife) for himself. So Hotu-rapa dived, and when he had got to the bottom, Kupe cut the painter of the canoe, and proceeded to carry off Kura-marō-tini. When Hotu-rapa came up to the surface, the canoe was a long way off, so he called out—‘O Kupe, return the canoe for me!’ But Kupe did not do so; and so Hotu-rapa was drowned, and Kupe went ashore, where he secured Kura-marō-tini as a wife, (he ran away with her) and came on to this island (New Zealand) where *he found no men*. Then he crossed the straits of Rau-kawa, and there entered the Awa-iti (Tory channel) where he met the fierce current of Kura-te-au which forced him back, but he tried again and succeeded, and then got into the whirlpool. Here was the Wheke-a-Muturangi (a cuttle-fish or octopus) which, as soon as he heard the canoe, rose up to overwhelm Kupe’s canoe. When it came to the surface, Kupe saw it, and considered how he should overcome this *taniwha*. Then he decided what to do. The tentacles of the cuttle-fish were approaching to sink the canoe, whilst Kupe was strenuously and continuously cutting them off. But what was that to this *taniwha*! Now, Kupe bethought him of another plan by which he would kill it. So he took out his calabash and threw it on the water, where it was immediately seized on by the cuttle-fish who thought it was the canoe. As soon as its body got on to the calabash to press it down, Kupe stood carefully on his canoe, and as carefully lifted his axe, and with a tremendous blow severed it in two and killed it.

“His work was this: his separating of the land; he saw two men, Kokako and Ti-waiwaka (both names of birds). But Kupe did not remain, he returned to the other side (to his home). He left his signs here, but returned himself. On his arrival he found Turi there, and it was in the *fourth year* (after his return)—after Hawe-potiki was killed—that Turi came hither (to New Zealand).

“Then was Toto’s canoe ‘Aotea’ dragged down to the water as a means of transit for Turi. As the canoe approached the sea side, Kupe heard it and went to see, and then said to Turi—‘O Turi, when you go, look to the *rising of the Sun*, and keep the bows of the canoe in that direction.’ Turi replied—‘Come! let us both go together!’ Then said Kupe—‘Will Kupe return?’ But he added—‘When you cross over to the other side, go along till you see the river found by me, the mouth of which is to the west; there are the people I saw,

two of them. If you stand on one side (of the river) and call out they will answer; that is the place.' ”

The account then describes Turi's voyage and his settling at Patea, and winds up as follows:—“ This returns to the handing over by Toto of ‘ Aotea ’ to Turi ; she was launched at night, and as Kupe heard the scraping of the keel on the sand he went to the shore to see Turi : and said to him—‘ Depart (in peace), look to the *rising of the Sun*, and do not divert the bows of the canoe from where the sun and the star rise ; keep the bows there, ’ ” and then repeats what has been said about the two men (or birds) at Patea.

In this story there are one or two rather precise statements ; first, that Kupe found no one at the places he landed at, nor saw any signs of inhabitants beyond the birds—which, however, may have been men's names ; secondly, that Turi was to steer constantly to the sun rise ; and thirdly, that Turi left Rai'atea four years after Kupe had returned. The first statement may be correct, but the second is, I think, certainly wrong as I propose to shew later. It must be remembered that this account of Kupe's voyage is the foundation of nearly all that has been printed about him since.

The Rev. R. Taylor, in his “ Te Ika-a-Maui, 1855,” gives much the same account as Sir Geo. Grey, but says Kupe came in search of his wife Kura-marotini, who had been carried off by his younger brother Hotu-rapa—just exactly opposite to what the above account states.

In “ Ancient History of the Maori,” Vol. I., p. 73, John White, translating a Ngai-Tahu history of Rata, says:—“ The name of the axe which Ngahue gave to Kupe was ‘ Tauira-apa ’ ”—implying that Kupe was a contemporary of Ngahue, the other navigator who is said to have discovered New Zealand, and also to have taken back greenstone to the islands from which he came. We do not know at what period Ngahue flourished, except that probability seems to indicate the same generation as that in which the fleet came to New Zealand. At page 188 of the same work, Vol. II., we find the Ngati-Apa people of Rangitikei saying that Raka-taura, after a visit to New Zealand, remained in Hawaiki, but sent Kupe to explore the land, and on his return he found the fleet just preparing to depart and advised them to hasten to New Zealand. Raka-taura, one of the ancestors of the Waikato tribes is supposed to have come here with the fleet in 1350.

We will now see what some other accounts say as to Kupe : Karipa Te Whetu (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. II., p. 149) says:—“ At

the time that Kupe came to this country with his children... he came along over the ocean until he arrived at New Zealand. His course was directed *towards the western (sea)*. He called at Wai-te-mata (?) and afterwards at Manukau... then Waikato... Whainga-roa, (Raglan) Kawhia, Mokau, Waitara, Patea and Whenua-kura. Between Patea and Whenua-kura he gathered some vegetation into a bunch (*puia otaota*) and bound it up—the meaning of this was a *taking possession of the land*. He then proceeded... to Hataitai (in Port Nicholson)... then Wairarapa and as far as Te Matau-a-Maui (Cape Kidnappers) from whence he returned to Te Rimu-rapa (in Cook's Straits)... Kupe settled down at Te Rimu-rapa with his two daughters Mohuia and Toka-haere. ...Kupe then returned northwards... and came to where he had left the *puia-otaota*... then on to Kaipara where he left this island, and finally arrived at Motiwhawha island where *he met Turi* who was on his way here—to New Zealand... Turi asked Kupe, saying—'O Kupe! did you not see any remnants of people (*morehu*, survivors) in the island (you visited)?' Kupe replied—'I did not see any, but I heard the voices of some grunting; one was on top of a bar or rail, and his companion was turning head-over-heels.'... Kupe said to Turi—'O Turi! Proceed, let your course be direct past the the snowy mountain (Mount Egmont) and when you see a river beyond, and a bunch of vegetation tied up, that is the place (for you); let your home be there.'... Turi found the mark at Whenua-kura, and remained at Patea. After a lengthened stay he... went on to Waikanae where he set up his boundary... named Meremere."

We may ask here why it was necessary to set up a boundary? It could only be as against other people, and there could be no other than the *tangata-whenua*. This may be assumed to be the Ati-Awa account, from North Waitara, a people who are not generally descended from the crew of Turi's canoe, the "Aotea."

In another account, in my possession, from Ngati Rua-nui (most of whom descend from the crew of the "Aotea") we find Kupe directing Turi, before he started, how to steer, as follows:—"O Turi! let the bow of the canoe be directed *to the rising of the Star*. When you reach that land go straight to the river I discovered; you will see a river opening to the west, that is it." After calling at Rangi-tahua island to refit the canoe, Potoru in the "Ririno" canoe arrived.... Turi said to Potoru—"Kupe told me to keep the bows of the canoe to the *rising of the Star*." Potoru replied—"Let us direct the bows of our canoes to the *rato, sunset*." So they separated, each taking his

own course, and Potoru is said to have perished with all his companions. But, a friend of mine from the Taranaki tribe holds that Potoru did not perish, but came on to New Zealand, and landed on the South Island, in support of which he quotes an old song, as follows:—

Ka iri auo koe i runga i “Te Ririno,”	Thou camest on board “Te Ririno,”
Te waka tautohetohe no te tere i a Turi	The canoe that caused dissensions in
	Turi’s fleet,
Ka pae a Potoru ki te au o Raukawa	And Potoru was cast ashore in Rau-
	kawa current,
Ka eke i te ranga i O-Tama-i-ea.	Landing on the bank at O-Tama-i-ea.

This is part of a lament by Tu-raukawa of Ngati-Rua-nui, in which he compares the loss of his friend to the disaster that befel Potoru. In this song, Rau-kawa is Cook’s Straits, and O-Tama-i-ea is the boulder bank at Nelson Haven, South Island.

This same man says—“Turi met Kupe on the ocean on the latter’s way back to Rangi-atea (Rai’atea) when Turi asked him what kind of a land it was that Kupe had been to. “It is not much of a country; I found one part that is good, although all the trees along the coast are curved inland by the strength of the wind” (which is often the case on the West Coast). “There are two rivers which open to the west (*ka parara ki te uru*), and the soil there is *one kakara*—sweet scented soil—which will suit your *kumaras*.” “Are there people there?” asked Turi. “The only people I saw were two, the *piwai-waka* (the fan-tail bird) who hops about on the *pae-tautara* (latrine), and the other lives in the woods on the mountains, and who cries out ‘ko, ko, ko,’ and whose name is *kokako* (the New Zealand Crow).

It is clear from the above quotations that the Taranaki tribe generally believes Kupe to have been a contemporary of Turi of the “Aotea” canoe, and, therefore, to have flourished about the first half of the fourteenth century. As to the sailing directions, I will deal with them later on. The quotations also seem clear on the subject of the absence of inhabitants when Kupe visited New Zealand. But rebutting evidence will be quoted shortly as to the people Turi and others found here. In the meantime let us see what other accounts say as to the period of Kupe, and in following this out, we shall have to deal with a good many genealogies.

Hetaraka Tautahi of the Nga-Rauru tribe, of Southern Taranaki, who dictated to me the best account, yet printed, of the “Aotea’s” voyage, and which was published in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IX., p. 211, does not say a word about Kupe, nor of any direction given to Turi to steer by, though he did say, in explaining the “*awa*,” or

karakia, recited to secure a propitious voyage, in the lines on page 221 *loc. cit.*, that Rehua was the star they steered by, and Rehua is believed to be Antares. Nothing is said of any previous inhabitants, beyond this, that Turi's son fought many battles in the north and on east coast with the *tangata-whenua* (for which see *infra*).

Mr. John White in his lectures, delivered in Auckland, 1861,* says:—"The canoe Mamari is spoken of by the Nga-Puhi natives as that in which their ancestors came from a distant country, the name of which is not given by them." (Wawau is the island named in other Nga-Puhi traditions, which is the ancient name of Porapora, close to Rai'atea island of the Society Group). "The canoe came, it is stated, in search of a previous migrator. A man named Tuputupu-whenua had arrived in New Zealand, and a chief called Nuku-tawhiti came in the canoe Mamari in search of him. After Nuku-tawhiti had reached the land near the North Cape, he fell in with Kupe. Kupe is spoken of as the most energetic and enterprising of all the chiefs of the different migrations from Hawaiki. He circumnavigated the whole of the North Island, giving names to places as he sailed along the shores.... This Kupe told Nuku-tawhiti that Tuputupu-whenua was on the West Coast. Having found him, Kupe had returned from that part of the land, therefore, he had called in at Hokianga, which word means a 'going back,' 'a returning,' Kupe having returned from that part of the coast where the Heads of Hokianga are situated, hence the name."

Mr. White then quotes many of the names of places in the north already enumerated, as connected with Kupe, but replaces Kupe's name by Nuku-tawhiti. At page 185, Mr. White says:—"It is generally admitted among the natives that the chief Kupe, who came in the 'Mata-horua' canoe was the first who took possession of New Zealand—this he did by naming the rivers and mountains from Whanganui to Patea. Turi is the chief mentioned as having next arrived in the canoe 'Aotea,' and he gave names to all the rivers and mountains from Patea to Aotea."

Now, it was stated by old Tawhai, of Hokianga, a descendant of Nuku-tawhiti of the "Mamari" canoe, that the latter vessel arrived in New Zealand 'about the time of the fleet,' *i.e.*, in 1350, and the genealogical descent from the same man to the present day agrees with the date very well, and as Nuku-tawhiti was a contemporary—as was

* See the reprint in T. W. Gudgeon's "History and Doings of the Maoris," Auckland, 1885.

Turi (according to the traditions quoted)—it would seem fairly established that Kupe came here about the time of arrival of the fleet. Moreover, Table No. 7, given in the margin supports it also. This is

TABLE VII.

25	Whare-ukura
	Uhenga
	Pou-tama
	Whiti-rangi-mamao
21	Kupe†
20	Hine
	Tahu-ai-rangi
	Tau-tunu-kereru
	Tu-tawhio-rangi
	Riki-maitai
	Whiti-a-rangi
15	Kari-moe
	Takoto
	Papa-uma
	Tahito
	Hoko
10	Te Kura-mahi-nono
	Te Rangi-wawahia
	Kere
	Te Ahu-rangi
	Hine-i-taua
5	Whakamarino
	Te Ropiha
	Hori Ropiha

from Hori Ropiha of Waipawa, who says in reference to Kupe—"The food with which he fed his children was wind, which he left for Mata-o-peru, Rere-whakaitu, and Matangi-awhiowhio, but, indeed, for all his children in various places in Aotea (New Zealand), where they are to be seen represented by rocks at this day. In Port Nicholson are his nieces Matiu (Soames Island) and Makero (Ward's Island) but there are many others."

If, as I have suggested,* Uhenga, shown in the margin, was the man of that name, whose other name was Tangiia, the great navigator and ancestor of the Ngati-Tangiia tribe of Rarotonga Island, then this line agrees fairly well with the Rarotonga lines which makes Tangiia to have flourished twenty-six generations ago. But too much reliance must not be placed on the early names in this table (see *infra*).

So far, a considerable amount of evidence goes to show that Kupe's voyage to New Zealand occurred in the same generation that saw this country overrun by the last migration, which came from Tahiti and Rarotonga about 1350. But we have now to consider Kupe's period from the point of view: firstly, of other genealogies than that just quoted; secondly, the statement quoted that Kupe found no inhabitants here; and thirdly, the steering directions he is supposed to have given Turi.

First, as to other genealogies:—It is here that our difficulties commence, for it can hardly be expected at this date, when all the old and learned men are gone, that we can get exact information—we have to take what seems the most correct, comparing and checking them wherever possible. The subject of genealogies interests but a few, but they are our only guide to dates, and in that sense are important;

* "Hawaiki," *loc. cit.*, where, however, the generations are counted back from 1850—not 1900 as in these pages.

† Kupe is said, by another account, to have had other children, Rua-tiki and Taiapua, left in New Zealand.

how important they were to the old-time Maori is well-known, for they entered into many of their sacred *karakias*.

From what we know of the coasts visited by Kupe, we may expect to find his descendants either amongst the Nga-Puhi tribes of the North, or the tribes inhabiting Cook's Straits; and this is the case. Taking the Southern tribes first, we find the following—the numbers denoting generations back from the year 1900 :—

TABLE No. VIII.

(See *ante*, table 7.)

Whare-ukura
Uhenga
Pou-tama
White-ranga-mamao

21 **Kupe**

(Rangi-tane tribe.)

TABLE No. IX.

Awa-nui-a-rangi
Uhenga
Pou-tama

25 **Kupe**

Tu-koroua

(Ngati-Ira tribe.)

TABLE No. X.

20 **Kupe** = Aparangi

Hau-nui

Popoto

(Rangi-tane tribe.)

TABLE XI.

22 **Kupe**

Rua-a-wharo

Maku

Tapiki

(Ngati-Ira tribe.)

TABLE No. XII.

Wharekura

Uhenga

Pou-tama

Whiti-ranga-mamao = Whiro-te-tupua

23 **Kupe**

Ngake

Tamatea-kahia

Tutea

(Rangi-tane tribe.)

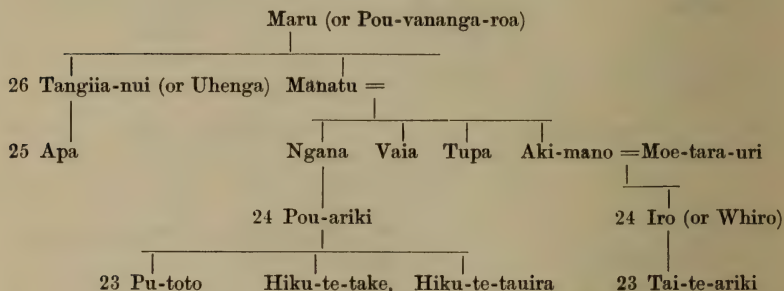
Another line branching from Table No. 8 gives twenty-five generations back to Kupe, who is, in that particular account, said to have had many children. It is difficult to say which, if any, of these are right, but I think we may safely leave out the ancestor Awa-nui-a-rangi, for though his period is about right in table 9 above, it is improbable that he could have been an ancestor of Kupe. We can now take the mean of six lines, and get this result :—That Kupe was born 22·66 (say twenty-three) generations ago; and, if Uhenga *is* really the same as Tangiia-nui of Rarotonga, who was born twenty-six generations ago, then we shall find that these lines agree fairly well, thus :

TABLE XIII.

Tangiia	..	Twenty-six generations
Poutama	..	Twenty-five generations
Whiti	..	Twenty-four generations
Kupe	..	Twenty-three generations

Now, we have another check on this, if the statement in Table 12 is correct, that Whiti-ranga-mamao married Whiro-te-tupua; by Table 13, she was born twenty-four generations ago—and Whiro was a contemporary of Tangiia, born twenty-six generations ago (for which see the Rarotonga M.S.S. in my possession, and “Hawaiki,” *loc. cit.*). Of this there can be no doubt, for Whiro’s son Tai-te-ariki was adopted by Tangiia and became the ancestor of the Ngati-Tangiia tribe of Rarotonga. There are two heroes of the name of Whiro in Polynesian history, who are often confounded one with another, as we shall show. According to Rarotonga history (Journal Polynesian Society, IV., p. 130) the following is the connection between Tangiia and Whiro.

TABLE XIV.



Pu-toto, and his two brothers, when voyaging from Porapora to Upolu, Samoa, were drowned in a great storm, whilst Whiro escaped (see Rarotonga M.S.S., and J.P.S., Vol. IV., p. 130).

It will be observed there is a fair agreement amongst these various tables as to the period of Kupe, and the conclusion is that he flourished a generation before the mean date of the great *heke*, *i.e.*, 1350.

But it is now necessary to consider the Nga-Puhi account, as stated by Hone Mohi Tawai, and Hare Hongi, both competent genealogists. Tawhai’s Table was sent to me in 1892, and he also gave an identical copy to the Rev. T. H. Hammond, who furnished me with a copy. (Hare Hongi’s table will be found in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. VII., p. 36.)—See tables on opposite page.

The following are quoted from the tables previously alluded to, being those parts which bear on the question :—

TABLE XV. (H. M. Tawhai.)	TABLE XVI. (H. Hongi.)	TABLE XVII. ("Hawaiki," p. 275)	TABLE XVIII. (Ra'iatea Island.)	TABLE XIX. (J.P.S. Vol. XII., 144)	TABLE XX. (Rarotonga M.S.S.)
42 Kupe Matu Maea Mahu Nuku-tawhiti No. 1 Rangi-nui Papa-manku Mo-uriuri Mo-rekareka Mo-rakitu	Kupe Maea = Nuku-tawhiti Nuku Rangi-nui Papa-uenuku Moe-reka Moe-raku Moe-uri	Ao-ki-rupe Ao-ki-vananga Ao-ki-atu Raki-tu Raki-roa Te-Ariki-tapu-kura Moe-ititi Moe-rekareka Moe-metua Moe-tara-uri = Akimano	Tuitui Ra'i-te-tuui Ra'i-te-papa Ra'i-te-meremere Ra'i-te-hotahota Ra'i-i-mate, etc. Moe-ititi Moe-te-re'are'a Moe-tara-uri = Fa'imana	Rua-aka-taito Rua-aka-tipu Rua-te-taritan Ngana-apu Ngana-eia Ngana-te-tupua Moe-ititi Moe-rekareka Moe-te-rauri 33 Iro-ma-oata	Otu-te-ra-nuku Otu-te-ngana Aka-otu Otu Rangi Moe-ititi Moe-rekareka Moe-te-rauri 25 Iro Tai-te-ariki
32 Whiro Toi Apa Rauru (<i>Nga-Puhi</i>)	Whiro-te-tupua and Hua Tai-te-ariki	24 Iro Tai-te-ariki	25 Hiro	33 Iro-ma-oata Tai-te-ariki	25 Iro Tai-te-ariki
	(<i>Nga-Puhi</i>)	(<i>Rarotonga</i>)	(<i>Ra'iatea Island</i>)	(<i>Aitutaki Island</i>)	(<i>Rarotonga Island</i>)

Notes.—Table 15 is from H. M. Tawhai; confirmed by A. Taonui (see G. 8, 1880). The names after Toi, I believe, have been added (or the upper ones added to Toi), for no other line that I am aware of shews Toi to be a son of Whiro. This table is also confirmed by another—see Monthly Review, Vol. II., p. 158—which shows Kupe to have flourished forty-one generations back from Paraki Te Waru.

Table 16.—H. Hongi gives no clue to the date of Whiro, unless we may take his son Tai-te-ariki as one, which will be dealt with later on.

Table 17 is, I should say, from the best authority of all, from Te Ariki-tara-are, (or Potiki-taua,) High Priest of Rarotonga.

Table 18 is from "Les Polynésiens," by Quatrefages, confirmed by Miss Teuira Henry of Tahiti. It was written down by Rev. Mr. Ormond early in the 19th century, and was used at an important investigation under the French Govt. as to the title of lands, and acknowledged to be correct. The original gives the wives of each man, and it is of undoubted authenticity.

Table 19 is by Isaraela Tama of Aitutaki Island, collected by Major J. T. Large (see J.P.S. Vol. XII., p. 144).

Table 20 is also from Te Ariki-tara-are, of Rarotonga.

The following may be stated as the results flowing from these tables: On three lines recited by the Nga-Puhi tribe—all the later generations coming down to different individuals—Kupe is said to have flourished 41, 42, and 43 generations, and Whiro 32 generations back from the year 1900. Table 19 from Aitutaki Island also shows Whiro to have flourished thirty-three generations ago. Therefore, four lines confirm one another, and it is evident Whiro's immediate ancestors are the same on all six lines. This also takes us back to about the period at which New Zealand was first colonised as shown in Chapter II. hereof, and the persistent statements made in Maori traditions to the effect that Kupe found no one living in New Zealand is thus accounted for.

So far the evidence seems consistent, but it is upset by the following:—Of all the learned men of the Polynesian race, who have left records of their history, Te Ariki-Tara-are, high priest of Rarotonga, who flourished during the first decades of the 19th century, must, I hold, take the first place as an authority. Any one who reads his papers (not yet printed) relating to the times of Tangiia-nui, the great chief, voyager, and coloniser of Rarotonga, and of Whiro (the Rarotongan Iro), can only come to the conclusion that Tabe No. 14 is correct, and that consequently Whiro flourished twenty-four generations ago, and that all the names given in Tables 15 to 20, beginning with Mo or Moe—were the immediate progenitors of this same Whiro. As confirming this, take H. Hongi's Table No. 16, where Tai-te-ariki is shown as a son of Whiro's, just the same as in the Rarotonga tables. Again, take Table 18, where Hiro (the Tahitian form of Whiro) is shown to be twenty-five generations ago, and this same Ra'i-atea authority quotes Marama-toa also as a son of Whiro's, as do Maori traditions. The story of the death of Ngana-te-irihia, quoted by H. Hongi (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. VII., p. 36) at the hands of Whiro, is related exactly the same as the Rarotongan history of Whiro, excepting that it was one of Whiro's wives who was thus killed by catching the lashing of the *rau-awa* of the canoe round her throat. Again, H. Hongi—and others—shows Hua to be a brother of Whiro's, according to Maori tradition, and I have shown, I think with strong probability, that this Hua after the wars and troubles in Wawau (Porapora island) fled to Hawaii, and became an ancestor of the people of those islands—he flourished according to Hawaiian history twenty-five generations ago (see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. II., p. 41). Again, the same incident related of Whiro in Maori Traditions, as to the killing of the child, and the burial of the body under the canoe, then preparing for a voyage, is told almost in exactly the same words

in the Hawaiian traditions in connection with the voyage of the priest Paaō (? Maori Pakao) from central Polynesia to Hawaii. Now Paaō flourished twenty-six generations ago, according to the genealogies given by Fornander, which seems to shew that the incident is the same in both Maori and Hawaiian traditions. (See Dr. N. B. Emerson's "The Long Voyages of the Ancient Hawaiians," a paper read before the Hawaiian Historical Society, May the 18th, 1893.) In the Rarotonga M.S.S., a great deal is related of Whiro's voyages—from Fiji and Samoa to Vavau (Porapora, Society Group), and to other islands, and on one of them on starting from Upolu, Samoa, he sings a very long song enumerating the names of different lands and people; among the latter is Taeta (in Maori, Tawheta), and this is probably the enemy of Tangiia's grandson, Uenuku, according to Maori history, and Whiro's contemporary. Whiro also mentions Piu-ranga-taua, Marama-toa, and Tautu, his daughter and sons, who will avenge his defeat at the hands of the Puna tribe of Ra'iatea Island. Probably this Piu-ranga-taua is the same as Piua-i-te-rangi shown by H. Hongi to be Whiro's daughter, and who was a warrior, etc., as expressed in the old Maori chant (given to me by H. Hongi; last two lines slightly altered by me):—

Ko Tane-matoe-rangi, ko Peranui	It was Tane-matoe-rangi, Peranui
Ko Te-Ara-o-hinga	And Te Ara-o-hinga
I tu ai te peka i te turanga parekura	Caused the greatest to fall on the fatal field
Ko Marama-nui-o-Hotu	And Marama-nui-o-Hotu,
Te Tini-o-Uetahi, taia Peranui,	The host of Uetahi, who slew Peranui,
Kahore te peka i riro i te hau tama-tane,	The chief ones did not fall by the hands of the famed one,
I ta te tungane, i Tai-parae-roa.	That is, the brother's, at Tai-parae-roa.
Riro ke te peka i ta te tuahine	The chief ones were taken by the sister's
I hinga ki te manowai	And fell in great numbers
I ta Piua-ki-te-rangi.	By the valour of Piua-ki-te-rangi.

The incidents hinted at in this song, are corroborated by both Rarotonga and Aitutaki story, and they describe the destruction of Ngati-Puna by the brother and sister and their tribe. It has been necessary to say this much about Whiro, because of the connection shown between him and Kupe on tables 15 and 16, for Kupe is *not known* to any of the Eastern Polynesian traditions or genealogies that have come to my knowledge. He may be shown under a different name; and from the well-known fact that many of the Polynesians changed their names at the occurrence of some important event in their lives, it seems probable that he may yet be recognised under another cognomen.

In the meantime, the evidence seems to me to point to the fact that

one Kupe came here just before the *heke* of 1350, that is, that a man of that name did come about that time, but that the Kupe whose name is attached to so many places in New Zealand was another individual, and a much earlier voyager. If we take the period of Whiro as twenty-four generations ago, and then take the ancestral line given by Nga-Puhi, from him back to the first Kupe, we shall find that he flourished either thirty-two or thirty-four generations ago. Now, this will bring him to the date of the Polynesian Navigator, Te Ara-tanga-nuku—very nearly thirty-seven generations as against say thirty-three—or to Uhenga-ariki thirty-three generations ago; both of whom were noted voyagers. I would make the suggestion that Kupe was another name for one of these, or some other noted voyager of that period, when the ancestors of Maoris, Rarotongans, and Tahitians were sailing all over the Pacific, discovering new lands, settling on them and introducing new food-plants for the benefit of their descendants. If this suggestion is allowable, then we can understand why Kupe is said to have seen no people, for the inference is, that the *tangata-whenua* first settled in the north and north-east parts of New Zealand, and as Kupe's voyage was practically confined to the West Coast, he would, at that early period, not find people there. Whereas in the time of the second Kupe, *i.e.*, just before the arrival of the "Aotea," there were undoubtedly people living in Cook's Straits.

The steering directions said to have been given by Kupe to Turi, *i.e.*, to steer for the sun rise, or for the star Rehua (Antares) cannot on any reasonable hypothesis indicate a course to New Zealand from any of the Islands of the Pacific. On the other hand, if we suppose these directions to have been handed down from the original Kupe, who probably lived either in Samoa or Fiji (where Te Ara-tanga-nuku and his descendants lived), as being the course for fetching Hawaiki (or the Society Islands), from whence the Maoris came to New Zealand, then the course is perfectly right. What seems probable, is that the sayings and doings of two men of the same name have been, in process of time, confused one with another—in the same way that the genealogies have suffered in order that individuals might be able to trace descent from some noted personage—a thing that has often occurred.

Although I made constant inquiries both in Tahiti and Rarotonga as to Kupe, I got very little information except what was told me by Tati Salmon, the high chief of Papara, S.W. coast of Tahiti, which was to the following effect:—"That 'Upe is a high chief's name at Ra'iatea. It is still in use, and was lately taken by one of the chiefs who

were, in January, 1897, fighting against the French at that Island. It was in ancient time the name of a celebrated warrior." It may be added, that as the Tahitians have lost the letter "k" in their dialect, 'Upe is the same as Kupe. There is yet another supposition, and that is that some voyager—perhaps Ngahue, who is known to have visited New Zealand shortly before the *heke* of 1350—may have had the name Kupe given him because he emulated the former Kupe in the extent of his voyages.

So much has been published as to the extent of the voyages of the ancient Polynesians that no one, who has considered the evidence, can doubt the fact of their having been practically all over the Central and Southern Pacific besides far north to Hawaii and the islands lying North-west from the latter group, where some of their old gods hewn out of stone have been found (see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. III., page 153).

During these extensive voyages, the early ones of which were made long before our own race ever undertook more than coasting voyages, the Polynesians acquired a complete knowledge of the ocean and all its phenomena. They are naturally most acute observers of nature in all its aspects. The points of the compass were named with almost as great nicety as those of the modern navigator of civilized races; the currents of the ocean were shown and depicted on their rude charts; they had noticed and recorded the fact of the decreasing temperature of the waters as they sailed south; the principal stars were known and named, the times and places of their rising and setting well known. Every variation on the surface of the ocean was to them a sign; the change of colour, the presence or absence of fish and birds, the floating seaweed or rack of any kind, each told a tale that helped them on their way. Those amongst us who have thought of these things must have asked themselves the question—How did the Polynesians discover New Zealand, so far to the south of their usual routes? It seems to me there is an answer to this, which, at any rate has strong probability in its favour, though not mentioned in the traditions. It is well-known that the *kohoperoa*, or long-tailed Cuckoo (*Endynamus Taitensis*) comes to New Zealand every year in October, and departs again in February. The bird is a native of Central Polynesia, and is known in Fiji, Samoa, Tonga, Niue, Ra'iatea, the Society Group, and Tahiti, and as far east as the Marquesas. The name Ko-hope-roa—in which *hope* means tail, *roa*, long—was no doubt brought by the Maoris when they came here. *Hope* in the sense of tail is now an obsolete word, though still used in Tahiti.

With the acute powers of observation possessed by the Polynesians,

the sight of one or more of these birds passing overhead from a southerly direction would at once indicate to them the presence of land in the direction from which the birds were flying; and the repetition of the flights in several following years would make such an indication a certainty, and by following up the direction the birds came from, they would be sure to make the New Zealand Coasts.

It is also possible, but not so probable, that the *Amo-kura* (*Phaethon rubricanda* or Tropic bird) may have played its part in indicating the presence of land. It appears to breed at Norfolk Island, and is found occasionally near the North Cape of New Zealand. Its two red-tailed feathers are very highly prized by the Maoris.

The *Kuaka* (*Limosa Novæ Zealandiæ*, Curlew or Godwit) may also have assisted in discovering New Zealand, for it arrives here from the North about October, and departs in March for Norfolk Island, The New Hebrides, The Solomon Islands, New Guinea, Timor, Celebes, Japan, China, and finally Siberia.

Of the three birds mentioned, the *Ko-hope-roa* is probably the one that has most assisted in the discovery of New Zealand, because its home is in the parts of the world inhabited by the Polynesians, when their period of navigation was at its height. There are some few statements in the old *karakias* relating to the accounts of voyages to New Zealand, that may possibly be construed into references to this or other birds, but they are so indefinite that little reliance can be placed on them.

CHAPTER IV.

TOI AND HIS DESCENDANTS.

IN connection with the ancient history of the Taranaki Coast, and indeed of New Zealand generally, there is another important question to be settled, which has proved a source of confusion and trouble to all who have seriously considered Maori History. I refer to the ancestor named Toi, with various sobriquets, such as Toi-te-hua-tahi and Toi-kai-rakau. On the one hand we have one of that name who undoubtedly was a celebrated *tangata-whenua*, living at Whakatane in the Bay of Plenty, some eight or nine generations prior to the arrival of the fleet of canoes in *circa*, 1350; and on the other, we have a man of the same name, usually called Toi-te-hua-tahi who flourished about the same period in Hawaiki,* and from whom many people trace descent. Were these one and the same man or not?

It is quite certain that the second name has been applied to the aboriginal chief of Whakatane, very probably through confusion of the two; or, *kai-rakau*, the wood-eater, may be merely a sobriquet applied to Toi-te-hua-tahi on account of his living on the native products of New Zealand, before the *kumara* and *taro* were introduced to the country. The name, unfortunately, is not an uncommon one on the ancestral lines. For instance, we have one Toi shown on the Rarotonga genealogies, who flourished sixty-five generations ago, and E. Toi of fifty-four generations ago (the E. in this case being simply a vocative introduced into the old *karakias*), another who flourished some thirty-four generations ago, and others mentioned in Rarotonga history. In New Zealand there are also several, but all subsequent to Toi-kai-rakau.

It will be convenient in considering this question, first to see what

TABLE XXI.

	Ta
32	Toi
	Ruarangi
30	Rauru
	Whatonga = ? Wai-iti
28	Kahukura
	Maru (or Pou-wananga- roa

the Eastern Polynesians say about this ancestor and his descendants, and in order to illustrate their position I quote the marginal genealogy (Table No. 21) from Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IV., p. 129—being the table supplied by the Rarotongan teacher Matatia to the Rev. Mr. Stair, in 1839, in which I have added the letters 'h' and 'wh'

* Hawaiki is here, and generally, used in this work as meaning the Eastern Pacific, from whence the Maoris came to New Zealand.

26 Tangihia (or Uhenga)	wanting in the Rarotongan dialect to show
1 Mоторо 2. Pou-te-anuanua	the Maori forms of the names. The last
24 Uenuku-rakeiora	named, Ruatapu, was a contemporary of
Uenuku-te-aitu	those who came to New Zealand in the fleet
22 Ruatapu	in 1350, and No. 26 is the celebrated Tangiia, so often referred to in last chapter. It

is right to say that I have cut out two names after Whatonga, because Te Ariki-tara-are, chief priest of Rarotonga, to whom I trust more than any other, places these two names several generations prior to Kahu-kura. The above is the only table from Eastern Polynesia that shows Toi and the three following names.

Of Toi, the few references to one of that name in Eastern Polynesian traditions that I have come across are as follows: Col. Gudgeon tells me that "Daniela Tangitoro, of Mangaia Island, says that several of their ancestors came from New Zealand to A'ua'u (ancient name of Mangaia Island, as is also Manitia) such as Maui, Te Karaka and Toi, but the real name of the latter was Pou-te-anuanua. These were separate migrations; Toi came in the 'Oumatini' canoe to Nuku-te-varuvaru, and thence to A'ua'u where he built a *marae* called 'Tau-matini.'"

The probability is that this Pou-te-anuanua is one of the sons of Tangiia of Rarotongan fame, who, however, is said to have been killed in the great battle that took place near Papara, West coast of Tahiti, when Tangiia was expelled from that Island by Tutapu, and before he settled in Rarotonga (*circa* 1275). This cannot be the Toi mentioned in Table 21, but may be that particular Toi who is shown by Maori tradition to have been alive in (probably) Tahiti a little before the great *heke* to New Zealand took place in 1350. We have evidence of voyages backwards and forwards between New Zealand and Eastern Polynesia prior to the *heke*, and it is quite possible this Toi may have visited this country and thence returned to Mangaia and those parts, and settled there.

Major J. T. Large very kindly made some inquiries at Mangaia Island in reference to this Toi, whose name in full appears to be Vae-vae-Toi-o-te-aitu, so called on account of his having a growth or projection on his heel. The following is the descent from him to the present day (see Table No. 22 in margin:—

TABLE No. XXII.

- 23 (Vae-vae) Toi (o-te-aitu)
 Pou-te-anua
 Te Kama

It will be seen that this table agrees fairly well with the Toi shown on Table 24, as derived from Te Arawa tribe; but like so many others it is impossible to say if it is the same man.

- 20 Taianu
 Mau-ti
 Arera
 Kirikovi
 Kavaru
 15 Vai-toroa
 Karari
 Ngongi
 Pare-ina
 Kavi
 10 Te Au-marama
 Metua-iti
 Kaitua
 Ngangati
 Panako
 5 Rongo-ika
 Daniela
 Daniela Tangitoro

If Pou, Tangiia's son, actually did make a voyage to New Zealand, then possibly we may find the record of it in the visit made by one Pou-ranga-hua to Hawaiki from New Zealand, and back again, in the very peculiar myth of Te Manu-nui-a-Ruakapanga, as told by Mr. Best in "Wai-kare-moana," p. 36, and also in its West Coast form in chapter VII., under the heading of "Pou and Te-Manu-nui." This same bird, Ruakapanga, I may add, is known to Rarotongan traditions under the same name. The island Nuku-te-varuvaru is not known at the present day. It is somewhat remarkable, and an apparent confirmation of Pou-ranga-hua being identical with Pou-te-anuanua, that in the Maori account of his visit to Hawaiki,

the name of the place he went to is Ahuahu-te-rangi, where Rua lived. Now Ahuahu (or A'ua'u) is the ancient name of Mangaia Island. Mr. Best supplies me with the following information as to people, contemporaries of this Pou-ranga-hua:—

TABLE XXIII.

Rongo-a-tau				
Hoaki	Taukata	Kanioro = Pou-ranga-hua		Tuturi-whatu
	Mahanga-i-te-rangi		Kahu-kura	

In the above table, Hoaki and Taukata are the two men who were wrecked on the coast near Whakatane, and who disclosed to Tama-ki-Hikurangi and the other *tangata-whenua* people of that place, the existence of the *kumara* in Hawaiki, which led to the building and voyage of the "Aratawhao" canoe to Hawaiki, and which voyage again had an influence in starting the fleet for New Zealand in 1350.

In Rarotonga we have the name of Toi recorded in Te Ara-nui-a-Toi, the name of the ancient road which runs round the island. It is usually about twelve feet wide and, of its twenty to twenty-two miles of total length, about three-quarters of it is paved with blocks of lava and coral. It is along this ancient road the villages were situated formerly; now, they are along the modern road, which is close to the coast everywhere, whilst the ancient road is about an average of a

fourth of a mile inland and near the foot of the hills. At the sites of the ancient villages are to be seen, sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, rows of stone seats where the chiefs sat and gathered the news from the passers by. Here also were some of the old *maraes*, of which Arai-te-tonga is a specimen, described in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XII., p. 218. This road is a stupendous work to be undertaken by the Polynesians without other means of transporting large blocks of stone than manual labour. The Ara-nui-a-Toi, means "The great road of Toi." I could get very little information as to who Toi was or as to his period, but Te Aia-Te-Pou, a well informed man, told me that "Toi was a great man and a warrior; he came to Rarotonga long before Tangiia and Karika (*circa* 1250). He was from Iva (either The Marquesas Groups, or Hiva in Fakaahu Island, Paumotu Group). This was the *heke* of the Iva people to Rarotonga—there were seventy (*i.e.* 140) of them. It was Toi who made the road which surrounds the island. He slept (lived) on this road, hence the name Te Ara-nui-a-Toi. I do not remember the name of the canoe in which he came." Makea, Queen of Rarotonga, told me Toi came to Rarotonga before the time of Tangiia, and one of his descendants named Tumore was then (1897) living in the island. Again, I heard that Toi himself lived in Hawaiki (either Samoa or Tahiti) and that he sent his slaves to Rarotonga to build the road, who called it after him. It seems to me, this information, though brief, points to Toi shown on Table No. 21, living six generations before Tangiia, as the particular man who built the road. Though we do not hear of him as a voyager, he lived in the period when Polynesian navigation was at its height, and, moreover, we do know that his son Rauru made more than one lengthy voyage in central Polynesia, and long voyages were so common at that period that little was thought of them, and the greater number occurred without any record of them being handed down.

Of Ruarangi, Toi's son, according to Table 21, derived from Rarotongan sources, and also shewn on Table 25, from Taranaki sources, I find nothing related of him so far as Eastern Polynesia is concerned. But of Rauru, his son, the earliest mention of him (if it is the same) is to be found in Samoan legends,* where one of that name (Laulu) is connected with the story of a stolen fish-hook (*pa*) which had magical properties. In this legend is shown the intimate relations that then existed between Samoa and Fiji, where, according to Rarotongan Traditions, the ancestor of both Maoris and Rarotongans were then living. But it is perhaps more probable that the Samoan story is

* Reports A.A.A. Science, vol. i., p. 447.

connected with that of the Maori story of Ra-kuru (which would be La'ulu in Samoan) for the incidents are much the same. (See A.H.M., Vol. I., p. 170.)

We also have notice of one Rauru—from Maori Tradition—in the Rev. T. G. Hammond's paper on "The Taro" (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. III., p. 105) who flourished in Hawaiki, and made a voyage in his canoe "Pahi-tonoa," with one Maihi, in his canoe named "Haki-rere" to the island of Wairua-ngangana to obtain the *taro* plant, which had been reported by Maru in a previous voyage to that island. This is possibly the same Rauru mentioned in Table 21. Where Wairua-ngangana island is, is uncertain; but as Rauru was at that time living in Hawaiki, which in this case there can be little doubt was Samoa or Fiji, the island from which they obtained the *taro* must be away to the north and west of those groups, indeed may be in Indonesia, to explain which is outside the scope of the present work.

I have another note about the introduction of the *taro* to the Polynesians which is as follows:—Maru (apparently the god of that name) from his place in the sky, saw the *taro* growing in Wairua, a lake in the island of Mata-te-ra. He looked down and communicated with Maihi, who lived at Hawaiki, and said to him—"Maihi! there grows the sweet food the *taro*." Then, turning towards the lake, added—"Go and look for it." Maihi went, and then brought back the *taro* to Hawaiki.

This story has a very ancient tone about it, and no doubt refers to the same incident as in Mr. Hammond's account, but it says the place where the *taro* was found was in Mata-te-ra, an island well-known in Maori and Rarotongan traditions, as lying to the north and west of Fiji, but which island it is impossible to say, for it does not now bear that name. It is probably one of the Indonesian Islands.

The next we hear of Rauru is also from Maori tradition, but relating to events which occurred in Hawaiki (see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IX., p. 212 *et. seq.*), and he is certainly the man mentioned in Tables 24 and 25. He was one of the leaders of the migration from the west—from Samoa or Fiji—who settled in Rangi-atea (Ra'i-atea) Island of the Society Group, from whence his great great grandson Turi migrated to New Zealand in about 1350. It was just about this period that several families were moving to the East, and settling at Ra'i-atea, Porapora and Tahiti, and adventurers were scouring the seas from Fiji to the Marquesas, some times on friendly visits or seeking new homes, but apparently more often making predatory expeditions and fighting for the love of fighting.

Rauru, or Laulu, is a name still current in Samoa, for I remember

in 1897 a splendid specimen of humanity bearing that name, and living at Fale-o-puna, on the north shore of 'Upolu Island—he was six feet five inches in height, but his brother is six feet seven inches high.

Whatonga (or as Rarotongans pronounce the name, 'Atonga) was the son of Rauru, but we have no record of the doings of this man, though one of that name who lived, according to Te Ariki-tara-are, thirty-eight generations ago, was a noted voyager, living in Sava'ii, of the Samoa Group.

So far the order of descent by this Rarotongan line is exactly the same as that of the West Coast Maoris (see Table 25), but the next individual—Kahu-kura—is, I think, not shown on any Maori line in this particular connection. But, as this man was, according to Rarotonga history, one of the voyagers of that period, it is possible he may be the individual of that name, whom the Ngati-Porou tribe say brought the *kumara* to New Zealand. The Rarotongans have a singular story about this Kahu-kura, and the directions which he gave for the burning of the body of Tu-tapu-arua-roa, who fought Tangiia at Rarotonga and was there killed. Kahu-kura appears to have had his home in 'Upolu Island, Samoa, and from there made a voyage in the "Manuka-tere" canoe to Fiji, "and the lands his father had visited," which were to the south, south-west, and west of Samoa, amongst which was the land named Nuku, which possibly may be intended for Nuku-roa, an old name of New Zealand. He afterwards discovered Tonga-reva Island to the north of Rarotonga.

Kahu-kura's son, Maru, was also a voyager, and on his first voyage from Samoa he was accompanied by his father who settled on an island named Tokutea, which may be the little island of that name not far from Atiu of the Cook Group, but from what is known of it the island is not a particularly desirable place of residence.

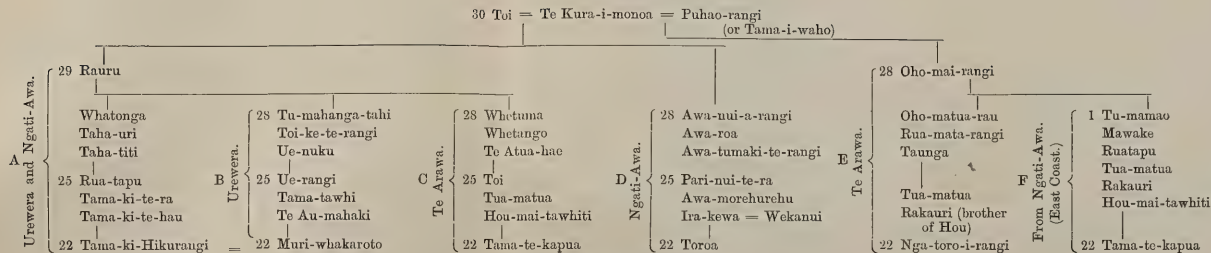
Maru's son was Tangiia (or Uhenga), the great Rarotongan navigator and coloniser who flourished twenty-six generations ago. This man Tangiia had also a third name, Rangi, which was given to him as a child by his grand-father Kahu-kura.

So far we have followed the lines down from Toi, according to the Rarotonga traditions. We now have to ascertain how the above agrees with Maori history, and in this, as in the case of Kupe, the genealogical record must be considered.

Here we are met with such an abundance of information, differing so much, *inter se*, that it is difficult to decide on the exact descent

TABLE XXIV.

EAST COAST TRIBES.



NOTES.

Table No. 24.—This Toi, is usually called Toi-kai-rakan, but sometimes Toi-te-hutahi. His wife is nearly always given as Te-Kura-i-monoa, and Puhao-rangi is her "Heavenly husband," about whom there are some rather pretty stories. He is essentially the East Coast *tangata-whenua* ancestor. His other wives were Hine-i-kapu-te-rangi and Mokotea according to East Coast tribes.

Line A.—Is from a very large number of Urewera and Ngati-Awa lines, some of which differ, but that given is the usual one, and was recited to me by Kereru Te Puke at Ruatoki in 1893. Tama-ki-Hikurangi was the chief living at Whakataene, when the "Mata-tua" canoe arrived with Toroa and his migration.

Line B.—Is also from the Urewera. Muri-whakaroto was the wife of Tama-ki-Hikurangi.

Line C.—Is from Te Arawa and will be found in an old *karakia* collected by Dr. Shortland about 1842, from an old priest who desired that it should not be published until after his death. So that it was not printed by Dr. Shortland until

1882, in his "Maori Religion." This shows a Toi at twenty-four generations back, which may possibly be the same Toi whose other name was Pou-te-anuanua, son of Tangiia. The number of generations back agrees, i.e., 25 (see Table 22). His father, Te Atua-hae, may be another name for Tangiia, or, it may be his mother's name. Tama-te-kapua—Toi's great grandson—was captain of the "Arawa" canoe.

Line D.—Is from Ngati-Awa of Whakataene. It is said by Tu-takana-hau of the Urewera tribe, that the second and third names on this line are the same individual. Toroa was captain of the "Mata-tua" canoe.

Line E.—Is from the Arawa tribe, and Nga-toro-i-rangi was the priest of the Arawa canoe. It is doubtful if Oho-matua-rau is not another name for Oho-mai-rangi. Puhao-rangi also had, by Te Kura-i-monoa (Toi's wife) Tawhiri-oho, Oho-taretare, and Oho-mata-kamokamo, according to the Arawa people.

Line F.—Is from the Ngati-Awa tribe of the East Coast.

from Toi. I have before me thirty-nine genealogical tables* showing descent from this man, in which the discrepancies are numerous, and many of them, doubtless, wrong. But there is one noticeable difference which distinguishes those derived from the East Coast, from those of the West Coast tribes, which is common to them all, and that is, that whilst the West Coast tables shew Ruarangi to be the son of Toi and father of Rauru, the first named is not generally known to the East Coast people,† at any rate in that connection, though in this the West Coast tables agree with that of Rarotonga, where Ruarangi is shown as a son of Toi (see Table No. 21). It seems to be probable that Ruarangi was a brother, not father, of Rauru—and a son of Toi's other wife, Huiarei, whilst Rauru was a son of Te Kura-i-monoa (see Table No. 24).

The two tables (Nos. 24 and 25) are typical of the descent from Toi to the time of the great *heke* of 1350, as derived—firstly, from the East; secondly, from the West Coast tribes. I should be sorry to say that either of them are absolutely correct, but the evidence has been carefully considered in each case, and the most probable succession given; weight being given to the source of the authority from whom the information is derived. Taken altogether, the data on which these tables are based have a fair agreement, and do not differ more than in the case of our own race, as illustrated by the “Visitations” of England, and the numerous genealogical publications so popular at the present day, and which, unlike those of the Polynesians, are derived from written records.

* A great many of which were supplied to me by Mr. Elsdon Best, as also were some of the notes on which the rest of this chapter is based.

† There are very few exceptions to what is stated in the Text. But Mr. Best supplies me with an Arawa table in which the succession is, Toi, Rauru, Ruarangi; another, Toi, Rauru, Tahatiti, Ruarangi. Another from Ngati Awa: Toi, Ruarangi-i-mua.

TABLE XXV.

WEST COAST TRIBES.

31 Toi-te-hua-tahi = Te Uiarei (or Huiarei).	
30 Ruarangi-tane (or Apa).	
29 Rauru	29 Whatonga
Rakau-maui	Rutanga
Puru-ora	Apaapa-rangi
Pou-matua	Kahu-kura-ariki
25 Puha-i-mua	25 O-amaru
Rongotea-tau-karihi	Tahatiti
Rongotea-tai-marama	Ue-nuku (<i>ariki</i>)
22 Turi	22 Rua-tapu

NOTE.

Table 25.—Is taken from Mr. Hare Hongi's table (*Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. VII., p. 40), after comparing it with six other tables in my possession, which differ somewhat from it in the order of the names, etc.; but agree on the whole, especially in all shewing Ruarangi to be the father of Rauru, thus according with the Rarotongan line (Table 21). Turi was captain of the "Aotea" canoe, and Rua-tapu contemporary with him and the commanders of the other vessels of the *heke* of 1350. It is of interest to note, that probably O-amaru and his father Kahu-kura-ariki (on Table 25) may possibly be identical with Maru and his father Kahu-kura on the Rarotonga line (Table 21)—there are two generations difference.

It will be noted in the preceding tables that the period of the *heke* to New Zealand is taken as twenty-two generations back from 1900. This is based on the mean of a very large number of genealogies from numerous tribes—many lines are much shorter and many much longer, but the only way to get a fair approximation is to take the mean. The lines from the Bay of Plenty, *i.e.*, Ngati-Awa, Ure-wera, etc., are generally shorter than the mean number, and yet we cannot doubt that the date of the arrival of their ancestral canoe "Mata-tua" with the fleet is correct, and that the number of generations is right when deduced from all the tribal histories.

It is now possible to compare Tables 21, 24 and 25—*i.e.*, Rarotongan with East and West Coast tribes of New Zealand; they are as follows:—

Rarotonga period of Toi	..	Thirty-two generations ago.
New Zealand—East Coast	..	Thirty generations ago.
West Coast		Thirty-one generations ago.

This is so close an agreement, that the conclusion is forced upon us that the Toi of New Zealand and Rarotonga are one and the same man—especially so when the names of his son and grandsons are seen to be identical; a fact also confirmed by finding the same names in the same order on the Moriori genealogies of the Chatham Islands, though there shown as gods.

Granting then, that the Rarotongan and New Zealand ancestors are one and the same man, it still leaves the question in this position: That it does not account for the persistent belief that Toi-kai-rakau, from whom so many New Zealand tribes trace descent, was essentially the *tangata-whenua* ancestor who lived in New Zealand. I have given all that I can ascertain about the Rarotongan Toi and his descendants, and it now remains to relate the Maori account of them.

The belief in Toi having flourished in New Zealand, is so universal amongst the tribes that we cannot possibly doubt the fact. He lived at Whakatane, in the Bay of Plenty, where his head-quarters were in the old *pa* known as Kapu-te-rangi, situated on a peak of the range lying about half-a-mile to the east of the modern township of Whakatane, the ramparts and ditches of which are perfectly distinct and well preserved to this day. He was buried in a swamp named Te Huki-o-te-tuna, not far from Whakatane. The boundary of the lands held by him and his people, and dividing them from those owned by another aboriginal people—Nga-Potiki—is well known to the natives at this day, and as it is as well to preserve it, I give it as follows, from information supplied to me by an Ure-wera chief in 1900—the line can be followed on the Government maps:—Starting from the coast of the Bay of Plenty, it runs up the Waioeka river to a hill called Te Karoro-o-Tamatea, thence runs generally south-westerly from peak to peak of the forest-clad Ure-wera country to Nahunahu, (between Wai-o-tahe and Wai-mana rivers) thence to Ure-roa, Nga-kuha-o-Uru, Nga-mahanga, Te Patiti, Te Rekereke, O-tau-hina, Taruahoro-pito, Paepae-whenua, Tiritiri, Tutae-pukepuke, Te Whakaipu, Te Pu-kioire, Arikirau, Te Whakatangata, Maunga-taniwha, thence generally westerly to Te Ahi-a-nga-tane, Pakira-nui, Otu-makihoi and thence to Taupo Lake. The above is a great tribal boundary, dating from very ancient days.

Connected with the name of Toi, is Te Whaiti-nui-a-Toi, (Toi's great gorge) situated on the Whirinaki river eighteen miles S.S.E. of Fort Galatea, and where there is a considerable settlement of the Ure-wera and other tribes.

Toi is generally called Toi-kai-rakau (or the wood-eater) because, in his day, there were neither *kumaras* nor *taros* in the country, and

his food consisted of the vegetables native to the country. It is clear the name was given by some of those acquainted with the superior foods brought from the islands, and it would be of importance to know at what date it was given, but there is no evidence at all on this subject. Kereru Te Pukenui, late chief of the Ure-wera tribe, calls him Toi-te-huru-manu after his father Ngai-huru-manu. He is sometimes called Toi-te-huatahi (Toi-the-only-child), and is invariably known by this latter name on the West Coast.

There are many conflicting statements about Toi. At a meeting held at Whakatane in 1895, it was stated by a chief of Te Arawa, that Toi went to Hawaiki in the "Ara-tawhao" canoe, after the arrival of Hoaki and Taukata from those parts, but that his son Rauru, and his grandson Whatonga remained here, and this statement was finally concurred in by the people there assembled. A learned man of Ngati-Awa, of the Bay of Plenty, insists that Toi-te-huatahi and Toi-kai-rakau are one and the same man, who dwelt in New Zealand, but that the Toi of Hawaiki was named Toi-te-atua-rere, who never came to New Zealand at all. Another Ure-wera authority says that Taukata and Hoaki came to Whakatane from Hawaiki, and found Toi-kai-rakau living in his *pa* at Kapu-te-rangi, and that after the "Ara-tawhao" canoe was built, Toi went to Hawaiki, taking Hoaki with him, and that they returned to New Zealand with the *kumara*. The places they went to were Pari-nui-te-ra* and Ngaruru-kai-whati-whati, Maru-tai-rangaranga being the chief of Hawaiki at that time. Old Tu-takana-hau of the Ure-wera, a very good authority, also says that Toi came from Hawaiki—possibly meaning that his ancestors did. Toi's second son was Te Awa-nui-a-rangi, and from him the people—Te Tini-o-Awa, a very ancient tribe—take their name. They have now become absorbed in other tribes, but at one time were a numerous people in this country. It is related by one of his descendants, a man fairly well up in their tribal lore, that Awa-nui-a-rangi left this country, and went to Hawaiki in the "Ara-tawho" canoe with Hoaki, and that all his descendants (shown on Table 24, D) were born and died there except the last, Toroa, who was captain of the "Mata-atua" canoe. Ira-kewa, Toroa's father, is believed to have come to New Zealand before the fleet, where he married Weka-nui, Toroa's mother; but he returned again to Hawaiki, and on the leaving of the fleet for New Zealand, he gave certain directions about the river Whakatane, especially of a cave which he assigned to his daughter Muriwai, and

* I was informed, at Tahiti, that this is the name of a place not far from the town of Papeete in Tahiti Island.

which cave has only disappeared within the last fifteen years, having been covered up by a landslip.

It will be observed that many of the above statements are contradictory, and yet the impression left on the mind is, that there were voyages backwards and forwards between Hawaiki and New Zealand, during the eight or nine generations separating the period of Toi from that of the arrival of the fleet.

The following, however, appears to be the belief of the best authorities amongst the Ngati-Awa and Ure-wera tribes, who are the direct descendants of Toi. These old men hold that Toi lived and died in this country, and that the mysterious visit of Hoaki and Taukata, when the *kumara* became known to the Maoris, took place in the times of Tama-ki-Hikurangi (Table 24, line A), only a few years before the coming of the fleet. It was Tama's daughter, Kura-whakaata, that found these two half-drowned voyagers sunning themselves on the beach, and who led them to her father's *pa* where they were kindly received. One of them produced from his belt some *kumara kao* or preserved *kumara*, on tasting which, Tama asked how this food might be obtained. The others then pointed out a large drift (*tawhao*) log of *totara* lying on the beach, and explained that by making a large sea-going canoe, Hawaiki, the land of the *kumara* might be reached. The "Ara-tawhao" was then hewn out, duly prepared and provisioned, and Tama-ki-Hikurangi, with a large crew put to sea, bound for Hawaiki, taking with them Hoaki, one of the two voyagers who brought the *kumara-kao*; the other, Taukata, being left behind at Whakatane. Before starting the various *karakias*, appropriate to the occasion, were duly recited by Tama—who appears to have been captain and priest. In the "*Awa*" or *karakia*, used to calm the waves of the ocean, occur the following lines, which have a considerable interest:

Kapua hokaia i runga o Tahiti-nui o Te Tua,
Ka tatau ana ki runga o Kapu-te-rangi
Puke i Aotea, ko Toi te tangata o te motu.

The clouds bestriding above on Great Tahiti of Te Tua,
That (also) rests above on Kapu-te-rangi,
The hill in Aotea, where Toi is the man of the island.

In this we have Great Tahiti mentioned (the larger part of Tahiti is still called Great Tahiti, whilst the Taiarapu Peninsula is the Lesser Tahiti) which was their objective in Eastern Polynesia, and the name of Te Tua, one of the well known chief-families' honorific names, or titles, used by the chiefs of the Teva clan of the west side of Tahiti and Taiarapu, for which see "Memoirs of Te Ari'i Taimai" of Tahiti: Paris, 1901. No doubt these people knew exactly where they were

going, and would be sure of finding relations there. The "Ara-tawhao," it is said, did not come back to New Zealand, but the *kumara* was brought by the fleet which sailed for New Zealand not long after the "Ara-tawhao" reached Tahiti or Hawaiki (and it is perhaps necessary to call to mind that the Society and Paumotu Groups, with Tahiti, are known to the Rarotongans as Hawaiki-runga, or windward Hawaiki, in contra-distinction to Hawaiki-raro, or leeward Hawaiki, comprising Samoa, Tonga, Fiji and the neighbouring island). The line of descent from Taukata's sister conclusively proves that he and Hoaki arrived in New Zealand about eight generations after Toi flourished, or the generation in which the fleet arrived.

It is also related by some of the Ure-wera—Tu-takana-hau amongst them—that Te Awa-morehurehu (shown in Table 24, D) who flourished in the two preceding generations prior to the *heke*, also went to Hawaiki from Whakatane. I tried to find out in Rarotonga and Tahiti if any thing was known of this voyager. All I could learn was, that a man named Te Awa did come to Rarotonga from Iva (Maori Hiva) which may be either at Marquesas, Paumotu, Moorea, or Rai'atea, in all of which groups there are places of that name. It does not at all follow because this man reached Rarotonga from Iva, that he had not originally come from New Zealand. Te Awa arrived at Rarotonga after the settlement there of Tangiia, which period agrees with Awa-morehurehu's position on the genealogical table 24, D. Evidently he was a member of an early Acclimatization Society, for he is accredited with introducing the *kokopu* (or native trout, so called) into Rarotonga.

In a genealogical table of the Nga-Puhi people of Hokianga, we find this note against Toi's name:—"Ko te tino iwi nui tenei; ko te Tini-o-Toi, ko te Mano-o-Toi. I mate i Te Rautahi o Atua." ("This is the ancestor of the great tribe; the Tini-o-Toi, the Mano-o-Toi. He died at Te Rautahi-o-atua.")

Of Toi's son, Rauru, not much is related in Maori history. The table quoted above, says—"Ko te tupuna tenei o te iwi mohio ki te whakairo—o Ngati-Kahu-ngunu." ("This is the ancestor of the people learned in carving—of Ngati-Kahungunu.") And indeed it is not only Nga-Puhi, but many other tribes, that ascribe to Rauru the introduction of the present method of carving. This opens up a very large question which cannot be dealt with here, but I will make a suggestion that, however, on further inquiry may prove to have nothing in it. New Zealand carving is local and peculiar, not found elsewhere in the Pacific, except in New Guinea, where we occasionally see what is probably the same *motif* as in the Maori carving. Now one named Rauru was a voyager (see *ante*); it was he who went on the expedition, from either

Samoa or Fiji, to bring back the *taro* plant, and, doubtless, the place he went to—Wairua-ngangana—laid to the north of those groups. It may have been New Guinea he went to, or called at, and there learnt the art of carving, which he and others more fully developed in New Zealand.

Beyond the invention, or elaboration of carving, we know little of Rauru, except the fact of the voyage above-mentioned, and the statement (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IX., p. 214) that he was one of the leaders in a migration from Samoa or Fiji to Rai'atea (or Rangi-atea). There is a saying about him, however, which has come down the ages—“*Rauru ki tahi*,” (“One-worded Rauru”) implying that when he had decided on a course of action, nothing would turn him from it, and that his word was implicitly to be relied on. I only know of one place connected with his name—Te Mimi-o-Rauru—a spring and battle-field somewhere near Napier.

If we may believe the Moriori traditions, it was about the period of Rauru and his son Whatonga that the troubles arose in New Zealand, which caused that people to migrate to the Chatham Islands.

Rauru's son was Whatonga, and of him very little is mentioned in Maori tradition, beyond the fact that he was an ancestor of many of the *tangata-whenua* tribes, none of whom, however, are called after him, though his father Rauru gives his name to the Nga-Rauru tribe of Wai-totara, West Coast. One of the names of the Seventy Mile Bush is Te Tapere-nui-a-Whatonga, but it is doubtful if this name is not derived from a descendant of the same name who flourished several generations after the man we are writing of.

Put in the briefest form, the above are the most essential points in the argument relating to the question of whether Toi of Polynesia is the same as Toi of New Zealand. However we may decide, there are potent reasons against the decision. But the balance of evidence appears to the writer to be capable of a summary statement as follows:—

1. That there was only one original Toi, a common ancestor of both Maoris and Rarotongans.
2. That he was probably born and lived for many years in New Zealand, then visited Central Polynesia, taking his son Rauru with him, that after living there many years he returned to New Zealand, and died at Whakatane.
3. That Rauru after living many years in Central Polynesia returned to New Zealand, his son Whatonga—probably born there—accompanying him, and both died in New Zealand.

4. That voyages between New Zealand and Central or Eastern Polynesia were more common, prior to the date of the fleet, than is generally supposed, the exact particulars of which have been lost.

There is one other supposition that may be mentioned, but I do not think it is correct in this case, though such cases are known, and that is, that the Maori ancestor Toi and his descendants have been interpolated on the Rarotongan lines at a much later date than the people concerned flourished. The argument against this idea is, I think, as follows :—Since eight generations after the time of Toi, there has been no communication between New Zealand and Eastern Polynesia, until the times of the Whalers in the early nineteenth century. At a date so long ago as eight generations from Toi, and prior to that time, it would have been impossible for the interpolation to have taken place, for it would have been detected at once, whilst the names of ancestors were known to all and fresh in everybody's recollections. There would be more chance of such a thing occurring through Maoris taking to the islands, on board whalers, information as to their ancestors ; if, that is, the class of men who joined the whalers' crews were sufficiently up in the general genealogies of their people ; but this I should doubt. There were no doubt many Maoris who visited the islands on board whalers, though the record of them is very scanty. The notorious Goodenough took several Maoris from near the North Cape, and landed them at Nga-Tangiia, on Rarotonga, in 1820 or 1821. But I was informed, by Pa-ariki of that place, that the whole of these people with some of Goodenough's crew were massacred by the Rarotongans, so that the information did not come from them. Nor could it have been derived from the visit of Paora Tuhaere of Auckland to Rarotonga, in the seventies, for Table No. 21, *ante*, was communicated to the Rev. Mr. Stair in 1839.

Altogether, I cannot think this is a case of interpolation.

CHAPTER V.

THE CANOES OF "THE FLEET."

ON the first occupation of this country by Europeans, the Maori people were found to be divided into numerous *iwi* or tribes, which again were split up in still more numerous *hapus* or sub-tribes. In nearly all cases they derive their names from some eponymous ancestor who either came here in the fleet of canoes of 1350, or from some noted person directly descended from them. *Waka* is another term used for a tribe, or several tribes, which all claim descent from the crew of one and the same canoe; though the term cannot very well be used in this district, for the people are so much mixed up with the crews of various canoes.

It has always been the pride and glory of all chiefs to trace their descent from these old vikings who guided the fleet here. In this they are like our English Aristocracy who delight to trace a descent from the Norman Conquerors of England in 1066. But there is this distinction, however; probably most of the Maori genealogies were at one time more correct than those of our race. The reason is, that the recitation of genealogies was a part of their religion and entered into many of the rites performed on important occasions. The Maoris can at least tell the names of the vessels in which they "came over"—the names of the Norman ships are not known, at least only a few of them. And here follows the list, so far as this district is concerned:—

"Aotea"	..	Turi was captain
"Tokomaru"	..	Manaia was captain
"Kura-haupo"	..	Te Moungaroa was captain (or Ruatea, by some tribes)

The above are essentially the vessels that brought hither the ancestors of the tribes now living on the Taranaki Coast, and they all arrived at about the same time.

But the people can also claim other vessels of the fleet in which some of their ancestors came, *e.g.*: "Tainui," "Mata-tua," "Takitumu," and "Te Arawa." This will be seen later on. The following are the canoes about which there is some doubt as to whether, and at what times, they came to New Zealand; for instance:—

- | | |
|------------------------|--|
| 1 "Kapakapa-nui" } | Claimed by Te Neke in 1860 as canoes of the Ati-Awa people. |
| 2 "Te Rangaranga" } | |
| 3 "Rangi-ua-mutu" | |
| 4 "Ariki-mai-tai" | Tauke claims this as a canoe of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Ruanui; also called "Tai-rea"; Tamatea-rokai, said to have been the captain (A.H.M., Vol. II., p. 166). |
| 5 Two unnamed canoes | Landed on South Taranaki Coast, and the people were found near Wai-mate by Turi on his arrival, who enslaved the men and took the women (A.H.M., Vol. II., p. 163). |
| 6 "Panga-toru" | That were voyaging from one island to another in the Pacific, but were blown to the Taranaki Coast. Two high chieftain's sons and their people were on board. They were well received by Turi's descendants, and returned to their homes (A.H.M., Vol. II., p. 163). |
| 7 "Motumotu-ahi" | Rakei-wananga-ora was captain; said to have returned to Hawaiki after leaving some of her men here, descendants amongst Ngati-Rua-nui and Nga-Rauru (A.H.M., Vol. II., p. 166). |
| 8 "Te Waka-ringaringa" | Some ancestors of Ngati-Rua-nui and Nga-Rauru came in her. Pua-tau-tahi, captain (A.H.M., Vol. II., p. 106). |
| 9 "Te Kahui-maunga" | Mawake-roa was captain; landed at Kaipoko-nui, Taranaki, South Coast. Taikehu was captain; he came here before Kupe, but it is doubtful if this is not the name of a people, rather than a canoe. |
| 10 "Kokako" | Ihenga-ariki was captain. |
| 11 "Tokaka" | The canoe of Huri-tini, Aokehu came in her, and lived at Kura-reia. |
| 12 "Tu-a-ro-paki" | Te Atua-raunga-nuku was captain, a younger brother of Turi. His descendants are amongst the Nga-Rauru tribe. |

and 13, "Mata-hou-rua," or "Nga-mata-hou-rua," the canoe of Kupe; for particulars of which see Chapter III.

Of this list of twelve little known canoes, it is probable that some of them conveyed to this coast local migrations from other parts of New Zealand, and did not come from Hawaiki, or the Eastern Pacific. Had they done so, more particulars about them would have been handed down. Practically, the notes opposite each one of them summarises all we know of them. Descent is, however, traced from some of the reputed captains. It may be that one or more of them are the names of vessels which arrived here long before the time of the great *heke*, and brought some of the *tangata-whenua* ancestors. Take for instance, the "Kahui-maunga," of which Taikehu is said to have been the captain; the remarks in chapter II. seems to indicate, as indeed tradition confirms, that this man was living in the Patea district ages before the date of the *heke*, and indeed it is related of him and the other early people that they came overland, not by sea. Of course such a tradition is nonsense; for whilst biological evidence points to these islands having been connected by land with Northern Australia, by way of Norfolk Island, New Caledonia, and other groups in that direction, no one believes that New Zealand had a human population at that period, and the probability is, this land connection is so ancient, that the *genus homo* had not as yet appeared on the earth. The name given to this canoe—"Te Kahui-maunga"—means the mountain-group or flock, and may reasonably be translated as the "People of the Mountains"; for *kahui*, is a word primarily applicable to living beings, whether man or animal, not to inanimate objects. And this is the name used by some of my native authorities for the ancient inhabitants of the land.

But, whatever uncertainty may exist as to the above vessels, the three first mentioned—"Aotea," "Tokomaru," and "Kura-hauupo"—are well known, as having arrived on the New Zealand Coasts from Eastern Polynesia, about the year 1350. Two of them formed part of the fleet, whilst "Aotea," starting about the same time came on her own course—at any rate for part of the way.

In order to get a proper understanding of the distribution of the tribes of this coast, it is necessary to say something about the voyages of these canoes, and the reasons inducing the migration to New Zealand, and, as a good deal of information exists in MSS. beyond what has been published, it is as well to record it here, even at the risk of

repeating, somewhat, what has already appeared in print. We will take first of all the

VOYAGE OF THE "AOTEA,"

for her crew has played by far the most important part in the settlement of this coast.

For some generations prior to the departure of the fleet for New Zealand, there had been much ethnic movement to and fro between most of the islands of the Central Pacific. Considerable bodies of people had been traversing the Eastern seas in all directions, sometimes settling on unoccupied lands, at other times apparently sailing about for the mere love of adventure or making war on other people. Visits in state by great chiefs to their friends and relations, in the different groups, were every day occurrences. Fleets of canoes, with streamers flying and drums beating, were frequently passing from island to island, and covering in their voyages vast spaces of ocean. From Samoa in the west to Te Pito-te-henua (Easter Island) in the east; from Tahiti to Marquesas, and on to Hawaii; from Tahiti to Rarotonga, and even to New Zealand, there seems to have been little cessation of visits, by which, as the old Rarotongan Chronicler says, "the people became accomplished navigators." Every here and there some of the crews of these vessels settled down and inter-married with the local people, and hence, wherever their voyages might lead them, the people found relations and friends. The well-known custom of giving a wife to distinguished visitors, on their visits to different islands, served to increase this relationship, and to give local interests to the people of other islands. Lands were thus acquired which were heritable by the offspring of the visitors. At this period, too, population had increased under the favourable conditions prevailing in Eastern Polynesia; so much so that all the suitable lands—never at any time very extensive—were occupied and owned. We have it on record that one migration took place because the people had become so numerous, that a single bread-fruit tree was divided into two portions, belonging to two separate families, and that quarrels arose as to the share of each, leading to war and the eventual expulsion of one party. Similar disputes about cultivations were the immediate causes of migration in the case of more than one *heke* to New Zealand. There were other causes as well; but, on the whole, it seems probable that the rapidly increasing population, rendering land a scarce commodity, was the ultimate, if not the proximate, cause of the exodus from Eastern Polynesia that took place in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, by which both Hawaii and New Zealand received accessions to their populations, in both of which countries there was room for more people.

The immediate cause of the migration of Turi and his tribe, the Ngati-Rongotea, from Rai'atea to New Zealand, was a quarrel between him and the *ariki*, Uenuku, chief and priest. The notices of this man, that have been handed down, illustrate what has been said above as to the perpetual movement, and occasional residence of high chiefs in various different islands. For I think that Uenuku, around whom centres a good many legends, is one and the same man, and who was also the cause of Turi's migration, though there were three of that name who flourished in Eastern Polynesia about the time of the *heke*. The marginal Table, No. 26, shows the position of these people accord-

TABLE XXVI.		ing to the Rarotongan historian, Te Ariki-tara-
26 Tangiia	|	are, in the genealogical tables he wrote. But
25 Mоторо	|	he also, in another place, tells a story about
24 Uenuku-rakeiora	|	Uenuku-rakeiora which reminds one of old
23 Uenuku-te-aitu	|	world romances. Mоторо had two wives, as
Pua-ara-nui	|	below, both of whom came from the Marquesas,
		Pua-ara-nui being the senior wife.

TABLE XXVII.

1st Pua-ara-nui = Mоторо = 2nd Vaa-rangi-nui	
Uenuku-tapu	Uenuku-rakeiroa

From this it will be seen that Uenuku-tapu should have been the heritor of the *ariki*-ship, and all the powers and privileges thereunto belonging. But the two wives were delivered of children just at the same time, and through what one may call "Court intrigues," the nurse and the priest, Eturoa (Whetu-roa, in Maori), changed the children; hence Uenuku-rakeiora became the leading chief and *ariki*, whilst the rightful heir became a *matai-apo*, or minor chief, whose descendants are in Rarotonga still. No descent is shown from Uenuku-rakeiroa beyond his son Uenuku-te-aitu; naturally so, if I am right in supposing he went away and settled in Rai'atea.

The first we hear of this Uenuku in Maori story is, that he was living at a place named Aotea-roa (the same name as New Zealand—a point worth noting) which, from what follows was Tahiti, where indeed his grandfather and great-grandfather held lands, until the former was expelled by Tu-tapu at the point of the spear; but even then the great-grandfather, Kau-ngaki (Kahu-ngaki in Maori), remained there and no doubt kept "the fire burning" on their ancestral lands. Uenuku's second wife was Takarita, sister of Tawheta, or Wheta, who, in some of the Maori traditions, is called Whena—who *may be* the Hena

named in the following tradition (*vide* "A Tahitian and English Dictionary," Tahiti, 1851, introduction, p. iv.):—"Tu-tapu and his wife dwelt on a land called Pua-tiri-ura. They had an only daughter named Hotu-hiva. No husband was to be found for her in her own land. Her parents were, however, very anxious she should obtain one, and therefore put her in a drum called Taihi, under the care of the gods Tane and Tapu-tura, and sent her to sea. After sailing about for a long time they landed at Manunu on Huahine Island, about 100 miles N.W. of Tahiti—the name Manunu signifies 'cramped'; it was formerly called To'erau-roa. Tane became the titular god of Huahine, whilst the young lady married a chief named Te Ao-nui-marua. They had two sons, Tina and Hena, and they are considered to be the ancestors of the present chiefs." Now Tu-tapu above was cousin to Tangiia (shown in Table 26), and consequently Hena may have been a contemporary of Uenuku, and identical with Whena. I have seen the stone foundations of Tu-tapu's house at Vaiere (Waikere) in Moorea Island, near Tahiti. Of course there is no proof of the identity of the individuals bearing these similar names, but it is worth noting for future students.

To return to Uenuku. As has been said, he married Takarita, the sister of Whena. This lady misbehaved herself with some of Uenuku's people, and consequently was subjected to the only punishment known to Polynesians—she was killed. She had already borne a child to Uenuku, named Ira; and Uenuku, no doubt thinking that there was some uncertainty as to the paternity of this child, caused his mother's heart to be fed to him—hence the name this particular Ira (for there were several of that name) came to be known by, was Ira-kai-putahi. This child afterwards grew up to manhood, and is said by some to have become the eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Ira of the East Coast, South Wairarapa, and other places in New Zealand—on which point, however, see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XV., p. 74. By another wife, named Rangatoro, Uenuku was the father of the celebrated Paikea, of whom see *infra*. Naturally the death of Takarita could not be allowed to pass unnoticed by her brother and relatives. Whena, when he heard of this death, said (in effect)—"Uenuku may be within his legal rights in killing his wife, but he shall yet hear from me on that account."

Some time elapsed, and a pleasure party, amongst whom were several of Uenuku's daughters, by another wife, and his son Rongou-roa, left their home on a visit to Whena's island. Here they were duly received and hospitably entertained for a time, and then Whena, thinking the chance of squaring accounts with Uenuku too good to be

lost, killed the children and cast them all in a heap. Rongo-ue-roa was supposed to be amongst the slain, but though terribly wounded, he still had life in him, and after the people had left the scene, he came to himself, and crawled away and hid himself. Soon after he heard Whena's people preparing their canoes for sea, and gathered from their conversation that they were about to proceed to his father's home with the purpose of killing him and all his people. As soon as it was dark, he went down to one of the canoes, and managed to hide himself under the flooring in the fore part of the canoe. Next morning Whena's warriors came down, and then the canoes were launched, and away they started for Uenuku's home, little suspecting that they were carrying with them the means by which their object would be frustrated.

On reaching Uenuku's village they were welcomed in the customary manner, and taken up to the guest-house while food was preparing for them. In the meantime Rongo-ue-roa, with much difficulty, crawled up to the vicinity of the village and hid himself, until he should find an opportunity of communicating with his father. This he accomplished through the means of one of the women of the village, who happened to come that way, and by her sent a message to Uenuku to tell him of his arrival, and of the true state of affairs. Uenuku came to his ill-treated son, and so learned the particulars of what had occurred to his children. On returning to the house, he asked Whena how the children were getting on, to which the latter replied that all was well with them, and that they were amusing themselves with the games and sports of their ancestors. Uenuku now produced Rongo-ue-roa, and upbraided Whena with his treachery and lying. Upon which, the visitors seeing their intentions frustrated, made preparations to leave at once. But Uenuku, with a magnanimity unusual, insisted that they should await some food; after the consumption of which, Whena and his party were allowed to depart, Uenuku telling him that the day of reckoning was near, and that Whena might expect him at his home before long, a proposition that Whena—now safe on board his canoes—jeered at, and defied Uenuku to attempt, in face of the difficulties of the way, and the number of people at the former's call.

Some time elapsed after the departure, and then an expedition was organised under the leadership of Paikea—Uenuku's elder son, by his wife Ranga-toro—and Whatuia, in order to exact the inevitable payment from Whena for his treacherous conduct. This expedition of 140 men (*i.e.*, *hokowhitu*, 70, always understood as denoting twice that number) started overland for Whena's home, taking the route by the mountain ridges, so as not to be seen by the people dwelling on the coast. It took them three days of laborious travelling; passing on

their way the mountain Orowhena. The mention of this name (and another later on) confirms my belief that all these occurrences took place in Tahiti, for Orofena, or Orohena, is the highest peak on that island, from which steep precipitous ridges fall to the coast on all sides, and along which ridges run the few and difficult tracks giving access, by inland roads, to the difficult parts of the coast, whenever the necessity arises. Now-a-days it seldom does; for the road round the level strip of coast-land is almost invariably used instead. It is, at the present day, only the searcher after the *fei*, the wild native red banana, that uses these tracks.

On the third evening, after leaving their homes, Whatuia's party descended to the coast, to Rangi-kapiti, which is described as a great house—probably such as the *fare-hau* of modern Tahiti, in which the people assemble on public occasions. Waiting until dark, the party concealed themselves round about the vicinity of the house, to await daylight. It was ascertained that a large number of Whena's people were assembled in the house, to hear the priest obtain from his god some sign or indication as to whether and when their home would be attacked by Uenuku's people. Hapopo was the priest, and the answer he got from his god was—"Have no fear; there is no army coming to attack us." The people now put aside their fear of an attack, and disposed themselves to sleep.

At the first streak of dawn, Whatuia's party attacked the house with such fury, that only a few of the most active warriors—amongst whom was Whena—managed to escape down to the coast, where, taking canoe, they paddled off. Amongst the captives was Pai-mahutanga, the handsome daughter of Pou-matangatanga, who had been specially saved at the instance of Uenuku, who desired to add her to his other wives. She became the mother of Rua-tapu, a man of great fame in Eastern Polynesia. Hapopo, the priest, was also captured, and before his enemies gave him his quietus, he was heard to exclaim in accents of rage and reproach—"Atua haurangirangi! waiho te mate mo Hapopo." "Vile and imbecile god! thou has left death to Hapopo"—which has come down to these days as a proverb. Whatuia, Paikea, and their party now returned home to Aotea-roa with the spoils of war, where they found Uenuku preparing for a more extensive expedition.

Just here, none of the various legends relating to these events are clear, as to what course Whena pursued on his escape from the massacre at Rangi-ka-piti. But the next event to be related distinctly says, that Uenuku went to Rarotonga to find Whena; we must suppose that the latter after taking in stores departed for that island. I trust it has been made clear, that a voyage of this nature would in those

days have not caused comment at all. The distance from Tahiti is a little over 600 miles. With a fast sailing *pahi*, and the constant trade wind blowing a little abaft the beam, it would take less than three days' sail to reach there.

When Uenuku had fully prepared his fleet of canoes full of warriors, and after the omens had been consulted, he sailed away to Rarotonga, off which place he anchored, and found Whena with a host of warriors prepared to oppose him. Now occurs a little of the marvellous so seldom absent from these old traditions. Uenuku, by force of his powers of enchantment, caused the fog or clouds to descend on to Rarotonga, so as to confuse Whena and his people with the complete darkness due thereto, and by which he hoped to cause the death of the enemy, one of whom was taken, his heart cut out and offered to the gods in the *whangai-hau* ceremony. This first fight was called Te Rakungia (the sun shut up). Next, Uenuku sent his dogs ashore who killed a great many of Whena's people. This fight was called Te Rato-rua (the double sun-set). There is something unexplained here, for what these fierce dogs could be is not known. The old native dog (*kuri*, *kirehe*, or *peropero*) was not of a fierce nature, nor would they, so far as we know, attack man. There is always some foundation for these stories, though we may not now be able to explain them—may be, some of the fiercest warriors were so called euphemistically, or a division of the tribe may have born the name Nga-Kuri. Still Whena was not completely beaten, so Uenuku again had recourse to his magical powers, and caused a second dark fog to descend on the shore, in the obscurity of which Whena's warriors turned upon one another, and fought till few were left alive, and then the survivors were killed in detail by Uenuku's people. This last engagement was called Te Moana-waipu; and thus was the murder of his children and people avenged by Uenuku.

It occurs to one as a possible explanation of the complete darkness that descended on the combatants during the engagement, that it may have been a total eclipse of the sun, which, with the characteristic love of the marvellous in Polynesian myths, has been ascribed to the necromantic powers of the great and powerful priest Uenuku. It would be interesting to obtain from the proper source any information that exists as to a total eclipse occurring about this time in that part of the world, for it would serve definitely to fix a date in Polynesian History.

There are some things connected with his descent on Rarotonga which incline me to think that part of the Rarotongan story of the battle that took place to avenge the death of Whakatau, at the Hapai Islands, Tonga Group, has become interwoven with Uenuku's feats.

This story has not yet been translated from the Rarotongan records—but the incident occurred many generations before.

In one of the Uenuku legends, preserved by Mr. John White (see A.H.M., Vol. III., p. 35) it is stated that “Uenuku . . . made effigies to represent men as crews for his war-canoes. These effigies he placed in his canoes and went on a war expedition against Whena.” It is just possible that we have the Rarotongan version of this story in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. II., p. 276. But in the latter account it was the people ashore who dressed up the effigies, and who beat off the invaders, who were under Marangai-riki.

An interval of some years now occurs in the history of Uenuku, for it is not until his son Rua-tapu—by the captured wife Pai-mahu-tanga, see *ante*—of course she was a slave wife—had reached manhood, that the story goes on. It seems to me that Uenuku probably remained at Rarotonga after the defeat of Whena, or had returned again from Aotea, his Tahitian home. Indeed Rarotongan history seems to show that he was born at Rarotonga, and doubtless had lands and a home there.

We now come to the incident known in Maori History as “Te Huri-pure-i-ata.” There are several accounts preserved of this event, and they all partake more or less of the marvellous, though no doubt founded on fact. Uenuku’s eldest son was Paikea, born of the former’s first wife, Ranga-toro, a free woman, and no doubt belonging to one of the chiefly families, consequently their son would be *ariki*, and highly *tapu*, as all of them were. Rua-tapu, on the other hand, being the son of a slave wife, would not be at all so important a personage, nor entitled to the same privileges and rank as his elder brother. On one occasion Rua-tapu used his father’s ceremonial comb—a very wrong thing to do, considering that it had been in contact with the exceedingly *tapu* head of Uenuku. On this coming to Uenuku’s knowledge he was excessively angry, and reproached Rua-tapu with his low birth. He had not been born on the *takapau-wharanui* (marital couch) like Paikea; but was a *tama meamea noa iho*, a son begotten in a trifling indiscriminate manner, or in other words, illegitimate. This reproach was deeply felt by Rua-tapu, who determined to be revenged on society generally, and on his elder brother, Paikea, particularly. With this in view he borrowed a fine canoe, in which he secretly cut a hole, and then temporally stopped it so that it should not be seen. Next he invited about seventy young chiefs, Paikea being one of the number, to go an excursion with him. So they started and paddled right out to sea, until the land was only faintly to be seen on the horizon.

His companions remonstrated, and urged that it was time to return. But Rua-tapu insisted in going on until at last the land disappeared below the horizon. The time having arrived, Rua-tapu withdrew the plug from the canoe's bottom, and the vessel filled and capsized. Then Rua-tapu speared as many of the young men as he could, and nearly all the others were drowned. Paikea, however, managed to keep afloat with the help of a paddle, and then a discussion took place as to who could swim back to the shore to let their relatives know of the disaster. Paikea declared he could and would do it; on which Rua-tapu gave him a message to the people ashore, telling them that in the eighth month they were to expect him, and that then the people were to flee to Mount Hikurangi for safety. Paikea now proceeded to call on his mighty *taniwha* ancestors to come to his aid, in a long and interesting *karakia* which Mr. Colenso has preserved. Finally, after being a long time at sea, Paikea landed at Ahuahu island, which the modern Maoris think to be the island of that name in the Bay of Plenty, the English name of which is Great Mercury Island. Unfortunately for us, we experience a want of belief in the powers of the old *taniwhas*, and think it too much to ask us to believe that Paikea drifted or swam some 1,600 or 1,700 miles. The suggestion, however, I would make is, that Paikea might possibly have reached Mangaia Island, the ancient name of which is A'ua'u (or Ahuahu), for the swimming powers of the Polynesians are very extraordinary. If, as seems probable, the party started from Rarotonga, and then pulled out towards Mangaia until they lost sight of the Rarotonga mountains—which they would do at about fifty miles—it would leave about sixty miles between that point and Mangaia, over which Paikea had to swim and drift. However, whatever the difficulties are in accounting for this story, there must be some foundation for it, the fact remains that Paikea did survive, and finally migrated to New Zealand, by what vessel is uncertain, and settled at Whangara, north of Gisborne; and he has left numerous descendants in this country, especially amongst the Ngai-Tahu tribe of the South Island. If he reached Mangaia, he would have found plenty of relatives there, for his great grandfather Mоторо (see Table No. 26) had eventually settled there, having been sent to that island by Tangiia (Mоторо's father) as high priest—for which see Dr. W. Wyatt Gills' "Savage Life."

Nor was Rua-tapu drowned. The Maori story says, that after the departure of Paikea he "sailed away on the bailer of the canoe." How he escaped we know not, but it is quite true, according to the traditions, that this same Rua-tapu afterwards settled in Aitutaki

Island where he became a famous ancestor, as related in Major J. T. Large's account (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XV., p. 209).

The news of Rua-tapu's threat, duly reached Uenuku and his people at—as I suppose—Rarotonga, and it created some disturbance, some believing that a disaster was about to fall on them, others that it was a mere boast on his part. At any rate the believers removed to Hikurangi mountain, which is situated about three or four miles from Avarua, the port of Rarotonga, and other hills in that neighbourhood. Sure enough in the eighth month a great storm occurred, and the sea rose to an unprecedented height, and many people—the unbelievers—were drowned. None but those who fled to the hills were saved, and amongst those people was Uenuku. Now this flood—which was no doubt due to an extra severe hurricane—is called by the Maoris Te Tai-a-Rua-tapu—Rua-tapu's flood. It is known to the Rarotongans as Te Tai-o-Uenuku—Uenuku's flood—and the event is undoubtedly identical. The Maoris have got to believe that it was Hikurangi Mountain, near the East Cape, that the people fled to for safety; but this is a modern gloss.

We now come to the little dispute between Uenuku and Turi, which led to the latter's migration to New Zealand. I shall assume that the great *ariki* and priest of Rai'atea was the same Uenuku whose adventures have been related above. Unfortunately neither Maori nor Rarotongan records help in the least to decide this question, and probably only those of Rai'atea would settle the matter. None such have been published however.

From information I gathered in Tahiti, Turi, the great ancestor of the Taranaki and other tribes, was born at Mahaena, on the north-east coast of that island, where he grew up to man's estate. He married a lady named Hina-rau-re'a (Hine-rau-renga in Maori) of whom he was very jealous, and therefore very carefully guarded her. On returning one day from the mountains, Turi found that Hine, notwithstanding his strict injunction to the contrary, had left her home and accompanied her sisters to the seashore to indulge in the pastime of surf-riding. This led to a scene which ended in Turi's deciding to leave Tahiti. He got together his people, and departed for Rai'atea Island, 125 miles W.N.W. of Tahiti, where he settled down at Fa'a-roa (Whanga-roa in Maori). Here he married Rongorongo, daughter of Toto, a man of large estates and property. But Turi did not find things go smoothly; he appears to have been of an amorous disposition, and got into trouble over it, and finally had to leave with all

his people, and never came back again. Such is the Tahitian account which differs somewhat from those handed down and preserved amongst his descendants in New Zealand.

Fa'aroa (or Whangaroa) is a deep bay in Rai'atea island, about five miles south-east of Te Avarua, the present shipping port of that island. And it was at Fa'aroa where one of the most celebrated *maraes* in Eastern Polynesia was erected. Its name was Opoa; from it stones were taken to be used in the foundation of other *maraes* in various parts of the Tahitian group; it was, as it were, a kind of mother *marae* from which others derived their *mana*—their power and prestige—and these foundation stones thus formed a connecting link with this most ancient *marae*. The original name of Rai'atea island was Hawaii (or in Maori, Hawaiki), and it is no doubt to the Tapu-tapu-atea *marae* at Opoa, that Maori tradition refers when Rangi-atea (*i.e.*, Rai'atea) is alluded to as “the sacred *marae*,” where assembled the chiefs and warriors of old in Hawaiki to recite the *karakias* before going to war. “It was a building very sacred, where the sacred *karakias* were repeated, and only after this had been done would they go forth to war, and when all ceremonies had been correctly carried out; then was victory assured. It is from this *marae* that the ‘saying’ was derived that our tribe (Taranaki) has used from those ancient days—‘*He kakano i ruiruia mai i Rangi-atea.*’ ‘Seed that was sown even from Rangiatea.’ It was Turi who brought this saying, together with the *karakias*, from Hawaiki, and it refers to his descendants here; to their bravery and ability as warriors—and further implies that they are ‘chips of the old block’”—of the old warriors and navigators who traversed the Pacific in all directions, long ere the ancestors of Europeans had learned to venture out of sight of land; those old navigators who have embodied in their chants (Tahitian) the expression that shows their ancient knowledge of New Zealand—“*E, na te Aotea-roa o te Maori*,” “and to the Aotea-roa of the Maori,” which occurs in a chant called “The Tahitian Circuit of Navigation,” in Miss Teuira Henry's collection. In this same chant we find, “That is Aihi (or Vaihi) land of the great fish-hook, land where the raging fires (of volcanoes) ever kindles, land drawn up through the undulations of the towering waves from the foundations. Beyond is Oahu”—which refers to the Hawaii group—Oahu being the island on which the beautiful city of Honolulu stands. To this group sailed Turi's ancestor, Paumatua, and there settled down, becoming the originator of a line of chiefs whose scions still hold chieftain rank.

It was at this island of Rai'atea, and probably at the old *marae* of Taputapu-atea, that fleets of canoes from the east and the west bearing

the high chiefs and priests of former days, used to come when important ceremonies were to be performed, and the high priests discussed and taught their ancient history and beliefs: until the time came that a great division took place, owing to the introduction of a different cult, followed by a separation of the people into the Aotea and Aouri (Eastern and Western) beliefs—of which unfortunately we know so little. But the Maori tradition of the great division in Whare-kura—the house of learning—probably refers to this same incident. It may, however, be suggested for future inquiry, that possibly this great division of opposing opinions was the elevation of the god Tangaroa to the supreme position he holds in the pantheon of many branches of the race, to the exclusion and relegation to a secondary step of the more ancient god Tane; who, however, still holds a superior place with the Maoris.

But to return to Uenuku. How long it was that Turi remained in peace at Rai'atea we know not; but that fruitful source of trouble, land, gave rise to a very serious quarrel between the *ariki* Uenuku and Turi, together with the latter's brother Kewa. Uenuku seized on some lands at Awarua, which the others claimed. (Awarua, it will be remembered, is only a few miles from Turi's home.) This led to fighting, in which Te-Tini-o-Uenuku (or Uenuku's tribe) was defeated, and his brother Kemo was killed by Kewa. This trouble has given rise to the "saying" that has been handed down from those times:— "*Kauaka tumutumumu te kura i Awarua.*" "Do not end the *kura* (*karakias*) at Awarua." Which is explained as meaning, that an evil omen occurred to the priest who remained at the home of Turi to uplift his *karakias* during the fight—which was a common custom—and this evil omen began to have its usual effect on the warriors, it disheartened them and caused them to anticipate defeat. But Kewa rose superior to superstition, and uttered the above words, by which means he induced the continuation of the *karakias*, and eventual victory for his clan.

Some time after this fight at Awarua, Turi's child, Potiki-roroa, was found by Uenuku's people bathing at Waima-tuhirangi, and they killed him, much to the grief of Turi. This engendered a determination to have revenge when the opportunity came. In those days and until Christianity was introduced, an annual feast of the "first fruits" was held, at which there were large gatherings of people. It was a time of gaiety and rejoicing, and accompanied with dances and other amusements. The Rarotongan name for this feast is *takurua*, the Maori name for winter. It was customary for the people to come in procession carrying food and fruits, both cooked and raw, for the *ariki* or

high chief and priest. Rongotea, who was Turi's father, and from whom the Ngati-Rongotea take their name, perceived that this would be the opportunity to avenge the death of the child Potiki-roroa. So by some means or other they managed to waylay and kill Uenuku's child, Awe-potiki. Then hastening to the feast before the murder was discovered, Rongotea placed a portion of the child's heart inside a cooked *kumara*, and presented it to Uenuku, who had been invited to eat with Turi. As Uenuku was partaking of the feast prepared, he missed his child, Awe-potiki (or perhaps Hawe-potiki, for these West Coast people, like their Rarotongan brethren, are much given to leaving out the "h"), and said—"O! Awe-potiki! my child, thou art absent from the feast. Where art thou now the food is ready?" Turi answering said—"A! perhaps he is within the great belly of Toi!" in which he referred to his ancestor Toi (Table 25). Uenuku was startled, and it dawned upon him that some ill had befallen the child. He at once left and proceeded to his own home, and then learnt that his enemies, the Ngati-Rongotea, had killed his child, and offered to him the deep insult of causing him to eat, unknowingly, a part of his own offspring. Such an insult could only be effaced in blood.

In the evening as Rongorongo sat at the door of her husband Turi's house, she heard the voices of people in Uenuku's home singing a *maire* or song, from the words of which she gathered that Te Tini-o-Uenuku had decided to exterminate Ngati-Rongotea. Turi on hearing this from his wife, exclaimed—"A! it is the sin at Awarua. Those words are intended for me!" He knew that in the end Uenuku's people would be too much for them, and on consultation with his people they finally decided to leave Rai'atea. But they had no sea-going canoe of their own; so Turi sent his wife, Rongorongo, to her father with a very valuable dog-skin mat named Potaka-tawhiti, to ask him to give up his fine canoe, the "Aotea." After ascertaining that Turi was determined to leave, Toto, his father-in-law, gave up the canoe, and preparations were made for their departure, which would consist in providing provisions and water, for they knew they had a long and dangerous voyage before them—they were undertaking the long voyage of 2,100 nautical miles across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa, to the country discovered by Kupe, Te Ika-a-Maui, or New Zealand. Provision for such a lengthy voyage, and a large number of people, would be a matter of difficulty; but coco-nuts, containing both food and drink, were plentiful. *Taro* and *kumara* also they had in plenty, both of which will keep well if salt water is not allowed to come in contact with them. The prepared bread-fruit also (called by the Tahitians *Mahi* or *Tio'o*) will resist decay for over twelve months. It is a

sour kind of paste, made by cooking the bread-fruit (*Kuru*), and then preserving it in holes made in the earth and lined with banana leaves. Water was carried in calabashes and in long bamboo stems with the partitions knocked out. The "Aotea" was so well provided, and with such numerous properties that she is referred to as "*Aotea utanga nui*," "The richly laden Aotea." No doubt this canoe was one of those large sea-going canoes called a *pahi*—a double canoe with a deck (*pōra*) built between the two, and hence often called a *waka-pōra*—indeed some of the canoes are specially referred to under the name of *pōra*. Naturally the priests on board—of whom there were certainly two—did not neglect to bring the images of their gods, whose names were Maru, Te Ihinga-o-te-rangi, Kahu-kura, Rongomai, and possibly others. Some idea of what these images were like, may be obtained from the accompanying illustration, which, though not copies of the originals brought from Rangiatea, are just the same, and were obtained from the Ngati-Ruanui tribe, descendants of Turi and his tribe.

The Polynesians have possessed pigs and fowls, probably both brought by them from Indonesia for untold generations. The question arises whether, amongst the other things they brought with them to New Zealand, such as seeds of useful food-plants, etc., they ever tried to introduce either pigs or fowls. Pigs they probably would not attempt on account of the large amount of food they would consume; but fowls might have been included in their cargoes, and possibly we may see a confirmation of this in the name of a bird said to have been brought over in the "Aotea," but which has been extinct for many generations. Its shape is described as being like that of the *moho* or native quail (now extinct), which is not unlike the common fowl in shape but much smaller. Before the common fowl was made known to the Maoris by the European settlers of the nineteenth century, the bird most like it, as it would be handed down by tradition, would be the *moho*; for although the *weka* is also somewhat like a fowl, the Maoris would not use that word, for it was known to them in their old home by the same name. The name of this extinct bird, only known by tradition and said to have been brought over in the "Aotea," is *moa-ki-rua*, the two voiced *moa*, *moa* being the universal name of the common fowl all over Polynesia at the present day.

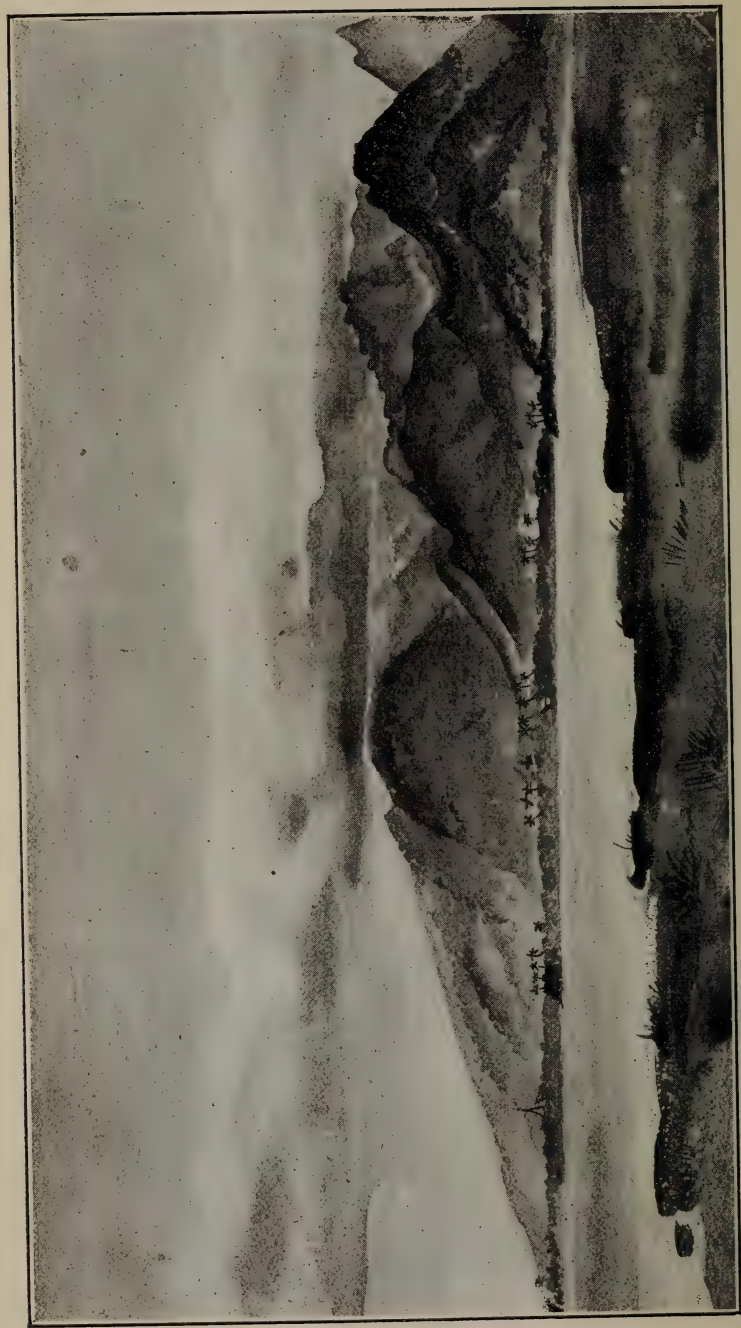
The period at which Turi and his tribe left Hawaiki—which I use as a convenient term to express, as it truly does, all the islands in the neighbourhood of Tahiti—was clearly one of disturbances affecting wide areas, and leading to fighting among the tribes. As has been pointed out, the insufficiency of lands for an increasing population was the ultimate cause of the desire to migrate and find fresh lands on which



MAORI GODS.

Supposed to be RONGO, MARU and TANGAROA.

(From Ngati-Ruanui.)



PAPARA, WEST COAST OF TAHITI (from whence the Maoris came).

Te Fana-i-ahurai and Paea are just to the left of Picture.

the people might live in peace. We trace this in the accounts of most of the migrations to New Zealand. When, therefore, Kupe and Ngahue returned to Hawaiki from New Zealand, with reports of a great land only partially inhabited, and in which room was to be found for thousands of people, it must naturally have given rise to much discussion and a consideration of the question as to whether it would not be better for some, and especially those who were weaker in fighting strength, and likely to be driven out, to emigrate to this new land. Some such general influences were clearly at work, or we should not find a fleet leaving those parts all at the same time, bound for the same country. Nor would the distance apart of the various places from which the migrations started offer any difficulty in the way of communication of ideas on a subject that affected so many; for communication was constant. And thus it no doubt fell out, that Turi and his people determined to cast in their lot with the others who were preparing to depart, and seek in a new land that peace which was denied them in their father-land, a peace which Uenuku's *maire* told them was about to be broken, to end, as they felt, in their own destruction.

Tautahi's narrative of the voyage of the "Aotea" (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IX., p. 203) implies that the fleet started together from Rangiatea. This seems probable, for Rai'atea Island, though somewhat out of the course from the west coast of Tahiti—from Paea and Te Fana-i-ahurai—whence the other five canoes came, would form a convenient resting place, which they would reach, running dead before the trade-wind, in twenty-four hours—even if they did not call in at Huahine island, as they probably would. At Rai'atea no doubt there would be much discussion amongst the commanders and priests of the six vessels, as to their future proceedings, course to be steered, etc. If the Taranaki traditions are correct, Kupe, the navigator, who had returned from New Zealand four years previously, was there to give them the result of his experience and the course to be steered, telling Turi—"Not to let the bows of his canoe deviate from the rising sun," the absurdity of which has been pointed out in Chapter III. Since that chapter was written I have seen copies of documents, preserved by the late Mr. Ferguson of Hokianga, in which he gives the Nga-Puhi version of these directions, in which there is no reference to the sun rise, but Kupe tells them to steer by the star Te Tipi. Unfortunately we do not now know which star this is.

It must have been a stirring and effecting scene as these six large sea-going *pahi*, with their living freight of probably over 500 people—men, women and children, put to sea from the shores of Rai'atea, with the sails set and streamers flying before the gentle trade-wind. Many

a last farewell had been uttered; the all necessary *karakias* repeated at the *marae*; the *awa-moana* and *ruruku* for securing a prosperous voyage had been sung, and the omens ascertained. Thus, somewhere about the year 1350, these bold hearts put off from the father-land knowing not what dangers lay before them, what hardships they would have to endure from the storms of the Southern Seas, but with hearts braced to dare all things in the search for new homes.

From what we know of the course taken by the other vessels after leaving Rai'atea, it would seem as if there had been some division of council as to the course to steer, for "Te Arawa," "Tainui," "Mata-tua," "Tokomaru," and "Kura-haupo" called in at Rarotonga, as I heard from the old chief, Tamarua-Orometua, of that Island, but "Aotea" did not—she went on her solitary way to Rangitahua island, which in all probability had been appointed as a rendezvous.

And so "Aotea" and her crew struck boldly out from the land, shaping her course for Rangitahua, an island in mid ocean that is called in some traditions, Motiwhatiwha or Kotiwhatiwha, a name that can be shown to be that of an island not anywhere near the route to New Zealand, but which has in process of time been confounded with Rangitahua. On this island the crew of "Aotea" landed to repair the vessel, which after many miles of voyaging required attention in the sinnet lashings that held the various parts together. Whilst here the "Kura-haupo" joined them, but in beaching her, she got smashed so badly that some of her crew and cargo had to be transferred to the "Aotea" and "Mata-tua," which also—according to some accounts—must have also arrived there. The traditions of the "Tainui" canoe mention some island they called at, but the name is forgotten, whilst there is no record of either "Tokomaru" or "Te Arawa" having landed anywhere.

Now Rangitahua island, I take to be Sunday Island of the Kermadec Group, 550 miles from the North Cape of New Zealand, and almost exactly in a line drawn from Rai'atea to that place. The name is mentioned in Rarotonga traditions, as an island to the west; and on this island have been found stone axes, evidently the work of Polynesians. Moreover, the green paraquet, the *pukeko*, and the *karaka* tree are also to be found there; three things which it is said Turi brought with him to New Zealand. There is no reason to doubt this, though all three are natives of these Islands; but being new to Turi, he probably brought the birds and the fruit of the *karaka*, intending to make use of them in his new home.

Whilst they were at Rangitahua, there also arrived another canoe

named "Te Ririno," under the command of Po-toru, with whom there was a dispute as to the direction to be taken to fetch New Zealand, which ended in Po-toru taking his course, and finally coming to grief at Tau-tope-ki-te-uru wherever that may be, which the traditions do not tell us, nor how they know of his end. However, in a song composed by Tu-raukawa of Ngati-Ruanui, early in the nineteenth century, we find a reference to the probable fact of his having reached New Zealand, for which see Chapter III., p. 48.

After certain ceremonies had been performed "Aotea" started again on her way for New Zealand. From Rangi-tahua they would lose the trade-winds and get into much boisterous weather, a fact which is indicated in many of the records of these voyages, though couched in terms partaking of the marvellous. Turi's wife, Rongorongo, was also delivered of a son, named Tutaua-whanau-moana, or Tu-tana—the-sea-born—on the voyage.

It is somewhat uncertain from the traditions as to where the "Aotea" made the land; but various things cause me to think this was somewhere on the North East Coast, from whence they passed round the North Cape, and in all probability called in at Hokianga and Kaipara, visiting and being entertained by the people there. Thence coasting to the south, they went into Aotea harbour, which is said to have been named after the vessel, and here most accounts say she was left, but there seems a doubt whether she did not come on, bringing the people to their final destination at Patea in South Taranaki.* However this may be, after the usual *karakia* had been said, the *awhi*, to remove all evil influences due to their arrival in a new land, and from which circumstance Ka-awhia Harbour takes its name, Turi came south overland, naming the various rivers and prominent places as he advanced—for which see accounts of the voyage—he finally reached the Patea river, which he named Patea-nui-a-Turi—Great Patea of Turi. Probably this was named after Patea, a *marae* in Tahiti, for which see "Memoirs of Te Ari'i Taimai," p.p. 38, 81. The river had, however, a previous name, Te Tai-a-Kehu, according to the Rev. T. G. Hammond, who also says it was called Te Awa-nui-a-Taikehu, a name equally applied to the Whanganui River. The Whenua-kura river (so called by Turi) a little to the south of Patea,

* Besides the actual statement in some traditions that the canoe came to Patea, it is related that as late as 1891, the people possessed one of Turi's paddles that he used on board the "Aotea." This I learn from the Rev. T. G. Hammond, and if it is true, it probably came in the canoe itself—they would scarcely bring it all the way overland from Aotea Harbour. The paddle is said to differ in shape from modern paddles.

had also another name—Wai-kakahi—all of which names were given by the *tangata-whenua* people prior to Turi's arrival.

The following is the "Passenger List" of "Aotea" canoe, as supplied to me by Tautahi, and by other natives to the Rev. T. G. Hammond.

TAUTAHĪ'S LIST.

Turi (captain)	Hou-areare	Kewa	Turanga-i-mua
Hoi-matua	Puhi-potiki	Tu-te-rangi-pouri	<i>Families :—</i>
Urunga-tai	Kahu-nui	Po-toru?	Te Kahui Kotare
Kahu-papae	Rangi-te-pu	Tapu-kai	Te Kahui-Po
Kauika (a priest)	Tuau (priest)	Hau-nui	Te Kahui-Kau

MR. HAMMOND'S LIST (in addition to the above).

Hau-pipi (a priest of Maru)	Hau-taepo	Tama-ki-te-ra
Tapo (a <i>matakite</i> , or seer)	Rangi-potaka	Tua-nui-o-te-ra
Takou	Tama-te-ra	Uira-ngai-mua
Tutaua-whanau-moana	Rongorongo (<i>f</i>)	Hine-wai-tai (<i>f</i>)
Tane-roroa (<i>f</i>)	Kura-mahanga (<i>f</i>)	Tanene

The same gentleman supplies the names of the *hapus* (sub-tribes) who were represented by these people—or perhaps we may say that the above names are represented at this day by these *hapus* :—

Ngati-Rongotea	Ngati-Hau-pipi	Ngati-Rua-nui
Ngati-Kauika	Ngati-Riu-waka	Nga-Rauru (ki-tahi)
Ngati-Hau-pihipihi	Ngati-Maru	Ngati-Taroa

To this may be added—Ngati-Kahu-nui and Ngati-Rangi-te-pu, of Waitotara. To this list may be added the Taranaki tribe and sub-tribes, besides many Whanganui, Ngati-Apa and others along the West Coast.

It will be noticed in the above lists how extraordinarily few the women are. But as women did not count for much in Maori times, as a rule, no doubt their names are not considered sufficiently important to be mentioned unless they belonged to some high family. There are thirty-one individual names, besides three families, and probably many more came as well, for some would no doubt settle on the coast as they came down; besides which, there would be slaves. There were certainly two others, at least, who came by the "Aotea"—not counting some of the crew of "Kura-haupo" who joined Turi at Rangi-tahua, *e.g.*, Rakeiora, a priest who settled at Urenui, and Pou-poto who, whilst on the N.E. Coast, stole from Nga-Kura-matapo, one of the principal men of the "Kura-haupo" passengers, a valuable greenstone ornament named Hunakiko. (Probably this name is wrong, for it is that usually given to the celebrated magically endowed cloak belonging to Turi.) Pou-poto came to Patea with Turi; and after a time Nga-Kura-matapo came overland by the West Coast (the other "Kura-haupo" people coming by the East Coast), following up in Turi's

footsteps, determined to recover his lost treasure. One night he arrived very tired at the banks of the Manawa-pou river, about ten miles north of Patea, and laid himself down to sleep. He slept with the head resting on his arm, elbow on the ground; his arm slipped, which was a *takiri* or sign, interpreted by Nga-Kura-matapo as evidence that he was about to accomplish the object of his search. Of course we unbelieving white-folks would say this slipping of the arm was merely the effect of fatigue, but then we are grossly ignorant on such subjects according to Maori ideas. However this may be, on ascending the hill next day, Nga-Kura-matapo there found Pou-poto, whose head he cut off, and stuck his heart on a pole, hence the name of the place Manawa-pou, which it bears to this day.

So Turi and his companions settled down near the mouth of the Patea river, in the place where Kupe had advised him, and built his house named Matangi-rei on the flat land, about a quarter of a mile south of the present Railway Station, and near the mouth of the river. In this house were placed the valuables they had brought from Hawaiki; the celebrated cloak named Huna-kiko, the images of their gods, the *whatus*, and other properties, for this was a sacred house, a *whare-maire*, in which was afterwards taught the knowledge handed down from their ancestors. On top of the cliffs between this house and the present Railway Station was Rangi-tawhi, Turi's village, and near the flag-staff of the Pilot Station was Hekeheke-i-papa, the first *kumara* cultivation made by the people, in which were planted the few remaining tubers that had not been consumed on the voyage, and which had been preserved by Rongorongo, Turi's wife. There were sufficient to plant eight *wakawaka* or hillocks, one *kumara* in each; from which they harvested 800 tubers. These no doubt would be carefully preserved to increase their stock the following year. A little nearer to the Railway Station was Turi's spring named Parara-ki-te-uru, where the drinking water was obtained, clear and cold, points on which the Maori of old was very particular.

The one or two accounts that have been preserved in print of the settlement of these people in these parts, make no mention of people being found at Patea and that neighbourhood, and yet when questioned the people acknowledge that there were *tangata-whenua* living there. They were called the Kahui-toka, and Rev. R. Taylor refers to them as *kiri whakapapa*, which, however, is not a tribal but a descriptive name. Taikahu's descendants must have been found there by the Maoris of the *heke*, and also the people named Kahui-maunga.

CHAPTER VI.

THE CANOES OF "THE FLEET."—CONTINUED.

WHILST we must ever give precedence to the crews of the "Aotea" canoe as contributing most largely to the Hawaiki element in the population of the West Coast, there are two other vessels that are also claimed as having brought over many ancestors of the present Maori people. Of the two, perhaps "Tokomaru" has usually been considered the most important—why, it is somewhat difficult to say; for so far as can be ascertained, the number of people who trace descent from her crew are but few. The prominence given to this vessel is probably due to the fact of an account of her voyage having been published by Sir. George Grey in "Polynesian Mythology;" which account (together with many notes gathered by others), will now be given in abbreviated form, in which the original in Maori, published in "Nga Mahinga," will be translated.

THE "TOKOMARU" CANOE.

There are many difficulties surrounding the account of the reasons why the crew of this canoe migrated to New Zealand, which leads one to infer that Manaia's war in Hawaiki did not really take place just prior to the migration as Sir George Grey's narrative leads the reader to infer, but rather at a date long anterior to that period. The narrative (*loc. cit.*) says—"The reason why Manaia (said to be captain of 'Tokomaru') came hither, was his massacre of the party of spear-makers, who had debauched his wife Rongo-tiki." Manaia was desirous of securing a party of men to make spears, and for that purpose sent to Tupenu, who was head-chief of the tribe who were expert spear-makers, to order that this should be done. The men came to Manaia's village and set to work, whilst Manaia occupied himself in procuring food of all sorts for the workmen, often going out to sea to catch fish for the same purpose. On one occasion he found that whilst all his party caught fish in plenty none came to his line, until just when the party were about to return home Manaia hooked a fish, but to his surprise, by the tail, and not by the mouth. With the common belief in omens, so characteristic a feature of the Maori, Manaia at once came to the conclusion that some evil had befallen his wife. On

reaching home, his suspicions were confirmed by Rongo-tiki (his wife) who disclosed to her husband the insult she had been subjected to by the spear-makers.

Manaia now considered how this insult to his wife was to be effaced. There was only one way according to Polynesian law: the evil-doers must be killed. But he had to proceed cautiously and by stratagem. Pretending that he was unaware of what had occurred, he urged the spear-makers to make the spears large and heavy, so that—in the words of the Maori story—"they should not be able to carry them"—*i.e.*, use them in fighting. This remark opens up a question as to who these spear-makers were? It is clear Manaia had no doubt as to the ability of his own people to use them, and this may perhaps indicate that they were a more powerful race of men than the spear-makers. It is suggested that the latter were probably some of those skilled artisans known as the Manahune (or Menehune), a diminutive people, probably Melanesians, who lived in a state of vassalage, if not slavery, with the Polynesians of Tahiti and Hawaii, and who are referred to in the traditions of both those islands as also those of Rarotonga. They were probably some of the Solomon or other Melanesian islanders, captured by the Polynesians, and employed by them as sailors, workmen, etc.

Manaia now arranged with his own people that they should fall on the spear-makers and exterminate them. When the proper moment came, Manaia urged his son, Tu-ure-nui to distinguish himself by slaying the first man—a deed much thought of by the Maoris—but the young fellow held back, and allowed another young-man named Kahu-kaka to take his place. It was he that secured the *mata-ika*, or first slain, crying out as he did so, the usual Maori boast—"I, Kahu-kaka-a-Manaia, have got the first slain!" It is said, that until Manaia heard his own name pronounced by this young warrior, he was not aware that he had any other son but Tu-ure-nui. After this he acknowledged Kahu-kaka, and made much of him. Tupenu, the chief of the spear-makers, would have escaped, but that Rongo-tiki, Manaia's wife, uttered a powerful *tupe*, which had the effect of hindering his steps, and thus allowed Manaia to overtake and kill him on the beach at Pikopiko-i-whiti. All the others were killed.

The name just quoted, again leads me to infer that this story is older than the date of the migration, for it can, I think, be shown that that place was either in Samoa or Fiji, whereas Manaia emigrated from Tahiti.

A war now ensued between Tupenu's people and those of Manaia, in which the superior numbers of the former led to their obtaining the

victory, and gave cause to Manaia to reflect—"A! my people are disappearing; presently, perhaps, I shall share the same fate. It would be better for me to leave this place, and seek a home in some other land." So he obtained a canoe named "Tokomaru" from his brother-in-law, and prepared for his voyage; and then, after vainly endeavouring to induce his brother-in-law to join him, enticed him on board the canoe, and there killed him as a sacrifice to secure a propitious voyage.

No particulars of the voyage are given in the tradition from which the above account is taken, but we know that "Tokomaru" came with the fleet from the west coast of Tahiti, first calling in at Rai'atea, in all probability, then at Rarotonga, where the name of the canoe is known as forming part of the fleet. I have no doubt that she also made Sunday Island (or Rangi-tahua) with the other canoes, and after leaving there, separated from her companion vessels in the gale, of which the "logs" of some of the vessels make mention, finally making the land on the south shore of Tokomaru Bay, some forty-five miles north of Gisborne. Here the crew landed on a rock, still pointed out and called after the canoe, and staid for a time, leaving some of their number who settled down there, amongst whom were Te Rangi-tatai-whetu and Rakiora who have (or had) descendants amongst the East Coast tribes. The spot where she landed was pointed out to the Hon. J. Carroll and myself by Henare Potae, chief of those parts, in 1899. From there the vessel coasted northwards round the East Cape, no doubt calling at places that looked desirable as settlements, but finding them occupied by the *tangata-whenua* (though this is not mentioned either in Grey's account or in the many stories told to myself). The vessel came round the North Cape, and then coasted down to the Tonga-porutu river, forty miles north of New Plymouth, where her long voyage ended.

From here, according to Grey's account, Manaia and his people—or some of them—went south to the Waitara river, where they encountered a lot of the *tangata-whenua* people, and exterminated them, as has been related in Chapter II. hereof. But it seems probable that Manaia himself settled down at Tonga-porutu, for here, soon after the arrival of the canoe, was built the house named Marae-roto-hia, which we may, in a broad sense, call a temple, or house of learning; for, as in the case of the other migrations, it was here that the knowledge of the tribal history, mysteries, etc., was taught by the tribal priests.

The Maori account of "Tokomaru" in "Nga Mahinga" ends up by saying—"Now this man (Manaia) was my (our) ancestor, the line descending to the Ngati-Awa tribe, as also from Rongotiki his wife.

The above is the account of the migration of Manaia from Hawaiki, where he had fought two battles, Kirikiri-wawa and Ra-to-rua,* where the weapons of Manaia named Kihia and Rakea became famous, etc." Unfortunately Sir George Grey never gives his authority for the matter he has collected, and, therefore, it is unknown who it was, as mentioned above, who claimed Manaia as his direct ancestor, and also that of Ngati-Awa. All I have to say on this subject is that I have hitherto failed to find any one amongst Ngati- (or Ati-) Awa, who acknowledges this man as an ancestor any more than in a general kind of way; but it is possible the Ngati-Tama tribe of Tonga-porutu can recite their genealogies back to him. At the same time Ati-Awa do allow that some of them descended from the crew of "Tokomaru," but so far as my enquiries go, they cannot recite any genealogies from them. This is very suspicious; and shows that probably but a very few people can claim "Tokomaru" as their ancestral vessel, and even then, probably through marriage connections with Ngati-Tama. The general statements I have gathered are to the effect that some of the following *hapus*:—Puketapu, of Waitara, Manu-korihi, of Waitara, and Ngati-Rahiri, of Waitara and Waihi, claim descent from one of "Tokomaru's" crew—the latter people from Rahiri-pakarara, who migrated long ago from Mohaka-tino (near Tonga-porutu) to their present homes; whilst the two first-named claim from one Rakeiora, who is believed to have been the priest of "Tokomaru," afterwards (it is said) deified into a *kumara* god, and in later times was taken from Urenui by Rangihawe of Ngati-Ruanui to Patea to be used as such. Rangihawe was the father of the somewhat celebrated Turau-kawa, the poet who will be referred to later on. Hatu-moana, shown in Table No. 28, is believed to have come in the "Aotea" canoe, but it is uncertain.

TABLE NO. XXVIII.

22 Hatu-moana = Heitakiri	
21 1 Mahaki-roa.	2 Tuteke = Pa-moechau
Rangi-hawe = Tu-moe-tahanga	
19 1 Tamatea-moiri = Tuiti.	2 Tu-rau-kawa-porou

* Ra-to-rua, one of the battles fought by Uenuku at Rarotonga, see *ante* (Chapter V.)

I am indebted to the Rev. T. G. Hammond for the following line

TABLE NO. XXIX.

- 23 Rakeiora
Tama-whitiia
Tama-nui-i-te-ra
20 Te Tama-karae
Te Karae-nui
Te Karae-roa
Te Karae-toka
Karae-whakia
15 Tai-kehu
Kurau-niho
Pae-kawa-nui
Rae-matua
Timo-ranga-ahu
10 Tuiri-rangi
Tuhoro-kotea
Tu-te-whatahi
Pounamu
Iria
5 Titope
Tu-kato
Raumati
.....
.....

Ngati-Rakei of Mokau, which tribe is the connecting link between Ngati-Maniapoto of "The King Country," and Te Ati-Awa of Taranaki. If this line is right it shows that Ngati-Rahiri have occupied their present homes, north of Waitara, from about seventy-five years after the arrival of the fleet in 1350. On the same page quoted above, the author mentions Te Rangitata as an emigrant by Tokomaru, and he, with Manaia, his son Tu-ure-nui, and Rakeiora are the only recorded names of the Crew of "Tokomaru," on the West Coast.

Like so many of these questions, there is more than one story as to the origin of Rahiri. Some say that he was a descendant of those who came in "Tainui," and claim that he (or his ancestor) built the great house Marae-rotohia, and not Manaia. But I prefer taking old Watene Taungatara as an authority before any other of the tribe I have questioned, and he says Manaia, of "Tokomaru," built the house, and that Ngati-Rahiri's ancestors came in that canoe.

Table No. 31 was printed in the "Karere Maori," 30th April, 1860—a publication that is rare indeed in the land—and as it was collected at so early a date, when many of the old men were alive and able to give reliable information, it ought to be correct. I quote it, not only

of descent from Rakeiora, being part of a longer line; it is somewhat longer than usual from the date of the *heke*, the mean number of generations should be twenty-two, and it runs into the Ngati-Ruanui in its latter end, Raumati being a well-known man of that tribe.

In Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. I., p. 227, Col. Gudgeon gives the descent from Rahiri-pakarara, said to be the eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Rahiri of Waitara and Waihi; but this particular line is that of

TABLE NO. XXX.

- 19 Rakei II. = Rahiri-
pakarara
Kapuatahi
Mangatu
Moe-tahuna
15 Moe-rewarewa
Rauru
Tawa-pahaka
Hine-tua-hoanga
Rakei III.
10 Pou-rewa
Waruhe-apoa
Wai-mauku
Te Puna
Whanga
5 Te Manu
Te Ngongo
Wi Ari
.....
.....

TE ATI-AWA TRIBE.

TABLE No. XXXI.



Te Retimona and Te Teira were the principal men in the sale of Waitara to the Crown in 1860, which sale led to the War. Rangi-kuru-patua's "saying" was "*Ko te patete a te whera.*" W. K. Te Rangi-take was our principal opponent in the wars of the "sixties." His ancestor, Tu-parua, is said to have been a landless man, but belonging to the same tribe, and is referred to by the others as "*he ika tere mai, kahore ona waka,*" "a drift fish, he had no canoe." Obviously some names on this line must have been omitted—it is six or eight generations short.

as giving the lines of descent of many well known chiefs of Ati-Awa, but because I have been informed by Te Whetu, a fairly learned man, that the two first names on the table came over in the "Tokomaru"—a statement I find it very difficult to believe, and on the contrary think they are those of *tangata-whenua* ancestors of the great Ati-Awa tribe. The first name on the list—Kahui-tu—is not that of a man, but of a tribe, in which the term *Kahui*, is that I have shown in Chapter V. to be peculiar to the *tangata-whenua*. Te Kahui-tu is one of the original tribes, shown on the genealogical table No. 1, in Chapter II., page 22, but there is no information to hand to connect the two.

The anchor of the "Tokomaru" canoe is still in existence.* Mr. John Skinner describes it as follows:—"The anchor is a large stone made of a whitish (Dolorite?) stone, and stands about three feet high and weighs from three to four cwt.; it is pierced for a cable; the first hole made had broken out, and they then bored another across the grain of the stone."

A few pages back, reference was made to the probability of the incidents assigned as the cause of Manaia leaving Hawaiki having occurred long prior to that period. This we gather from the fact of the Morioris of the Chatham Islands being acquainted with the incident of the massacre of the spear-makers. There can be no question that the Morioris left New Zealand long prior to the date of arrival of the "Tokomaru" canoe in about 1350. From all we know they probably left in the times of Rauru and Whatonga, who flourished twenty-eight or twenty-nine generations ago, or about the years 1200 to 1225. The Moriori story will be found in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. III., p. 187, and though the incidents are somewhat different, the tradition is evidently based on the same story as that preserved by the Maoris. The names Manaia and Kahu-kaka are identical in both stories. The only conclusion we can adopt is, that the battle of Kirikiri-wawa took place long before the sailing of the "Tokomaru" for New Zealand, and was learnt by the Morioris during their residence in New Zealand, through some of the unrecorded visitors prior to the *heke* of 1350, and that the Maoris have, through lapse of time, confused this tradition with some incident that actually did occur, and which latter was the prime cause of the "Tokomaru" canoe leaving for New Zealand.

* The stone is hidden on the south bank of the Mohakatino river, and only Messrs. John Strauchon, G. Robinson and myself know the spot. It was hidden for fear the Maoris should sell it, and with the intention of finally getting it placed in a Museum.

THE "KURA-HAUPO" CANOE.

The third of the vessels, the crews of which have left numerous descendants amongst the Taranaki tribes, was "Kura-haupo," and luckily in this case, thanks to my friends of the Taranaki tribe, we have much more precise information about this vessel and her crew. She left the west coast of Tahiti with the rest of the fleet, about the year 1350, but history does not, in her case, as in many others, tell us of the immediate cause of her crew migrating. No doubt they were involved in the many quarrels existing at that time, and partook also of the desire to see the new land which had been reported as lying far to the South-west. The Taranaki tribe hold that Te Mounga-roa was the captain of the canoe, whilst Ngati-Apa, of Rangitikei, say that one named Ruatea was the principal man on board. We cannot decide this question, nor is it of much consequence. They have both left plenty of descendants now living in New Zealand. Before leaving, Te Mounga-roa had secured some treasure, called by the Maoris a *kura*: but what this was, my endeavours have failed to elicit, any more than that it was connected with a high branch of their system of *karakia* (or incantations, invocations—religion in fact), and it does not appear to have been a material object. Some old Maoris seem to think it was "the tree of life," or "Philosopher's stone," (so described by my informant), but that does not help us much. It was something that Te Mounga-roa sought and obtained in the realms of the *Po*, or the nebulous obscurity of the past, and was much coveted by the learned men of the other canoes. Possibly we may best define it as the esoteric knowledge of ancient beliefs and history.

The "Kura-hau-po" called in at Rarotonga with the other vessels, for her name is preserved there amongst the vessels of the fleet; and then came on to Rangi-tahua Island, where the "Aotea" had already arrived, and with her, or shortly after came the "Mata-tua," and probably the "Tainui," "Te Arawa" and "Tokomaru," but of these latter three, we have only inference to support the belief that they were there. Probably these canoes landed on the north coast of the island (which no doubt is Sunday Island) where there is a sandy beach, fairly sheltered during southerly and westerly winds, and from which the shore rises some fifty feet to a level or undulating terrace, composed of rich soil, about a mile long and a fourth of that in width. Here the canoes were repaired, and their top-sides lashed afresh, for after their long run from Rarotonga, these had become loosened by the leverage of sail and paddle. Heartily glad would the voyagers be to stretch their limbs after the cramped positions and confined space they would be limited to on board, even if, as is probable, the vessels were built on the model of the

pahi, with a deck between the two hulls, and probably a cabin on that deck. On the terrace alluded to above, are to be found a few specimens of the candle-nut tree of Polynesia; they are about sixty feet high, and three feet in diameter. It is an interesting question as to whether the fleet of canoes did not bring the seed with them, and plant or drop them there. The nuts being full of oil are used by the Polynesians as lights, by stringing them on a fine stick, or midrib of the coconut palm, and then setting light to them. And it was probably the crew of the canoes that left the stone axes discovered there a few years since.

After repairing the vessels, and making the usual sacrifices to their gods to ensure the continuation of a prosperous voyage, the fleet prepared to depart. All appear to have got off safely except “Kura-haupo” which, in paddling off through the surf, got seriously damaged, in fact the accounts say, broken up.

The name given to this place in consequence was Te Rere-a-Kura-haupo, or the flight or descent of “Kura-haupo.” On ascertaining that the vessel was unfit to proceed on her voyage she was—according to Taranaki accounts—abandoned, and her cargo and crew transhipped to the “Mata-tua,” though it would also appear that a few of them came on in the “Aotea.” It is highly probable, though not so stated in the tradition, that some of the crew remained at the island with the intention of repairing the broken canoe and continuing their voyage in her. But the remainder came to New Zealand in the “Mata-tua,” and landed somewhere on the East Coast—where exactly is not known. Judge Wilson says four of the canoes, including “Mata-tua,” all met at Great Mercury Island in the Bay of Plenty, and here probably occurred the scene between Te Mouna-roa and some of the chiefs of the other canoes, in which he accused them of having used their powers of witchcraft to wreck the “Kura-haupo”; and when he boasts that, notwithstanding their evil intentions, he had succeeded in bringing with him the precious *kura*, much to their chagrin. The “Mata-tua” crew were all relatives of the people of “Kura-haupo,” and hence were they brought on by the former, says my informant, and the name “Broken-canoe” is born by some of the people of Taranaki to this day, in remembrance of the catastrophe to “Kura-haupo.” Te Mouna-roa set up a *tuahu* (or altar) near where they landed in New Zealand to offer the usual thanksgiving, and whereat to recite the necessary *karakias* to remove all evil effects that might afflict them in the new land, and after that, finding that all the lands in those parts were already appropriated, he with Turu-rangi-marie, Tu-kapua and Akurama-tapu, with their people, travelled along by the East Coast, and up the shores of Cook’s Straits, finally settling down in the Taranaki

country at Wairau stream, near Capt. Mace's present homestead, in the neighbourhood of Oakura. But Akurama-tapu and Tu-kapua after a time returned to the East Coast, and there settled down.

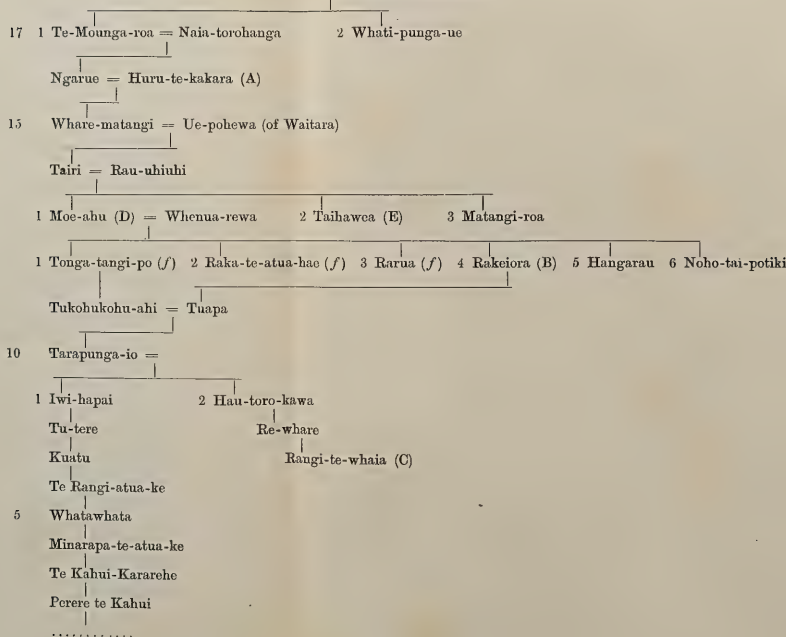
So far the Taranaki account; but others state that "Kura-haupo" actually came to New Zealand, and this seems probably true; for we cannot neglect certain traditions about the vessel, gathered from various parts of the North Island. It is probably the case that some of the crew remained behind at Rangi-tahua Island, and succeeded in repairing the damages caused at the time the other vessels of the fleet left. Under Ruatea the canoe now succeeded in making the coast of New Zealand, near the North Cape—where, as we shall see, she left part of her crew—and coasting down the East Coast from there, called in at various places no doubt, but the only ones recorded are near Table Cape, when she left an anchor, said to be there now, then to Mohaka in Hawke's Bay; then to a place a little to the south of Matau-a-Maui, (Cape Kidnappers) where, it is said some of the crew remained, and who were afterwards driven out by Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and migrated to the South Island, and are known as Ngati-Mamoe. Next, some of her crew, with Ruatea, were landed and settled somewhere in Cook's Straits, and furnished some of the ancestors of the Ngati-Apa tribe of Rangi-tikei; probably Kupakupa was one of these—an ancestor of the Wairarapa people, though he died in the South Island, and Awaawa-wetewete-tapiki, a common ancestor of Ngati-Kuia and Rangi-tane. We next find this canoe settling the country of the sounds, north end of the South Island, under Koanga-umu and his wife Wainui-a-ono, who were the ancestors of the Ngati-Kuia tribe of Pelorus. One account says she came down the East Coast in company with the "Takitumu" canoe, which latter went on by the East Coast of the South Island to Moeraki, whilst "Kura-haupo" went to the West Coast, and finally remained at the Mawhera or Grey River, or as another and more probable account says, at Te Taitapu, Golden Bay, South Island.

To go back to the first arrival of this vessel at or near the North Cape. The Au-pouri and Rarawa tribes claim that some of them descend from the crew of "Kura-hau-po," and they specially name Po who came in her and who is one of the ancestors of Te Patu, and Ngati-Kuri, *hapus* of Te Rarawa tribe. The account states that the "Mamari" canoe arrived first at Hokianga, followed by "Kura-hau-po," and that the crews of these vessels intermarried with the original inhabitants, thereby leading to wars and troubles. It is interesting to note that the same account gives twenty-one generations of the original people down to the time of arrival of the fleet, which agrees with the statements in Chapter I.

TARANAKI TRIBE.

TABLE No XXXII.

22 Tamatea-uta
 Tamatea-tai
 20 Tamatea-iwi
 Tamatea-pou
 Tamatea-huru-mangamaunga



It will be seen from what has now been said as to “Kura-haupo,” that this vessel has contributed largely to the present inhabitants of New Zealand, and that her crew became more dispersed than that of any other canoe. Wherever they landed they mixed with the original people, and their descendants soon became the leaders and rulers over them.

We can enumerate a good many people that came over in “Kura-haupo” (the name of which vessel, by the way, was “Tarai-po” at one time before she left Hawaiki—possibly named after a famous exploring canoe used by Maori and Rarotonga ancestors some centuries prior to the *heke*). From the Taranaki tribe we get the following names:—

Te Moungra-roa	Arai-pawa	Te Rangi-awhia
Turu-rangi-marie	Hataura	Te Rangi-tutu
Amaru-tawhiti	Rongo-mai-rere-tu	Tu-kapua
Akurama-tapu	Te Rangi-tuhi-ao	Toka-uri
Toka-hau	Toka-poto	Toka-tara
Tamatea-ki-te-aro-a-uki	Kere-papaka (Te Moungra-roa's son)	

Seventeen names in all as remembered, but there were thirty-five people known to have settled on the Taranaki coast. Toko-poto was the ancestor of Ngati-Haupoto *hapu* of Rahotu; Toka-tara was the ancestor of Potiki-roa, of whom see *infra*. And the Oa-kura river, eight miles south of New Plymouth, received its name from the fact of the redness (*kura*) of the soles of Akurama-tapu's feet when running there, and the Tapuae-haruru river, seven miles south of New Plymouth, was named from the “resounding footsteps” of the same man.

In addition to the above we have from other accounts the following names of persons who came on in the canoe after she was repaired:—

Ruatea, of Ngati-Apa, Po (or Pou), of the Rarawa, Koanga-umu, Wai-nui-a-ono, Awaawa and Kupakupa of Ngati-Kuia, etc.

Making forty-one in all. But of course there were many more, for we do not know the names of those who settled at Cape Kidnappers, Te Taitapu, etc.

Table No. 32, of the descent from Te Moungra-roa, reputed captain of “Kura-haupo,” is recited by the Taranaki people.

NOTES TO TABLE NO. 32.

A.—See the story of Ngarue, *infra*. He owned the *tuahu* called Rohutu, at Waitara.

B.—Rakei-ora (*Ka tangi te pu* = The trumpet sounded). He was the first son, his seniors being daughters; hence the trumpet.

C.—The ancestor of Te Whetu and Te Rangi-kapu-oho, who was the father of Ropata Ngarongo-mate, or, as he was better known to Europeans, Bob Erangi,

a well known and influential chief in the sixties, and brother to Mrs. Wellington Carrington.*

D.—Moeahu: from him Ngati-Moeahu *hapu* of Taranaki take their name.

E.—Moeahu and Tai-hawea were twins (*mahanga*); hence Ngati-Mahanga *hapu*.

* An interesting and amusing anecdote used to be told by the Maoris in the fifties of last century, relating to the marriage feast of Mr. and Mrs. Wellington Carrington, which the Maoris used to enjoy and tell with great gusto. First, I may say, that Te Rangi-kapu-oho, the father of the lady, was a fierce old warrior, very fully tattooed, who, from 1850 to 1858, lived most of his time as a squatter on the east side of Okoare *pa*, near what is now called Westown, where he was a constant source of annoyance to the owner of the property. The probability is that the old man—who was generally known as Erangi—had not been paid sufficiently by the Government for his share in the land, according to the old fellow's idea of his claim; and eventually Mr. (afterwards Sir Donald) McLean had to buy him out, after which he gave no further trouble, and retired to Tapuae, where the marriage feast took place. In those days, all Maoris were very partial to a dish called "Lillipee," which was a compound of flour, sugar and hot water. At the marriage feast, a large quantity of this delectable compound was made for the Maori guests, but there was no utensil large enough to hold it. The Maoris, however, were equal to the occasion. They cleaned out a good sized fishing canoe and poured the lillipee into it. Then all stood round, each armed with a large mussel shell, and proceeded to enjoy the good cheer. Whilst this was going on, a small child, in its eagerness to help itself, overreached and fell into the pasty mass. He was hauled out, covered from head to foot in a sticky coating of lillipee. This could not be allowed to go to waste; so the people around scraped the child with their mussel shells, and swallowed the contents. Thinking that the food was not sufficiently scraped off, old Rangi (it is said) held the child up by the heels, and licked him all over; thus securing a tasty morsel, and saving soap!

It will be noticed that the ancestors of Te Moungra-roa are all named Tamatea. It is probable that these are connected with the family of that name, which migrated with Tangiia from the west coast of Tahiti, and settled in Rarotonga, *circa* 1250, and which family (descended from one Iri-ngoro) has borne the name of Tamatea down to the present day in Rarotonga. I do not recognise Te Moungra-roa's particular ancestors on the Rarotonga line; but they may be either a younger or an elder branch. It is said that the name Tamatea (first of the name) was given to Iri-ngoro's son because his skin became quite fair through an illness—the translation of the name being 'fair-son.' At the great Rotorua Meeting in June, 1901, where Maoris from all parts gathered to honour H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, were a few Rarotongans. My friend Major Tu-nui-a-rangi tells me that a discussion took place between the Rarotongans—amongst whom was Pa-ariki, or Maretu—and the learned men of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu there present, and that they satisfied themselves (at all events) that the Tamatea, who came to New Zealand as captain of the "Taki-tumu"

TARANAKI TRIBE.

TABLE No. XXXIII.

20 Te Hetaura (A) = Wairau (f)

1st Tauranga (B) (f) = Tama-ahua = 2nd Kaibanga-roa

Raumati-nui-o-taua (C) = Te Kura-tapiri-rangi (f) (D)

Kamate = Awahi-papa (f)

1 Manawa-ara = Kaiāia 2 Wikura (f) 3 Hōia

15 1 Tu-rae 2 Tu-te-akan-nca 3 Tu-te-okioki 4 Tu-nati = Piri-taonga 5 Kaimate 6 Tu-kopapa (E) 7 Tu-koreo 8 Pou-tapapa

1 Rongo-mai-papa (F) = Tai-hawea 2 Tuunga 3 Tu-pakira 4 Tu-ranga-whiu

1 Turi-paria = Tu-huhua 2 Rakai-hotu-rua 3 Rakoi-whiu 4 Rahiri-whakaruru 5 Mahana-nui-a-tau

Maru-poto = Whare-iti

1 Te-kau-awa 2 Maru-whiu 3 Whare-tapui = Tu-maire-hau

10 1 Harpaki-tu = Uenuka-kokore 2 Kahu-kura-whiri 3 Tu-te-kawa 4 Whareo 5 Tu-te-rauhi

Tama-kumu = Rahiri-mikia

Tutere = Iwhapai

Kuatu = Waikiringa

Rangi-atua-ke = Hine-rau-matangi

Whatawhata = Ani-Patene

Minarapa-te-atua-ke =

Te Kahui-kararehe =

Perere Te Kahui =

NOTES.—*A*—Te Hataura came in "Kura-hau" canoe. *B*—Tauranga was a woman of Tauranga, East Coast. *C*—For story of Ruanui see *taufe*. *D*—Te Kura is said to have come in "Kura-hau"; if so she must have been a child. *E*—Kopapa, an ancestor of *taufe*. *F*—Rongo-mai-papa? Rongo-mai-hupe. *G*—and other Nanti-Ruanui. *H*—Rongo-mai-papa? Rongo-mai-hupe. *I*—For story of Ruanui see *taufe*. *J*—Kopapa, an ancestor of *taufe*.

canoe with the fleet, was a member of this same family. This may, or may not be the case, for this Tamatea is one of those about whom there is a good deal of doubt.

It will be noted that the genealogical line quoted in Table No. 32, *ante*, is about five generations short of the mean number, which is 22.

The following line (Table No. 33) is also from one of the crew of "Kura-haupo," and like that in Table No. 32 is shorter than usual—twenty generations instead of twenty-two, and possibly there is one generation omitted at the eighth back from the present day.

Tahu-rangi, a descendant of Te Hatauirā, was the first man to ascend Mount Egmont, and when he got there he lit a fire on top (presumably he took up the firewood with him) to show to all the world that he had taken possession of the mountain. Whenever the wisps of smoke-like cloud are seen clinging to the summit of the mountain, as they often do, this is said to be the "fire of Tahu-rangi" *Te Ahi a Tahu-rangi*. Probably there is foundation for this story, and that the ascent occurred soon after the arrival of "Kura-haupo," in order to claim the mountain as against Te Ati-Awa tribe. But in modern times the Maoris have always shown a strong disinclination to make the ascent—as it was a breaking of the *tapu* to do so.

CHAPTER VII.

TARANAKI TRIBES AND THEIR BOUNDARIES.

IN preceding chapters, we have brought the history of the people we are dealing with down to their arrival, and settling down in New Zealand. It remains to gather up the various threads of story as they have been preserved by the tribes, and endeavour to weave them into something like a continuous history. The amount of *data* we have for this purpose is considerable; but it is too frequently of a very sketchy nature, and often the incidents cannot be placed in their proper sequence.

But before relating what has been preserved on the above subject, it will be convenient to place on record, so far as may be, an enumeration of the tribes and *hapus* occupying the Taranaki Coast, taking their names as we find them at the date of the arrival of Europeans in the country. It was at a little before that time that the most momentous events in the history of the Coast occurred, and the tribes known then to be in existence were the actors and sufferers in those troublous times. Northwards of the true Taranaki Coast, or north of Mokau, the series of tribes that occupied those parts should find a mention here also, for we shall constantly come across their names in following out the history of the Taranaki tribes proper.

TAINUI TRIBES.

From the Mokau river—which may be taken as the Northern boundary of the Taranaki tribes, as it is of the present Province—northwards to Manukau Harbour, a coast line of over one hundred and twenty miles, we find a number of tribes and *hapus*, who may be styled generally the Tainui tribes, because they are largely descended from the crew of the “Tainui” canoe that formed one of the fleet of 1350, and which canoe finally found a resting place in Kawhia Harbour, where, to this day may be seen two pillars of stone, named Puna and Hani, placed there by the Maoris to show the exact length of the vessel where she finally rotted away.* A very significant name is that

* See Plate No. 5, from a photograph by Mr. R. W. S. Ballentyne, in which the two stone pillars are shown. They are between 60 and 70 feet apart, and thus serve to denote the probable length of one of these famous canoes.



Photo by R. W. S. Ballantyne.

PLATE No. 5.

Stones marking the length of the "Tainui" canoe at Kawhia.

of Ahurei, close to the spot where "Tainui" perished. It was the *tuāhu* or altar set up by Hoturoa the captain of the "Tainui" on her arrival, and is named in memory of the district in Tahiti from whence they came—now called Te Fana-i-Ahurei. Close to is Hawaiki, where Hoturoa's wife planted the first *kumaras*, brought over in the "Tainui." Many details as to these tribes are to be found in Mr. John White's "Ancient History of the Maoris," Vols. I., II., and III., but his matter sadly wants editing and arranging on an historical basis. So far as this narrative is concerned, we may, for the present, consider these Tainui tribes as having two great divisions, viz.: Waikato and Ngati-Mania-poto, with which are connected a large number of sub-tribes and *hapus*. In very general terms it may be said that the Waikato tribes occupied all the coast from Manukau to the Marokopa river eight miles south of Kawhia, and Ngati-Mania-poto south of Marokopa to about Mohaka-tino river, two miles south of Mokau. Included within the Waikato territories, as here defined, were the homes of the Ngati-Toa tribe, who lived at Kawhia and Marokopa until the year 1821, when they migrated to Otaki and Kapiti Islands in Cook's Straits, as will be related later on, their places being taken by Ngati-Apakura, Ngati-pou, and other sub-tribes of Waikato shortly afterwards.

On the banks of the Mokau river and that neighbourhood, lived the *hapus* of Ngati-Mania-poto, named:—

Ngati-Rora, Ngati-Uru-numia, Ngati-Rakei, Ngati-wai-korora,
Ngati-wai, Ngati-pu, Ngati-Ihia.

Some of these we shall often come across again.

NGAI-TAHU OF MOKAU.

But there appears to have been in occupation of Mokau, in very early times a tribe that it is certainly very suprising to find here, for, if it is the same, it distinctly belongs to the "Taki-tumu" migration, which settled on the East Coast and in the Middle Island. These people were called Ngai-Tahu. Messrs. W. H. and John Skinner obtained some information about them, which is briefly as follows:—"Ngai-Tahu came to New Zealand prior to the general migration, and mixed with the *tangata-whenua* people who were then living at Mokau. They lived principally around Mohaka-tino river (two miles south of Mokau) and had a large house there at Waihi. They also occupied a strong *pa* called Rangī-ohua. Many generations ago—how many the natives do not now know, but Tatana says it was before Rakei's time, and he lived seventeen generations ago—they were attacked by

Ngati-Tama, and driven into the fortified *pa* of Rangi-ohua. Here they were besieged, but by the powers of their incantations—so it is said—they opened a way from the *pa* by a subterranean passage at a place called Tawhiri, and so the main body escaped, and thence fled to Taupo, afterwards to Ahuriri, Wellington, and subsequently to Nelson and Otago. Only one man named Roki-roki and a woman named Kaea fell into the hands of Ngati-Tama, and from these two are descended several of the families now living at Mokau, such as Mr. Phelp's wife, Te Rera's family, and others. They call themselves Ngai-Tahu. Taiaroa (late chief of the Otago Ngai-Tahu) once laid claim to lands at Mokau, on account of his ancestors having formerly owned lands there, but his claim was disallowed. Rakei, before mentioned, was a descendant of Hape who came over in the 'Tainui' canoe. He married a woman of the 'Toko-maru' canoe, and their daughter, Kiwi-nui, was the mother of Rakei." (From Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. I., p. 227, it will be seen that Rakei—who is the eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Rakei of Mokau—was married to Kara-pinepine, a great granddaughter of Mateora, one of the crew of the "Tainui," and therefore Rakei must have flourished eighteen or nineteen generations back from the year 1900, *i.e.*, about 1425 to 1450, S.P.S.) "After the Ati-Awa—the descendants of Te Tini-o-Pawa-tiretira—had driven out Ngai-Tahu, they took possession of the whole of the Mokau country, and retained it till Titoko-rangi, a chief of Waikato, (? Ngati-Mania-poto) with his tribe came down and drove them out to beyond Mohaka-tino, and they have retained possession ever since." (See *infra* on this subject.) "It was not Ngati-Mania-poto who drove out Ngai-Tahu; on this my informants are all agreed."

When at Waitara in March, 1897, with Mr. W. H. Skinner, old Watene Taungatara, a good authority, confirmed to us the fact of the Southern Ngai-Tahu having once lived at Mokau. An old man of Mokau, named Rihari, in January, 1906, also corroborated part of the above story, but said the period of the expulsion was long after the "Tainui's" arrived. The Ngai-Tahu, he said, lived just opposite Mahoe-nui on the Mokau river, and the place where they so mysteriously disappeared is near a rock in the bend of the river there, which the Maoris to this day believe has miraculous powers—if any one touches it a whirlwind springs up at once!

The late Mr. G. T. Wilkinson, Government Native Agent for Waikato, kindly made some inquiries as to the descendants of Ngai-Tahu on the Upper Mokau, and he supplies the following table of descent

Ngai-Tahu	from Kaea to Te Kapa, wife of Te Rangi-tuataka (died
:	at Mahoe-nui, 11th June, 1904) elder brother of the
:	late Wetere-te-Rerenga, principal chief of Mokau.
:	Mr. Wilkinson adds—"A celebrated canoe was
Kaea	made, or rather commenced but never finished, by
Ko-rokiroki	Ngai-Tahu at Mokau—it was called 'Whakapau-
Kuia-puru	karakia.' It is said both the <i>pa</i> of Rangi-ohua and
Pa-hoka	the remains of the canoe are to be seen at Mokau at
Tuki-ata	this day." The period of Kaea, however, here given
Pare-hauka	differs considerably from that shown above.
Te Kapa-te-Aria	

No doubt there is some foundation for this story. A party of people driven from Mokau may have afterwards formed part of the great Ngai-Tahu tribe; whose main stem, however, must be looked for in their ancestor Tahu-makaka-nui, whose home was at the East Cape, the younger brother of Porou, who was born about 1350, at the time of the *heke*. (See Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XV., p. 93.)

NGAI-TARA-POUNAMU.

Whilst the "Tainui" tribes were thus practically confined to the north of Mokau, there was one small tribe whose ancestors formed an inclusion within the "Toko-maru" boundaries. This was the tribe of Ngai-Tara-pounamu.

After the "Tainui" canoe had landed most of her people and cargo at Kawhia, she was brought on south by some of the crew, under a chief named Tara-pounamu, who apparently was not satisfied with Kawhia as a home. They put in at Mokau, and for some reason one of the stone anchors of the canoe was left there near the bluff under the Mokau Township, in a cave on the north side of the river, half-a-mile within the entrance.* It was here also that, as tradition states, some of the skids of the canoe, or, as others say, some of the *whariki*, or flooring of branches was left, and from them sprung the trees called Tainui or Nonokia (*Pomaderris Apetela-tainui*) a handsome shrub, which was originally confined to a few small clumps between Mokau and Mohaka-tino, and also at Kawhia (now extinct in the latter place says Mr. Cheeseman, N Z. Flora, p. 100), but which is common in Australia. It is suggested that the original spot on which this shrub was found growing was at Kawhia, and that when the canoe came on

* This anchor has had some strange adventures, for it was taken away from Mokau by a European, with the intention of making money out of its sale; but such an outcry was raised that in the end he had to take it back to the place it came from.

to Mokau some of the branches were placed in it for *whariki*. In after times it came to be believed that the shrub was brought from Hawaiki. It grows readily from cuttings.

From Mokau the "Tainui" went on to Wai-iti, a stream some twenty-seven miles north of New Plymouth, where they found that Turi and his party of the "Aotea" canoe had preceded them, and had burnt all the fern along the sea shore. It is said also that at Mimi, a few miles further south, they came across some of the crew of the "Toko-maru" who claimed that particular country. So Tara-pounamu settled down at Wai-iti with his party, and the "Tainui" was hauled up on the sandy beach there. After a time, one of these men desecrated the canoe by easing himself within it. When Hoturoa, the captain, who was at Kawhia, heard of this, he was extremely angry at their sacred vessel having been so shamefully used. So he sent a party of men all the way from Kawhia, who took the canoe back with them, and left her near the Maketu village, where, as has been said, she eventually rotted away.

But Tara-pounamu and his people remained at Wai-iti, and built a *pa* and lived there, probably for some few generations. We will now quote from Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. II., p. 216, Te Whetu's story of the end of this tribe:—"After living there many years some went on a fishing excursion in their canoes, which were forty in number." (Probably this is an exaggeration; the old fishing canoe usually carried from four to six people in it.) "While out at sea, a fierce storm came on, and this 'Puhi-kai-ariki' (as they call it) drove the canoes before it. On the fourth day they reached Rangitoto or D'Urville Island at the north end of the Middle Island, and here the people landed. After a short stay there they removed to the western side of the Island, to a place called Moa-whiti, or Greville Harbour, where they permanently established themselves. There they engaged in cultivating the soil and fishing; and when they saw the plentiful supply of food to be obtained there they decided to fetch their women and children from Wai-iti. They accordingly set out, and by-and-bye they all returned to Rangi-toto Island. Then it was that they were first seen by the inhabitants of the island, who, being very numerous, could not be either opposed or molested; so wives were given them, and thereafter the two tribes became one and lived together." It was in the time of Kao-kino's son that these people left Wai-iti.

Apparently all this tribe left the Taranaki Coast, for they are not known by that name now in the locality where they formerly lived.

Hohepa Te Kiaka, the last of the tribe of Rangi-toto, died at Kaiaua, near Wakapuaka, Nelson, in 1890.

Now the inhabitants of the island who were found at D'Urville Island by the migration from Wai-iti, must have been some of the original *tangata-whenua*, for, even if they had been descendants of the crew of "Kura-haupo," some of whom settled at Pelorus Sound near D'Urville Island, as has been shown in Chapter VI., they could not have increased in numbers to the extent indicated by Te Whetu's narrative, so that they "could not be either opposed or molested."

It may be remarked as significant, that the name of the chief who came across Te Moana-nui-a-Kiwa from Hawaiki to New Zealand in the "Tainui" canoe, and who settled at Wai-iti, was Tara-pounamu or "Jadite-barb." This shows a knowledge of the *pounamu* or jadite prior to the departure of the fleet from Hawaiki in 1350, and appears to support the well known tradition of Nga-hue's voyage to New Zealand and back to Hawaiki, when he took back with him a block of jadite, afterwards converted into axes with which some of the vessels of the fleet were hewn out. We shall see later on at what an early date after the arrival of the *heke*, these Taranaki people made expeditions to the Middle Island to procure the green jade.

NGATI-TAMA TRIBE.

We now come to the Taranaki tribes proper—that is, those tribes that live within the Province of Taranaki, from the Mokau river southwards—but we must be careful to remember that there is a tribe known by that name (*i.e.* Taranaki) living further south, though the outside tribes always refer to this congeries of tribes as Taranaki. Ngati-Rakei occupied the country around the mouth of the Mokau, and as far south as Mohaka-tino river, a distance of two miles; but they were so mixed up with their southern neighbours, the Ngati-Tama, as often to be confused with them. Indeed it would be difficult to separate them, for inter-marriage was frequently taking place. The lands of the Ngati-Tama tribe extended from Mohaka-tino river to a place named Titoki, two miles south of Puke-aruhe *pa*. They thus had a sea frontage of about fourteen miles, and their boundaries extended inland until they were met by those of Ngati-Hāua,* of Upper Whanganui, and with whom they were often allied in war and also in marriage.

* Not to be confounded with Ngati-Haua, of Matamata in the Thames Valley, which is a Waikato tribe, and the most famous man of which was Wiremu Tamihana, the so called King Maker.—See his life by Judge J. A. Wilson.

This tribe takes its name from Tama-ihu-toroa, great grandson of Tama-te-kapua, captain of the "Arawa" canoe. Of this I have no proof beyond the statements of the people, confirmed by those of Rotorua. But if it is so, it probably means that there is a considerable amount of *tangata-whenua* blood in the tribe, and that one of the more forceful descendants of the *heke* has, as so often occurs, managed to leave his name as principal progenitor of the tribe.

Te Whetu, a well informed man of Te Ati-Awa, says that Ngati-Tama absorbed the remnant of Ngai-Tara-pounamu, left behind at Wai-iti when the rest of the tribe migrated to D'Urville Island; and that Ngati-Tama were also closely allied by marriage with Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Rarua, of Kawhia, a fact which accounts for their allowing Te Rauparaha and his men, with Tu-whare's expedition in 1819, to pass through their territories unobstructed. Tama-ohua, Ue-rata and Ue-marama were also noted ancestors of Ngati-Tama. Whatever may be their origin it is quite clear that Ngati-Tama has been at one time one of the bravest tribes in New Zealand, whose warriors have over and over again hurled back the strength of Waikato on the numerous occasions, when the latter attempted to force the passage to the south, past the Kawau and other strongholds. Their territory is a mere strip of level fertile land along the coast, and a very large extent of broken forest country behind, and includes the White Cliffs, or Pari-ninihi, 900 feet high, that barred the way to hostile incursions from the north—even if they passed the strongholds held by Ngati-Tama on the far side of the Cliffs, a feat not often accomplished. Ngati-Tama, in fact, held the keys of Taranaki, and they proved themselves very capable of doing so.

Their territory has very many fine *pas* in it, the most celebrated of which have been mentioned in Chapter I. There is another named Puke-kari-rua just about a mile south of Mokau, standing as a peak on the range which rises some 800 feet from the coastal flats, that is remarkable for the number of terraces still very plainly to be seen from the high road. There are eight of these terraces, each one of which, in former times, would be palisaded. It was built by a chief named Tawhao in the long ago.

Immediately on the south bank of Mokau rises a fine hill of a conical shape, some 500 feet high. This is named Puke-kahu, and on it in former days was lit the bale-fire which denoted the coming of hostile forces from the north and gave warning to many a *pa* to be on the alert as far south as Puke-aruhe.

The Pou-tama rock, which gives its name to that part of the district, and which has been the scene of many a fierce encounter as

will be related later on, has a tradition relating to its origin which partakes of the same character as so many recited in Maori legends in connection with their belief in the efficacy of *karakia*, and also with the movements of mountains. Pou-tama was a man of the olden time—quite possibly belonging to the nebulous period of the *tangata-whenua*—whose present representative is the rock, or reef, of that name. Outside it lies another reef named Paroa, also named after a man. On one occasion Poutama paid a visit to the Taranaki people living near Warea, some twenty-five miles south of New Plymouth (and which was a large palisaded village in the early fifties, situated on the sea coast. The name is now applied to a European village on the main road*). At a place named Tai-hua near there, Pou-tama beheld out at sea a reef of rocks shaped somewhat like a canoe with men in it, and off which was an excellent fishing ground. This rock was much coveted by Pou-tama, whose own coast was defective in such places. (The fact is, that the rocks around Warea are volcanic and capable of withstanding the wear and tear of the sea; whilst those along the coast at Pou-tama are either sandstone or *papa*, which does not resist the action of the waves to near so great an extent.) On his return to his own home, Pou-tama decided to apply his powers of magic to the removal of the rock to his own coast, and thus enjoy in perpetuity a good fishing ground. Meanwhile, Paroa, who dwelt at the Kawau *pa*, a little to the south of Pou-tama's home, heard of the fame of these rocks, and decided to forestall the latter and secure them for himself. So Pou-tama set to work, using his most powerful incantations, to induce the removal of the rock, and made a line and hook capable of being thrown far out to sea to catch the rock as it came along. But Paroa "went one better." He, likewise, recited his *karakias* and prepared his line, first taking a bone of one of his ancestors and lashing it to his hook, thus imbuing it with far more power than the hook of Pou-tama. The rock, induced thereto by the power of the *karakias*, left its original site, and came sailing along the coast, where Paroa and Pou-tama were awaiting it. The former cast his line, and lo! the rock was caught, and lies there still—which is the proof of the story! It is rarely seen however; only in heavy gales and big waves, when the tides are very low, does it appear to mortal vision, and then it is an

*I may remark here, for the sake of recording the fact, that on an excursion to Warea about 1853, I noticed a vast number of *paengas*, or boundaries of individual lands, which crossed the native track, and ran inland from the coast. These were all marked by flat boulders set on edge, and running in straight lines. Though then quite over-grown by high flax, they denoted a former dense population.

aitua, or evil omen, denoting that one of the Ngati-Mania-poto tribe is about to depart for the Reinga. Such is the story told by Te Oro, of Te Kawau. But just why the appearance of this *tupua* rock is an *aitua* to the tribe named, and not to Te Oro's tribe, is not explained.

There will be much to say about Ngati-Tama later on; in the meanwhile we pass on to their neighbours on the south.

NGATI-MUTUNGA TRIBE.

From Titoki, the southern limit of Ngati-Tama, to Te Rau-o-te-huia, a place one mile south of Onaero river, is about eleven miles along the coast line, and this was the frontage held by Ngati-Mutunga, whilst their inland boundaries marched with those of Ngati-Maru. The sea frontage is marked by perpendicular cliffs about 100 to 150 feet high, formed of *papa* rock, through which the three main streams, Mimi, Ure-nui and Onaero break their way to the sea, forming picturesque and fertile valleys, the two former being navigable for canoes for a few miles. Above the cliffs, the level or undulating country extends inland for a few miles, forming a picturesque and rich plain, beyond which the wooded hills rise in somewhat steep slopes. The whole of this country is dotted over, here and there, with fine old *pas*, amongst which is Okoki, one of the strongest in the district. Within this district is Wai-iti, the former home of Ngai-Tara-pounamu, whose emigration to D'Urville island has been described; around that part are some fine *pas*, particularly Whakarewa* situated on the coast a mile to the north. There are several *pas* around this place, some of which are said to have been built by Ngai-Tara-pounamu, but it seems doubtful if this is the case, although it is probable that some remnant of that emigrant tribe became absorbed in Ngati-Mutunga.

The Ngati-Mutunga take their name from Mutunga, who was the sixth son of his parents, and received his name Mutunga (the last) because he was to be the last. They had hoped for a daughter, but were disappointed. Table 33A, as supplied to me by Te Rangi-hiroa, shows the position of this ancestor, together with Hine-tuhi and Aurutu from whom some of the Ngati-Mutunga *hapus* take their names.

NOTES TO TABLE 33A.

Te Rangi-hiroa (or Dr. Peter Buck, M.B., Ch.B., of the Health Department) supplies most of the following notes, besides the table itself. "This table down to Mutunga was copied from a book belonging to Pamariki Raumoa (formerly of the Chatham Islands, a very well known and influential chief) of Ngati-Mutunga. As

* Plate No. 6 shows this *pa*, as seen from Wai-iti Beach.

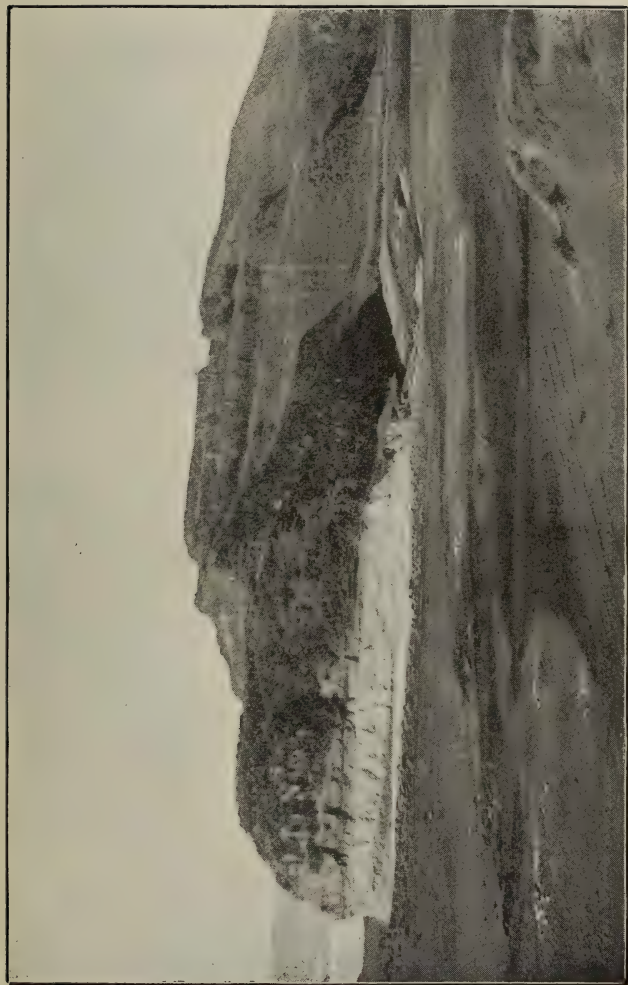


PLATE No. 6.

The Whakarewa *Pa*, from Wai-iti beach.

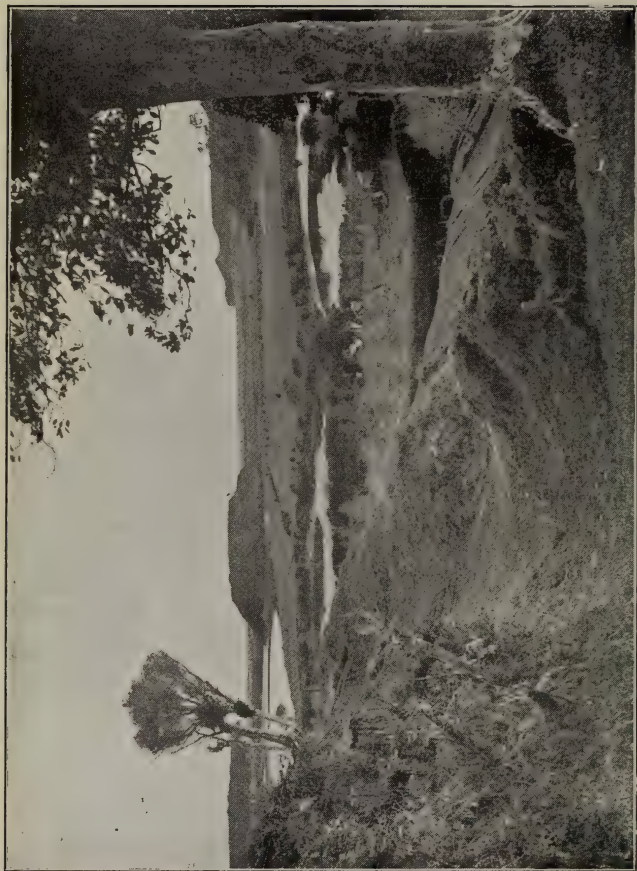


Photo by A. Hamilton.

PLATE No. 7.

Ure-nui, Maru-weli and Poho-kura *pas*; on the Ure-nui River.

all the old people are dead, I am unable to say which of these ancestors came from Hawaiki."

(Nos. 1 and 2.—Both of these names, Te Moana-waipu and Te Moana-waiwai, are known to the East Coast genealogies, and the first is shown as flourishing just before, or about the time of the *heke* of 1350.—S.P.S.)

No. 3.—Kahu-kura belonged to the Ngati-Maru of the Upper Waitara, but settled in the Ure-nui district where he married Hine-moe of that place. His *pa* was Maru-wehi, on the extreme point of the cliffs where they form the north head of the Ure-nui river.* This *pa* is now partly eaten away by the sea. On the level plateau, a few hundred yards inland, stood the modern village of Maru-wehi, occupied by Ngati-Mutunga on their return from the Chatham Islands in 1868, and which was subsequently abandoned for the present site on the Main North Road, at Te Rua-pekapeka.

No. 4.—Mutunga is the eponymous ancestor of the tribe. His elder brothers were named Rangi-mariu, Koko-taua, Tautu-pane, Tuhi-kira and Kura-maori. As often happens the youngest brother was the most prominent member of the family, and gave his name to the tribe.

No. 5.—Te Rerehua was the daughter of Hine-tuhi (from whom Ngati-Hine-tuhi of Ure-nui take their name), and was a niece of Mania-poto the ancestor of the great Ngati-Mania-poto tribe. Te Rerehua was a descendant of Ruaputahanga (6) and Whati-hua (7) whose adventures are described in Chapter IX. hereof. Whati-hua was a descendant of Hotu-roa, commandant of the "Tai-nui" canoe. It is through this descent of Te Rerehua, and by her marriage with Mutunga that such close relations formerly existed between the people of Kawhia and Ure-nui.

No. 8.—Ue-tara-ngore's widow (Hine-whati-hua) married Mania-poto (9), as also did the former's daughter Papa-rau-whara; and Rora, ancestor of Ngati-Rora, of Upper Mokau and Te Kuiti, was the fruit of the latter union.

No. 10.—Hine-tuhi came from Waikato to Mimi, and there married Tu-kai-tao, the son of Kahui-ao. Te Rerehua (5) was the eldest child of this union; as she married Mutunga, their descendants took the tribal name of Ngati-Mutunga. But the descendants of Te Rerehua's brother, Te Hihi-o-Tu (11), took the name of Ngati-Hine-tuhi, after the latter's mother. The *pas* of the latter people were Poho-kura (see Plate No. 7) and Pihanga, on top of the cliffs, south head of Ure-nui, where the Military Redoubt stood in 1865.

No. 12.—Rau-niao was a Whanganui woman.

Nos. 13 and 14.—The brothers Tuki-tahi and Rehe-taia lived at Aropawa *pa*, situated near Wai-toetoe stream on the south bank of the Mimi river. They were both celebrated warriors, especially the latter, who took the stronghold of Kohangamouku belonging to their southern neighbours, Ngati-Rahiri. (For some of Rehe-taia's doings, see Chapter IX.)

No. 15.—Aurutu, begat the *hapu* named Ngati-Aurutu, who owned the Okoki *pa*. His brother, Okiokinga, was a very handsome man, the fame of whose beauty reached Tuke-mata, a lady of the Taranaki tribe, causing her to journey to Te

* See Plate No. 7.—The little pinnacle on the right centre of the picture is Maru-wehi. The hill to the right of this, with the trees on it, is the old *pa* named Poho-kura, still in excellent preservation, its top covered with handsome *kowai* trees. The isolated hill near centre of the picture is Ure-nui *pa*, the terraces of which can still be distinguished. The view is taken (by Mr. A. Hamilton) from the trenches of Te Rewa *pa*, which show in the foreground.

Motu-nui (just below Okoki) to seek him as a husband. On the way, however, she met Aurutu, who personated his brother, and thus secured the southern lady as a wife. He was subsequently slain in battle, whereupon his widow married Okiokinga.

No. 16.—Taihuru became a great warrior. His fame reaching his mother's people (Taranaki) they sent a war-party against him to nip his powers in the bud. At that time Taihuru occupied a *pa* named Te Puke-karito situated up the Wai-iti stream—the old home of Ngai-Tara-pounamu—and here he was attacked whilst he was making his toilet. Several messengers were despatched to his house to alarm him, but he coolly went on decking his hair with plumes and his whale-bone comb. Having completed his toilet, he took up his *taiaha* and came forth, his appearance being greeted by his mother's kin (Taranaki), who by this time had almost secured an entrance to the *pa*, with a yell—“*A ha! Ka puta te mokomoko nei, te keakea a Tuke-mata.*” (Aha! now the lizard comes forth—the offspring of Tuke-mata.) Taihuru replied by making an attack on the enemy, slaying two men at each blow of his *taiaha*, so that before long his kinsmen took to flight. Taihuru fought in many other battles, and was in the end mortally wounded in a campaign against Taranaki.

No. 17.—Kapua-kore, chieftainess of Ngati-Aurutu, was given in marriage to a Kawhia chief who helped to fell a clearing near Okoki. She was conducted (to her marriage) along a straight path leading from Okoki to the sea-shore, which crossed Te Motu-nui plain, and is still pointed out as “Te Ara takitaki a Kapua-kore.” The circumstance is referred to in Oriwia's song about the battle of Te Motu-nui (see Chapter XIV.).

No. 18.—W. Neera was a well known chief of Ngati-Mutunga, who lived and died at the Chatham Islands. “His wife, Kapua-kore, (a descendant of Okiokinga referred to in Note 15) died quite recently (1908). She migrated with the tribe to Port Nicholson with the *Heke* ‘Tama-te-uana’ in 1832 (see Chapter XIX.), and was present at the battle of Puke-namu, at which time she was between 18 and 20 years old. She married W. Neera during the migration, consequently her age at death was about 94 or 96.”

Ngati-Mutunga in early times was called Ngati-Kahu-kura, probably after the first ancestor shown on Table 33A.

The tribe is no doubt largely composed of the same elements as Te Ati-Awa—indeed is often included in that name—and therefore must have originally absorbed a large number of *tangata-whenua*, besides descendants of the crew of “Toko-maru.” The principal *hapus* of the tribe were named Te Kekere-wai, Ngati-Hine-tuhi and Ngati-Aurutu.

The home of the first-named was the Mimi valley, and inland where their old fortified *pas* are still to be seen. Ngati-Hine-tuhi derive their name from a Ngati-Mania-poto woman named Hine-tuhi, belonging to the same branch as the late Rewi Mania-poto, and who married into this West Coast tribe. (See number ten in Table 33A.) Ngati-Hine-tuhi lived at the mouth of and up the Ure-nui river, and owned the fine *pas* named Ure-nui and Poho-kura on the north bank,

Pihanga (the Military Station in 1865), Kumara-kai-amo (within the modern township), Kai-pikari and Te Rewa, all on the south bank, and whose grassy ramparts still add a great interest to the pretty scenery of those parts. It was Ngati-Mutunga, aided by the two *hapus* named, that built the Okoki *pa* already referred to, and it was in the occupation of the former when the battle of Motu-nui took place in 1821, for which see *infra*.

TE ATI-AWA (OR NGATI-AWA) TRIBE.

Adjoining Ngati-Mutunga on the south was one of the principal tribes of the coast—the Ati-Awa—whose boundaries (for the last few generations) extended from Te Rau-o-te-huia, near Onaero river, on the north, to Nuku-tai-pari, the sandy gully that descends to the coast immediately at the southern base of Pari-tutu, the main Sugar-loaf, where they were joined by the Taranaki tribe. This gives the tribe a coastal frontage of about twenty miles, which coast is generally low, with here and there a few sand hills, but behind extend fine plains and undulating country for miles. The boundary between Ati-Awa and Taranaki, was a matter of dispute when the lands came to be sold to the Government, for the Ati-Awa claimed that their boundary ran from Pari-tutu to Mount Egmont, a line that was fiercely disputed by Taranaki. The line was eventually drawn from Pari-tutu straight to a protuberance on the slopes of Mount Egmont, about half way down its eastern slope, called Tahuna-tu-tawa. From there it is said to have extended E.S.E. to the Matemate-onge range, which divides the waters falling into the Whanganui from those of the Waitara river; thence northerly and north-westerly to Te Rau-o-te-huia on the coast. But this apparently includes a large slice of the tribal lands of the Ngati-Maru, the boundaries between that tribe and Ati-Awa are not known to me. This same boundary has also been a matter of dispute with Ngati-Rua-nui whose territory adjoins on the south.

PATU-TUTAHU.

When the Omata block was purchased by the Crown in 1847, Ati-Awa made a claim to it, and sent out armed parties to prevent Taranaki carrying out the survey. Mr. Donald McLean and Mr. G. S. Cooper persuaded the disputants to meet them in New Plymouth to adjust matters, and a large number of Maoris from both sides assembled at Puke-ariki, or Mount Eliot, the present site of the Railway Station, and under their respective leaders—Te Tahana of Ati-Awa, and Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru (or Tawa-rahi) of Taranaki—the matter was discussed. The dispute arose originally as to the exact boundaries conquered from Taranaki by Te Ati-Awa a few generations

previously (which we shall have to refer to). So when these ancient enemies met at Puke-ariki there was a considerable display of feeling, and much "tall talk," dancing of war-dances, etc. The following is the *ngeri*, or song to accompany the war-dance, as sung by over a 1000 Taranaki warriors as they danced on the hard sands of the beach below the old *pa* of Puke-ariki:—

Te Ngeri Kuru-raparapa.

Ko hea ! ko hea tera maunga,	Where ! O where is that mountain,
E tu mai ra ?	That stands forth so plain ?
Ko Taranaki pea !	Surely it is Taranaki !
Nukunuku mai, nekeneke mai !	It hitherwards moves, it comes
Ki taku aro, kikini !	Before my face, press it !
Kikini ai ! a ha !	Press it close ! a ha !
A ! A ! kekekeno !	A ! A ! crunch the sands !

(*Kuru-raparapa* represents the noise of the butts of their brass bound muskets, firmly placed on the ground before the dance. *Kekekeno* is the crushing, crunching noise of the butts as they grind the sand with the swaying movement of the men.)

The Ati-Awa claimed Mount Egmont as well as the Poua-kai ranges, and the respective learned men of both sides stood forth to advocate each sides claims, Ngaere-rangi being the *tohunga* or priest of Ati-Awa. The priests of Taranaki, given below, recited the names of their ancestors that had owned and lived on the mountain slopes, and indicated the particular parts owned by each. They were followed by other learned men, such as Kerepa, Pai-rama, Horo-papera and Nga-Tai-rakau-nui.* They particularly laid emphasis on the fact of their ancestors having lived at a village, or *pa*, on the eastern slopes of Mount Egmont named Karaka-tonga, which was built on the banks of the Wai-whakaiho in the times of Awhipapa (see Table No. 33, Chapter VI.) fourth in descent from Hatauirā who came to New Zealand in the "Kura-hau-po" canoe. This was a large *pa*, the meeting house of which was named Kai-miromiro, and the *marae* or *plaza*, Tāra-wai-nuku. They also referred to their ancestor Tahu-rangi who ascended Mount Egmont from that place, the first Maori to do so, and many other arguments, which in the end convinced the Government Officers that Taranaki really owned the Mountain and the adjacent country right away from Pari-tutu. Hence when the Omata block was purchased (11th May, 1847) the Taranaki tribe received the payment. We shall have to refer to this inland *pa* later on.

This meeting where Ati-Awa were overcome by argument is known as "Patu-tutahi," from the opening lines of a *ngeri* sung by Taranaki at the conclusion of the meeting on top of Puke-ariki:—"E hanga ra

* One of the defenders of Te Namu—see *infra*.

e Patu-tutahi." Ati-Awa were anxious to sell the block to the Government, but Taranaki won the day and got the purchase money. The Taranaki tribe held that the Ati-Awa boundary was at Whaka-ngere-ngere where they marched with Ngati-Rua-nui, and that the mountain of Ati-Awa, in place of being Mount Egmont, was Whaka-ahu-rangi, a place on the old inland road from Matai-tawa to Hawera, near where Stratford is situated—for the origin of which name see *infra*.

I have introduced this incident here merely to preserve a record of it.

The origin of the Ati-Awa has already been referred to. The people take their tribal name from Te Awa-nui-a-rangi, a son of Toi, about whom much information has been given in Chapter IV. Awa-nui would be born, according to the mean of many genealogies, about the year 1150 (see Tables Nos. 24, 25, Chapter IV.), and he was most clearly a *tangata-whenua*, who gave his name to the Tini-o-Awa tribe, who were to be found in many parts of New Zealand under either that name or as Ngati-Awa, a name which his more direct descendants in the Bay of Plenty bear at the present time. No doubt Ati-Awa are connected with the crew of "Toko-maru," and perhaps other canoes of the great *heke* of 1350, but until the people can show more descents from these crews, they must be considered principally as *tangata-whenua*, of the great Awa family. In the margin I quote one of their

TABLE NO. XXXIV. genealogical tables showing the descent from

21 Te Awa-nui-a-rangi =	Awa-nui-a-rangi, but, it seems to me the line
Tuturau	is imperfect, it is too short to agree with many
20 Toka-tipu	others. The last on the list is the celebrated
Toka-haere	Ihaia, who caused Katatore to be shot (9th
Hape-nui	July, 1858), and which act led to the war
Hape-roa	amongst the tribes at Waitara, etc., at that
Mango-taki-ora	time.

15 Tai-ma-tanu	The Taranaki Ngati-Awa or (as it is better
Tama-whakatara	to call them to distinguish them from their
Ue-nuku	East Coast brethren) Ati-Awa, are called by the
Tuiti	Bay of Plenty tribe of the same name, Koro-
Whakawera-pounamu	Ati-Awa, from <i>koro</i> , to desire; which is ex-
10 Rikiriki-te-kai	plained as meaning a "desire to travel." The
Forgotten	same people further say that the Taranaki tribe
Tua-riri	migrated in consequence of quarrels amongst
Te Tata	the sons of Awa-nui-a-rangi, which induced
Kohi-kaka	some of them to leave their ancient home at
5 Piri-rau-kura	Whakatane, some of them going north to the
Ihaia-Kirikumara	
.....	
.....	
.....	

present Nga-Puhi country, others moving south to Taupo, where they divided into two parties, one going to Port Nicholson, the other down the course of the Whanganui, the rest, and larger party, proceeding to Waitara (ten miles north of New Plymouth) where they settled and became the Ati-Awa tribe as we know them. This is the account given by the Bay of Plenty Ngati-Awa, but as far as I am aware no exact confirmation has ever been received from Ati-Awa themselves; indeed their early history is a blank; they are merely able to tell us that they derive their name from Awa-nui-a-rangi, but where he lived they do not know for certain; but one authority (Ati-awa) says his home was at Napier where he had a house named Ahuriri, the foundations of which are still to be seen. The harbour took its name from the house. This confirms the East Coast origin of this ancestor, though Ahuriri may not be his correct home. Another authority says that Awa-nui-a-rangi flourished long before Manaia came here in the "Toko-maru," and that his name in full is Awa-heke-iho-i-te-rangi, and that he was a son of the god Tamarau-te-heketanga-rangi, his mother being Rongo-ueroa whose other and earthly husband was Rua-rangi, by whom she had Rauru. (See Table 25, Chapter IV., where these names will be found. This is merely another version of the origin of Awa-nui given in Chapter II.) Hence comes the "saying" for Ati-Awa—"Te Ati-Awa-o-runga-i-te-rangi." If this migration took place in the times of the sons of Awa-nui-a-rangi, then the date would be approximately the end of the twelfth century, and before the advent of the fleet. It seems probable that it was some of these people that Manaia of the "Toko-maru" canoe met with and destroyed on the north bank of Waitara, when he arrived here with the fleet in 1350. (See Chapter II.)

It seems also probable that the Tini-o-Awa people mentioned in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIII., p. 156, as having been driven from Heretaunga, Hawke's Bay, by the incoming Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tribe, who fled to Tamaki (Dannevirke) afterwards to South Wairarapa, and finally some of them to the Middle Island, are identical with the branch referred to in the last paragraph as having separated off at Taupo, and gone to the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson.

According to the traditions of the Ati-Awa, the first place they settled down in on this coast was at (or near) Nga-puke-turua, the group of fortified hillocks just inland of Mahoe-tahi,* and about the

* Where the battle was fought between the Imperial and Colonial forces, and the Ngati-Mania-poto tribe, 6th November, 1860. Plate No. 8 shows the two hills—Nga-puke-turua—from which the place takes its name, and also the modern village of the same name.

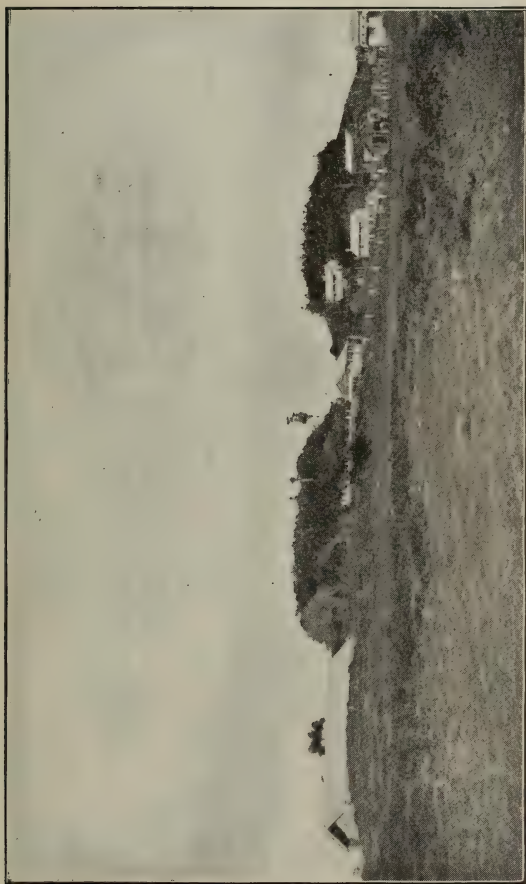


PLATE No. 8.

The old *pas*, and modern village of Nga-puke-turua.

same time at Puketapu, the *pa* on the coast seaward of the above place, a very *tapu* spot, to be referred to later on. This first settlement no doubt refers to the arrival of the descendants of Awa-nui. From here the people spread in all directions as time went on, and became eventually a powerful and warlike tribe.

The ramifications of the descendants of Awa-nui spread further afield than those of any other ancestor of the Maori people, but this Ati-Awa branch was probably the most numerous in the time of its full strength, *i.e.*, at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Whilst the East Coast Ngati-Awa call the West Coast branch Koro-Ati-Awa, the latter equally apply that term to the former branch. There is perhaps some justification for this name as applied to some at least of the Whakatane Ngati-Awa. I learnt from Tamahau, of the Urewera tribe (also connected with Ngati-Awa) that shortly after the "Mata-tua" canoe arrived at Whakatane from Hawaiki in *circa* 1350, there came from Taranaki another canoe named "Nuku-tere," having on board Tu-kai-te-uru, Tama-tea-matangi, Te Mai-ure-nui, and others. They brought with them *Taro* and *Karaka* plants. At this time Toroa, captain of the "Matatua," had already built his celebrated house named Tupapaku-rau, and his brother Tane-atua was living in his home called Orahiri (situated just above the entrance to Whakatane river), and Muriwai their sister was living in her cave at Wai-rere, just behind the modern township of Whakatane. Then follows the well known story of the mistake made by Wairaka, Toroa's daughter, by which she obtained Te-Mai-ure-nui as a husband instead of Tu-kai-te-uru as she had intended. But that does not belong to this account. These people settled down at Whakatane, and their descendants are there still. If the story is true, then these people were probably some of the *tangata-whenua* Ati-Awa. Old Tamahau was well versed in Maori history, and would not confuse this Taranaki canoe with "Nuku-tere" the canoe of Whiro-nui, which came to New Zealand from Hawaiki apparently two or three generations before the *heke* of 1350, and whose crew settled on the coast near Te Kaha, Bay of Plenty. We may assign a date for this migration from Taranaki as, say, 1360 to 1370.

There was a more modern migration to Whakatane from Ati-Awa, dating some ten generations ago, when a party of Ati-Awa under Turanga-purehua migrated from the West to the East Coast, as will be referred to in its place. These two *hekes* probably gave rise to the name Koro-Ati-Awa.

The Ati-Awa people have within their tribal bounds a great many

splendid specimens of the old Maori *pa*, many of them celebrated in the annals of the country. Not all of these, however, were built by that tribe; their neighbours on the south made a good many during their occupation. The country is one of the most picturesque and fertile in New Zealand. Numerous limpid streams originating in the snows of Mount Egmont, traverse the gently sloping plains in close proximity, their banks clothed, even yet, here and there, with clumps of rich vegetation amongst which the *Mamaku* (*Cyathea Medullaris*) tree-fern grew to a perfection not seen in any other part of the Colony. The sea teems with fish, the rivers with eels, and in its season, the *piharau*, or lamprey, is found in the Waitara, the largest river in the district. It was thus a district most favoured by nature, and admirably adapted to the wants of the Maori people.

The divisions of Ati-Awa are as follows:—

- | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Hamua | 6. Puke-tapu | 10. Nga-Motu |
| 2. Ngati-Rahiri | 7. Ngati-Tawhiri-kura | 11. Otaraua |
| 3. Ngati-Tawake | 8. Kai-tangata | 12. Ngati-Tupari-kino |
| 4. Ngati-Ue-nuku | 9. Manu-korihi (see | 13. Ngati-Tuahū |
| 5. Puke-rangi-ora | Table 35) | |

Notes.—No. 2 derives its name from Rahiri-pakarara (see Table No. 30, Chap. VI.); No. 3 from Tawake-tautahi the ancestor of many of the same name; No. 5 from the great *pa* of that name on the Waitara river; No. 6 from the old and sacred *pa* of that name; No. 7 from the ancestor of that name; No. 9 from the large *pa* of that name near the Waitara bridge; No. 10 from the name of the Sugar-loaf Islands; No. 11 from a large *pa* of that name on the north bank of the Waitara; No. 12 from Tu-pari-kino, who lived about six generations ago.

TABLE NO. XXXV.

10 Manu-korihi	With reference to No. 9, Manu-korihi, Col.
Te Uru-one-pu	Gudgeon once told me that this <i>hapu</i> , or some
Te Oro-papaka	of them, originally came from Whakatane in
Te Poe-nui	the Bay of Plenty, whence they migrated in
Te Whara-pē	consequence of a quarrel. If so, this <i>heke</i> took
5 Te Hinu-rewa	place ten generations ago, as per marginal
Rehutai	table. But I have never heard any local con-
Winiata	firmation of the story. The people—many of
.....	whom still live at Manu-korihi <i>pa</i> —always say
.....	their <i>hapu</i> name is derived from that of the <i>pa</i> .

This *hapu* has, however, a connection with the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Kaipara, through Te Raraku, a famous ancestor of that tribe, who was a kind of free lance, and wanderer, who found his way to Manu-korihi *pa*, and there married an Ati-Awa woman, from which

TABLE No. XXXVI.	connection Wiremu Kingi Te Rangi-tākē claimed
Te Raraku = Kainga-rua	relationship with Ngati-Whatua. This marriage
|	connection had important consequences in
Hine-koto	the wars of the early 19th Century, for it often
Te Ara-tangata	saved the Manu-korihi <i>hapu</i> from destruction.
Hikihiki	There is a place near Manu-korihi <i>pa</i> called
Rangihaua	Te Kapa-a-Te-Raraku, now used as a burial
Te Kai-a-te-kohatu	ground.

(See Supplement Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. VI., p. 38, for a full account of Te Raraku.)

According to the Nga-Puhi traditions, the Ati-Awa received an accession to their numbers by a migration from the neighbourhood of Kaitaia, in the extreme north, many generations ago. So far as I am aware, the local traditions do not make any mention of this, but then the Ati-Awa people have really very little information as to ancient times. It may be as well to record the particulars of this migration here, in the hope that some one may be able to find a confirmation of the story hereafter.

In "The Peopling of the North,"* the occupation of the northern peninsula by the Ngati-Awa tribe is described as fully as the information then available allowed of. Ten years additional study—with some further information—causes me to modify slightly the views expressed in that work, but not to any great extent. The following seems to me now the most probable story of the north as it affects the migrations to the Taranaki district.

It appears clear that the descendants of Toi (Table 24, Chap. IV.) had occupied the north, probably in the fourth generation after him, or about the years 1200 to 1250, and that these people were then called either Te Tini-o-Toi, Te Tini-o-Awa, or Ngati-Awa, from Toi's son (or grandson) Awa-nui-a-rangi, and that they all came originally from the Bay of Plenty. In their new homes they mixed with other aboriginal tribes descended from Ngu, Tumutumu-whenua and others, and lived together for many generations, with the usual accompaniments of war and interludes of peace, until a time arrived when some of Ngati-Awa found the country getting too hot to hold them. They, of course knowing that some of their people had migrated from the Bay of Plenty to Taranaki in the times of Awa-nui's sons, decided to join their fellow tribesmen, and cast in their lot with them. The particular portion of Ngati-Awa, who migrated at this time, was named

* Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. VI., p. 38 (supplement).

Ngati-Kahu,* and the leader under whom they left the north was named Kahu-unu-unu (not Kahu-ngunu). We can get at the date of this migration very nearly—for there were two parties of them, the second under the leadership of Kauri and his son Tamatea, who went by sea to Tauranga, and from these latter the descent to the present day is well known. Kahu-ngunu, Tamatea's son, was born at Kaitaia, about 1450 (see *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. XV., p. 93), and the inference is that his father and grandfather migrated when he was a boy—so probably we shall not be far out in fixing this exodus from the north at about 1460.

Kahu-unu-unu, the leader of Ngati-Awa (or Ngati-Kahu) led his party overland from Whangaroa, passing down the northern peninsula by way of the forest-clad interior, thence into Waikato, and by the coast to Whaingaroa, Mokau and Mimi to Taranaki, where they settled down, and as the northern story says, "Taranaki became Ngati-Awaed" (*sic*). How long these wandering people were on the road, or where they finally settled down, we have no information—they may have been absorbed into the present Ati-Awa tribe, or into some other on their way.

The above was the first migration of Ngati-Awa from the north. A subsequent one under Titahi will be alluded to in its proper place. But this latter migration probably affected Ati-Awa much less than their southern neighbours.

It is said that some of the beaches along the coast line of the Ati-Awa territory were sacred in former days, especially those called Onetahua and Otama-i-hea near Turangi, north of the Waitara; and on passing over them certain formalities had to be observed, such as not expectorating or relieving nature, for fear of the consequences that might ensue from a breach of the *tapu*.

NGATI-MARU TRIBE.

The proper name of this tribe is Ngati-Maru-whara-nui, derived from an ancestor named Maru-whara-nui, a name which distinguishes them from the Ngati-Maru tribe of the Thames. This tribe is closely allied to Ati-Awa and also with Ngati-Rua-nui, which latter tribe bounds them on the south. They are an inland people of forest dwellers, whose territories nowhere touch the coast. Precise information as to their boundaries is lacking, but it may be said generally that they owned the whole of the Waitara valley and most of its

* There are still some of the Ngati-Kahu left about Kaitaia in the north; of whom the late Timoti Puhipi was the chief.

branches from about the junction of the Manga-nui with that river. Their boundaries thus marched with Ngati-Mutunga and Ati-Awa on the west, Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rua-nui on the south, and the numerous tribes known under the general name of Whanganui on the east, and with Ngati-Hāua on the north.

Exclusive of a few clearings, the whole territory was forest-clad, and the surface somewhat broken, but nowhere do the hills rise to a greater elevation than 1,500 feet, whilst the general heights are much less. The Waitara river was navigable for light canoes, with great difficulty, for some miles into their country, but it could never have been a highway except for the conveyance of heavy loads. There are not so many old *pas* in this district as on the coast, but nevertheless a few of some renown are to be found. The Ngati-Maru, from the nature of their homes, must have largely existed on birds, eels, and other wild products, in the pursuit of which their lives would resemble those of the old *tangata-whenua*, from whom no doubt many of them descend. The tribe could never have been a very numerous one, and is now sadly reduced in numbers. They are principally confined to the neighbourhood of Purangi, on the Upper Waitara river, some twenty-two miles in a direct line from the mouth of the river, where their principal chief is Tu-tanuku, with a few of them living at Otaki on the Wellington-Manawatu Railway line. The only *hapus* of the tribe known are Ngariki and Ngati-Hine.

There was for sometime a doubt about the eponymous ancestor of this tribe, which, however, has been set at rest, as will be shown, and at the same time an error corrected which has led more than one person astray as to the date the fleet arrived in this country, which the erroneous account of Maru-tuahu, in Sir G. Grey's "Nga Mahinga," is answerable for. I possess a letter from the Maori author of that account wherein he acknowledges his error, due to his confusing the brother of the captain of the "Tainui" canoe, named Hotu-nui, with one of the same name who lived eight generations later. This, of course, made the period of the *heke* in Sir G. Grey's account only about fourteen generations ago instead of the mean number of twenty-two from the year 1900. Mr. John White, in his "Ancient History of the Maori," was led into the same error—as to the identity of Hotu-nui—and both accounts state that this man was a native of, and migrated from, Kawhia to the Thames, and there his son Maru-tuahu founded the tribe of Ngati-Maru and others. This, however, is now proved by Ati-Awa, Ngati-Maru and Ngati-Rua-nui to have been an error, for Hotu-nui came originally from the Tau-kokako *pa*, (or, as another account says, Kai-ka-kai) near the modern village of

Tai-porohe-nui, Hawera district, where his house named Rata-maru is known to have stood. Hotu-nui is also called Hotu-nuku and Hotu-rape by some. The most learned man of Ngati-Maru, now deceased, named Mangu, is the authority for these statements.

The following table from Col. Gudgeon will prove the above. The adventures of Maru-tuahu (who is shown in the table below) form an interesting and romantic tale, but it is not connected with our story.

TABLE No. XXXVII.

19 Tu-heitia, 6th in descent from Hotu-roa of the "Tai-nui" canoe. Mahanga		
Hotu-nui = Mihi-rawhiti		
Maru-kopiri	Maru-whara-nui	Maru-tuahu
Tama-wera	15 Whaita	Whanaunga
Descendants with the Whanganui Tribes.	Tara-moana	Karaua
	Rau-roha	Tau-manu
	Pane-wera	Kiri-paheke
	Kahu-parenga	Ika-a-te-waraki
	10 Hine-tatua	Noho-tu
	Tama-rongo	Tako
	Hine-korako	Ahi-ka-roa
	Te Ata-ka-marie	Te Toki
	Rau-piro-iri	Tawhare
	5 Mutu	Whakahanga
	Turia	Reihana-Kawhero
	Hakiaha-taiawhio (Tau-maru-nui)	..... of the Ngati-
	.....	..... Whanaunga tribe
	.....	..... of Coromandel.

The above table shows that the three brothers, Maru, were descendants of the Captain of the "Tai-nui," by Mihi-rawhiti, a woman of Waikato, who lived at Kawhia, where her children were born; after which they moved to the Ngati-Rua-nui country, her husband's home. A celebrated stone-axe, which was brought from Hawaiki when the fleet came, was taken to Hauraki when Hotu-nui (or Hotu-nuku) migrated thither from near Hawera, Taranaki.

The Ngati-Maru tribe suffered a good deal from the incursions of the so-called Titahi people on their way from the North, who were, however, none other than a branch of the great Ngati-Awa tribe—for which see under "Titahi." See also *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. II., p. 209, for a reference to this migration.

The Ngati-Maru tribe—some eleven generations ago—possessed a

poet named Te Mamangu, whom we shall have occasion to refer to later on, and to quote some of his productions for the sake of their historical importance.

THE TARANAKI TRIBE.

The northern boundary of this tribe has been described as marching with that of Ati-awa. From Nuku-tai-pari along the coast past Cape Egmont to the southern boundary at Raoa stream, two miles south-east of Oeo, is a distance of about fifty miles. From Raoa, where the territories of the Ngati-Rua-nui tribe commence, the Taranaki boundary ran generally in a north north-east direction to the east side of Mount Egmont where it joined the Ati-Awa boundary again. The Taranaki territory thus formed the segment of a circle dominated by the mountain from which the tribe takes its name. It is more mountainous than any other part of the Taranaki coast, for within it are Mount Egmont, 8,260 feet, the Pouakai Ranges, 4,590 feet, and the Patuha Ranges, 2,240 feet. But the country on the slopes of these mountains is fertile, and as the coast is approached there is a wide stretch of nearly level land, formerly nearly all covered with dense forest. It is watered with innumerable clear, stony streams, that rising in the mountains traverse the slopes and plains on their way to the sea; but none are of any size, Hangatahua, or Stony river, being the largest. Like the districts already described, there are a large number of old fortified *pas*, some of great strength, and many with an interesting history. Many of these are built on isolated hills that rise above the general level, and which are due directly to volcanic action, though not craters in the ordinary acceptance of the term. The lava streams from Mount Egmont appear—at any rate in the neighbourhood of Cape Egmont—to have extended right down to the sea in former times, and as the outside cooled, the surface cracked, and allowed of the molten lava of the interior to force its way upwards, thus building up the many isolated hillocks to be found in that part. The lava streams themselves have since been covered with ash ejected from the mountain, and hence but rarely show. Most of these hillocks are found to be solid stone within.

The Taranaki territory has always been celebrated for the immense quantities of the native flax (*harakeke*, *Phormium tenax*) which in former times covered the surface, and also for possessing the finest varieties of that plant. So much was this the case, that Taranaki was famed all over New Zealand for the quality of the flax mats made there, and for the obtaining of which more than one warlike expedition has been made in old times by the northern tribes.

The following are the *hapus* of Taranaki:—

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Ngati-Tairi | 9. Ngati-Rongo | 16. Ngati-Rangi- |
| 2. Nga-mahanga | 10. Ngati-Haumia | kotuku |
| 3. Patu-kai | 11. Ti-tahi | 17. Ngati-Moeahu |
| 4. Upoko-mutu | 12. Ngati-Tama-ahu- | 18. Ngati-Tu-wheke- |
| 5. Wai-o-tama | roa | rangi |
| 6. Puke-toretore | 13. Ngati-Tupaea | 19. Ngati-Kahumate |
| 7. Tu-heke-rangi | 14. Ngati-Tama-kumu | 20. Ngati-Te-Atua |
| 8. Ngati-Tara | 15. Ngati-Haupoto | |

Very little more need be said here as to the origin of the Taranaki tribe, so much having been written on the subject under the head of "The Canoes of the Fleet," Chapter VI. The tribe is very largely derived from the crews of the "Aotea" and "Kura-hau-po" canoes that arrived here about 1350, and the further element of *tangata-whenua* blood, known as Kahui-maunga. The Titahi *hapu* (No. 11 above) are the remains of those who migrated from Hokianga many generations ago, who will be referred to in their proper period. There are some traditions also of other vessels which came to the Taranaki coast from Hawaiki, but very little is known of them. For instance, "Ariki-maitai," said to have arrived before the "Aotea," and her crew settled on this coast, and were found there, by Turi of the "Aotea" on his arrival. It is said he killed all the men and made the women slaves. Again, tradition reports that some time after the arrival of "Ariki-maitai," two other canoes, the names of which have not been preserved, visited the coast from Hawaiki, having been driven out of their course by stress of weather. One of these canoes was owned by a great chieftainess, the other was the tender in which food was carried. On the return of these vessels to Hawaiki, the father of the lady asked how he could return the kindness that had been shown to his daughter by the Taranaki people. He was told that the Taranaki coast was very rocky and that what the people most wanted was sandy beaches from which to launch their canoes. The father—says the tradition—sent some canoe loads of sand, which form the few beaches still to be found in the district. Possibly there is some foundation for the story of the arrival of these two canoes, to which in later days the people added that part about the sand. This may be, however, a corrupted version of the story of Tama-ahua, to be referred to later on. The absence of any names is rather a suspicious circumstance.

The Taranaki Tribe was constantly at war with Ati-awa on the north and Ngati-Rua-nui on the south; hence they describe themselves as being like a wedge driven in between the two, pressed from either

side, but without being split up. They have the following saying in regard thereto:—

Kaore e pau ; he ika unahi nui. They cannot be conquered, for they are like a fish with great thick scales.

Amongst the folk-lore of these people is the following rather pretty story, which is very ancient and is likely to have originated with the *tangata-whenua*. Other versions are known to the Bay of Plenty people: Te Niniko was the name of a man who lived in very ancient days, who was much given to all kinds of enjoyment, such as games, dances, etc., in all of which he excelled, and was altogether a very gay and handsome young fellow. On one occasion a Turehu, or Patu-pai-arehe, or Fairy lady, saw him engaged in dancing, and was immediately stricken with his charms, so much so that she fell passionately in love with him. She herself was the most beautiful of all the Fairies. Now, Te Niniko dwelt in a house built a little distance away from the village where his relatives and friends lived. One night the fairy lady visited Te Niniko at night, and the latter was so charmed with her beauty that he made her his wife. Te Niniko wished to exhibit his wife to his relatives, but to this the lady would by no means consent. She used to disappear as daylight was about to break, only to return after the shades of night had fallen. Te Niniko continued to urge that his wife should show herself to his people, for he was very proud of her beauty. At last she said to him—"Wait until my child is born, and then we will introduce it to its relatives." But Te Niniko did not heed this wish of his wife, and one day boasted to his people of the beautiful wife he possessed. The people demanded to see her at once, and ascertain the truth of the story. Te Niniko replied—"You cannot do that, for she leaves me every morning before dawn. There is only one way to accomplish your wish; if you stop up every chink in the house through which daylight can enter, then she will not know when it is morning, and will linger on awaiting it." To this the people agreed, and set to work, completely excluding all light from the house. The next morning the lady awoke at her usual time, but finding it still dark, again slept, until the sun was high in the east. The people, urged by their desire to behold the beauty, now opened the door, when the whole building was flooded by light. The lady was greatly alarmed, and rushed out of the open door, and then climbed to the top of the house in sight of all the people who exclaimed at her exceeding beauty. She now sung a farewell song to Te Niniko, lamenting her separation from him, which was to be final, as he had disobeyed her, and as she finished a *komaru* or cloud was seen coming over the sea, which descended on the house where she stood, and also enveloped the

whole village in obscurity, and at the same time took up the lady and carried her off, leaving Te Niniko lamenting his loss. This incident is referred to in a song, which used to be very popular.

NGATI-RUA-NUI TRIBE.

The Ngati-Rua-nui tribe bounded Taranaki on the south, commencing from Raa, and extending along the coast line to Whenuakura, a distance of about thirty-four miles, where they met the boundary common to them and the Nga-Rauru tribe. Ngati-Rua-nui territories thus marched with Taranaki on the west, Ati-Awa and Ngati-Maru on the north, Whanganui on the north-east and Nga-Rauru on the south-east. It is a splendid district of coastal plains, one of the finest in New Zealand, with rough forest country inland, and everywhere well watered. The seashore is lined with cliffs about one hundred feet high, only broken by the outlet of numerous streams, and along the coast are many strongholds of ancient times, some of which will be referred to later on. The Patea is the largest stream of the district—named by Turi, Patea-nui-a-Turi—no doubt in memory of an ancient Patea in Tahiti. It is navigable for canoes for many miles, and had at one time immense eel weirs on its course, that supplied the people with an abundance of food.

The Ngati-Rua-nui, more than any other tribe, are the descendants of the crew of the "Aotea" canoe, for it was at the mouth of the Patea river that the people first settled on their arrival from Hawaiki. They spread from there in all directions; the Taranaki tribe on the north and the Nga-Rauru and Whanganui tribes on the south, all claiming to descent from those people. This tribe has also some vague traditions of other canoes, now said by them to have come hither from Hawaiki, bringing some of their ancestors, but it seems questionable if these vessels did not rather merely come from some other part of New Zealand, and hence so little notice of them is taken in the traditions. Some of these canoes were: "Motumotu-ahi," in which came Pua-tautahi, said to be an ancestor of Ngati-Rua-nui and Nga-Rauru; "Rangi-ua-mutu," under the command of Tamatea-rokai, which first landed at Te Ranga-tapu, a place that is probably in the Bay of Plenty, said to have brought some of the Ngati-Rua-nui, and also some of Ati-Awa. Again, the "Waka-ringaringa" canoe, under the command of Mawake-roa, landed near Kaupoko-nui at Ngateko, is said to have brought some of the ancestors of this tribe. The absence of more detailed information about these vessels and their commanders points either to the conclusion indicated above, or to the possibility of their having been some of the *tangata-whenua* canoes.

who removed a portion of Patea, named Rau-mano, which is still to be seen in the Middle Island, where also are his descendants." Te Atua-raunga-nuku—"his canoe was 'Tu-aro-paki.' We of Nga-Rauru are his descendants." Ratiti, daughter of Kauika, one of the priests of "Aotea."

Uenga-puanake,* shown above as the husband of Tane-roroa, and whose ancestors for twenty-two generations before him are shown in Table 4, Chapter II., was the father of Rua-nui who gave his name to this tribe, and so far as one may judge was a *tangata-whenua*, though it has also been said that he came here in the "Taki-timu" canoe. Uenga-puanake lived at Patea, where he had a *pou*, or post, named Tira-a-kaka, and his tree for snaring *kaka* was called Kura-whao, whilst his house was named Te Poroporo. According to one account, when the "Aotea" canoe was coming down the West Coast, she called in at Kaipara (but not at Manukau) which was then a very populous place. In accordance with Maori custom, Turi's daughter, Tane-ro-roa, was given to Uhenga-puanake, the son of the Kaipara chief, to wife. If this is correct, Uhenga-puanake and his wife must have come down to Patea eventually, for the great quarrel, in which both took a prominent part, took place at Patea. Another account I have gives a different account of this marriage: Ruatea (captain of "Kura-hau-po") had a son named Hou-nuku, whose son was Rau, and this latter as a young man was a companion of Uenga-puanake. Both of these young men aspired to the hand of Tane-roroa, Turi's daughter, who at that time was living on the south bank of the Patea river, where, in fact, her father and his people had first settled down. The two young men were on the north bank of the river, and came down with the intention of crossing, but there was no canoe available, so they decided to swim, but Rau could not swim—he was a *parera-maunu* (or moulting duck) so called. Uenga-puanake walked in and began to swim, though the water was really only up to his knees; this he did to deceive Rau, who had the chagrin to see his rival cross the river whilst he sat on the opposite bank. Tane-roroa was looking on, and decided that she would prefer the swimmer for a husband. From this marriage sprung Rua-nui, eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Raunui. This name, Rua-nui, is said to mean a *Kumara* pit, or underground store house, and Nga-pourua is also an ancient name for this tribe, having also a reference to *Kumara* pits.

The cause of the quarrel previously alluded to was as follows: When the child of Uenga-puanake and his wife Tane-roroa was about to be born, she expressed a desire for some flesh to eat. Under

* Uenga, should no doubt, be spelt Uhenga (identical with Ihenga), but these West Coast people are much given to leaving out the "h."

similar circumstances, we have numerous instances in Maori history of the husband making special journeys to procure some particular delicacy in the way of food, generally birds of the forest, for his wife. In this case, the only flesh that could be obtained was dog's flesh, which was considered a delicacy in former times—the old native dog was a vegetable feeder—and apparently no one possessed dogs but Tane-roroa's brother, Turanga-i-mua, the eldest son of Turi, and these dogs were of the stock brought by the latter from Hawaiki for food, and for their skins, which were made into handsome and valued cloaks. So Tane-roroa persuaded her husband to go surreptitiously and kill one of her brother's dogs. He killed two, the names of which have been handed down to posterity—Papa-tua-kura and Mata-whare—and then the lady and her husband had a feast. Soon after Turanga-i-mua missed his favourites, and made diligent search and enquiry for them. He asked Tane-roroa if she had seen them, but she denied any knowledge of them. Turanga-i-mua was very much troubled about his dogs, and proceeded to recite incantations, etc., to find out what had become of them—for he was the *ariki* and chief priest of the tribe, as the eldest son of Turi. He soon discovered that his sister and her husband were the culprits, for on going to their house in the evening, the eructations due to the eating of dog's flesh were evident in those two people. The fact of the theft and the denial of it were now proclaimed abroad, and in consequence a great shame (at being found out) fell upon Tane-roroa and her husband. They were so humiliated that they felt they could no longer live in the same village that had been the scene of their disgrace.

They—no doubt with their people—moved across the Patea river, and there settled, three miles distant from the river along the coast, at a place named Whiti-kau, where they built their house named Kai-kāpō, which has some fame in the tribal history. In after days, when Tane-roroa's children began to grow up, she said to them—"See yonder fires from which the smoke arises on the south bank of Patea! There dwell your elder relations; *hei kai ma koutou a koutou tuakana*, your elder relatives shall be food for you"—which is a curse of the deepest die that could only be wiped out in blood.

Hence came the great division in these people, even so soon as the first generation after Turi their great progenitor. The offspring of Tane-roroa, Turi's daughter, and their descendants, remained on the north side of Patea—as Ngati-Rua-nui—from that day to this, whilst the offspring of Turi's son, under the name of the Nga-Rauru tribe occupy the south side. This curse has operated from those days down

to the date of Christianity, for the two tribes have constantly been at war.

I have mentioned above the house Kai-kāpō, it was the *whare-maire* of this tribe, the temple in fact where the people assembled to discuss tribal affairs, and where teaching of the history, etc., took place. Near it was the spring named Rua-uru. When Sir Geo. Grey visited Patea during the war, in 1868, he was taken by the people to see this celebrated place. The Rev. T. G. Hammond says of it: "A little further along the coast is the fishing station of the Ngati-Hine tribe (*hapu*) called Whiti-kau. Here there has been at one time a numerous people, as the locality is surrounded with Maori ovens. There may still be found some stone sinkers, and from time to time have come to light some of the finest stone axes known on this coast. Mr. James Fairweather, of Otarite, dug up one, which for size and quality of stone cannot be equalled. It is said to be a *toki tinana* (an important axe), one of the three brought from Hawaiki, one other having been carried away by Ngati-Maru when they went north many years ago (*i.e.*, under Hotu-nui, see *ante*). Not far from Whiti-kau stood, of old, the sacred house Kai-kāpō. Near by is a spring of water over which the priests contended, which contention led to the scattering of the people. The descendants of these people, as they journey up and down, turn aside even in these days to weep beside the spring." (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. X., p. 196.)

There are but few references to the cause of this trouble at the Rua-uru spring, but one of my Maori informants says—"During the time the people dwelt at Whiti-kau, occurred a (further) division of the people, and this *hapu* went one way, that *hapu* another; the cause of this was due to the action of Ue-whatarau, who smashed the calabash named 'Tapotu-o-te-rangi' belonging to Rua-uri." No doubt this would be one of the elaborately ornamented calabashes used for drinking water. "The man who owned the house Kai-kāpō at that time was Rakei-matua, and Rua-uri, Ue-whatarau and other chiefs entered it"—apparently in some manner distasteful to the owner, which led to the trouble.

Kai-kāpō is often alluded to in poetry. For instance see "Nga-Moteatea," p. 153—where Turoa, of Upper Whanganui laments the death of Te Kotuku-raeroa, killed at Patoka, 1842.

Moe mai e Pa! i roto Matangi-rei,
Ko te whare o Turi i u ai ki uta,
I hui katoa ano nga tauwi nei ki roto
Taria e tukituki ki roto Kai-kapo

Sleep on, O Sir! in Matangi-rei,
The house built by Turi on his arrival,
And where gathered the stranger tribes,
'Twas later that strife arose in Kai-kapo,

Mo Whakapapa-tuakura, mo Mata-	Originally caused by the killing of the
whare-te-uia	dogs,
Ka mau te pakanga e—i.	Of “Whakapapa-tuakura” and “Mata-
	whare-te-uia.”

Here is another reference in a song composed—or more probably recited, for no doubt it is ancient—by Maruera-whakarewa-taua, about the sixties of the nineteenth century, in answer to a question by a stranger as to whether Titoko-waru (our enemy in the sixties) was of chiefly rank or not.

Tenei ka noho i roto te whare-nui—
 I roto o Kai-kapo
 Te Whare-o Rakei-matua.
 Tomo kau a Rua-uri,
 A Ue-whatarau ki roto-o—
 Whakatakune riri ai
 Ka pakaru Tapotu-o-te-rangi-e-i
 Ka waiho he take unuhanga mo nga iwi.
 Haere atu Rua-uri ki runga o Wai-rarapa
 Tutohungia iho kauaka Te Tini-o-Ue-whatarau
 E whai ake i a ia,
 Ma Tini-o-Rangi-hawe ia e whai ake.
 Kaore i whakarongo.
 Huna iho ana ki te umu-pakaroa na Rua-uri
 Ka mate Tini-o-Ue-whatarau e-i.
 Hua i huna ai, e ngaro te tangata,
 E kore e ngaro i toku kuia —
 I a Rongorongo-nui-a-Pahiwa
 I tohia ai taku ingoa nei
 Koia Rua-nui-a-Pokiwa
 E toe nei ki te ao.

* * *

TRANSLITERATION.

Let us then in imagination dwell,
 Within the great house of Kai-kapo
 That to Rakei-matua belonged.
 There entered therein with unbecoming mien,
 Both Rua-uri and Ue-whatarau,
 Causing strife and anger to arise.
 When “Tapotu-o-te-rangi,” famed calabash, was smashed,
 This, undying hatred caused,
 And the withdrawing of the people from their common
 home.
 For far Wai-rarapa, Rua-uri purposed to depart
 Leaving command to Tini-o-Ue-whatarau not to follow.
 But rather, if they so willed, might Tini-o-Rangi come.

They listened not, and thus
 Were Tini-o-Ue-whatarau within
 The long ovens of Rua-uri baked.
 'Twas thought that this killing of men
 Would destroy the tribes,
 But never will the offspring of my great ancestress,
 Of Rongorongo-nui-a-Pahiwa
 From whence I take my name
 Of Rua-nui-a-Pokiwa*
 Be lost to this world of light.

* * *

The rest of this song is modern, and relates to Titoko-waru and the European War.

It is probable that we may be able to assign an approximate date to this second division of Turi's descendants alluded to in the above song and story of Kai-kāpō. By referring to Table 5, Chapter II., we shall find the name Rua-uri, (one of those who caused the trouble at Kai-kāpō) who is there shown to have been the son of Tamatea-kuru-mai-i-te-uru-o-Tawhiti-nui, a man who visited Turi at Patea, and as my informant adds, is identical with Tamatea-pokai-whenua—which I doubt. At any rate, this man with the long name (what a burden it must have been to carry about!) having been a contemporary of Turi's, and his son Rua-uri—probably then a man of mature age—being an active agent in the disturbance, we may fix the date at somewhere about the year 1400.

Among the folk lore of the Ngati-Rua-nui are to be found many strange stories denoting the "culture-plane" in which the Maori people lived down to the introduction of Christianity. Many of these can be traced back to the old world; but, as so frequently happens, the stories have become localized, and the deeds accredited to well known ancestors of the people. Prominent in this class of story is the belief of the people in the powers of their *Tohungas*, by aid of *Karakia*, or incantation, to remove hills, lakes, portions of land, etc. Even so simple a thing as a landslid is usually accredited to the action of some *taniwha*, or fabulous monster, inhabiting the sea, the rivers, or the earth itself. In the portion of this chapter devoted to Ngati-Tama, a description of the removal of the Pou-tama reef from near Cape Egmont to the Pou-tama district was given. The people of Patea have their own story of a somewhat similar nature. It is thus told by Mr. Hammond in his

* Pokiwa was the name of an ancestor, and in former times the Nga-Rauru tribe was known by this name.

paper "Tai-tuauru" (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. X., p. 196); but I can add to that, that the name of the man whose powerful *Karakia* effected the transportation of this land, was Tapu-kai, who came to New Zealand in the "Aotea" canoe (*circa* 1350), and whose descendants, say my informants, are to be found in the Middle Island.

Rau-mano is a place a little seaward of the Patea Railway Station. Mr. Hammond says: "The men of Rau-mano had gone out to sea on a fishing expedition. Among those left at home were two little boys who amused themselves flying a kite. They at length disagreed, and one said to the other, 'You are a person of no importance; your father has to go in my father's canoe to catch fish.' The little fellow so addressed was much offended, but nursed his anger until his father's return, and then told him what had been said to him. The father determined to be revenged; so when all were sleeping soundly, he repeated incantations, thereby causing the land upon which this boy and his relations slept, who had insulted his son, to part from the main land, and float down the river and out to sea, and over to the West Coast of the South Island, causing those parts to be peopled. It is remarkable that without any communication the two peoples" (*i.e.* I suppose those of the South Island and of Patea is meant) "should have retained, in song, the memory of such an event. These wonderful tales served to keep alive some simple fact that only the initiated knew how to strip of the marvellous."

Without being one of the "initiated," I would nevertheless offer a simple explanation of this story: It would soon get about that Tapu-kai was determined to avenge the insult to his child, and that he would do it by *makutu*, or witchcraft, in which all Maoris had the most profound belief. The offending family, knowing that their doom was fixed, simply slipped off at night in their canoe, crossed the Strait, and settled in the South or Middle Island. Soon afterwards a landslip occurred, and buried the site of the village, and extended into the river—for this country is much given to landslips. After ages impute to Tapu-kai's *Karakias* the fact of the landslip having occurred, and of the people having travelled on it to the other island.

My informants tell me that Stephen's Island, at the north-east end of D'Urville's Island, represents at this day the Rau-mano removed from Patea, and that Tapu-kai's people killed the offending boy, leading to great troubles. I feel sure the above story refers to an early migration of some of the Patea people to the South Island, which must have occurred somewhere at the end of the fourteenth century.

To quote again from Mr. Hammond (*loc cit* p. 197): "A short distance from Whare-paia (a place on Mr. Pearce's farm, a little to the

north-west of Kakaramaea Railway Station) is Turangarere on Mr. Ball's property. From this place a beacon fire (bale-fire) could be seen far away north and south, and such fires were lighted to intimate the coming of war-parties, or to summon the tribes to defence, or the discussion of impending trouble At the foot of the hill runs a clear stream named Mangaroa, and where this stream turns in its course, the *Tohungas* devined the omens by watching the course sticks would take in the current, and advised the warriors accordingly ' Mr. Hammond gives me this further information as to the origin of the name Turanga-rere: "When any great event occurred amongst the local tribes, there was one place above all others where the principal chiefs summoned the people to meet them; and from the fact of such place being named in the summons, everyone knew that the affair was of great importance. When the people had assembled, the priest went outside the *marae* of the *pa*, and cast the *niu*, or divination sticks, in order to foretell the success or otherwise of the proposed course of action. Whilst this was going on, the warriors assembled in the *marae* according to their various *hapus*, all sitting in their *ranga*, or ranks. So soon as the priest announced the probable success of the enterprise, all stood up in their ranks, and as they did so, the plumes on their heads would wave, or *rere*—hence the name, *turanga*, the standing, *rere* to wave, or float." Mr. Hammond goes on to give a modern instance of this custom: "A man came from Wai-totara to one of the villages of Patea where a meeting had been called on account of the death of a woman at Wai-totara, through a beating administered by her husband. One of the Patea people—a *Tohunga*—said to the visitor, "*Mehemea ko te tikanga o mua, ka kanikani taua i Turanga-rere.*" Had the old customs been in force, you and I would have danced at Turanga-rere."

In Turoa's lament, a part of which I quoted a few pages back, occurs the following lines referring to the above place and custom:

E tika ana koe i te ara kai riri,	Thou goest direct on the path of war,
I runga Turanga-rere,	Above there at Turanga-rere.
Mo te Rangi-hau-ora	On account of Rangi-hau-ora.

The *Hapus* of Ngati-Rua-nui are:—

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Tangahoe | 4. Nga-Ruahine | 7. Ngati-Tupaea |
| 2. Paka-kohi* | 5. Ngati-Tipara | 8. Ngati-Manu-hiakai |
| 3. Ngati-Hine | 6. Ngati-Tane-wai | 9. Ngati-Tu |

* It is questionable if the Pakakohi was originally a Ngati-Rua-nui *hapu*, for I learned through Judge Gudgeon, in 1893, that the people of Port Awanui maintain that the ancestors of Pakakohi migrated from Wai-pari, near Wai-piro, (fifty miles north of Gisborne) after the great fight with Pakanui at Te Mara-hutihuti,

THE MAORI ANCESTOR TARIONGE.

Here and there in Maori traditions is found mentioned an ancestor named Tarionge, who flourished in Hawaiki a few generations before the sailing of the fleet to New Zealand. Nothing very remarkable is mentioned about this ancestor, but, nevertheless, his name is one of those on which hinges the connection with Maori, Tahitian and Rarotongan. It is from such cases as this that we deduce dates in Polynesian history, and where this can be done by comparing genealogical descents from some one well-known name, down to people living in various islands, the value of the date is much enhanced.

As Tarionge is connected with these West Coast tribes—Taranaki, Ngati-Rua-nui and Nga-Rauru—the notes I have gathered may find a place here for the benefit of future students.

In an *Oriori tamariki*, or lullaby, published in “Nga Moteatea,” p. 186, we find :—

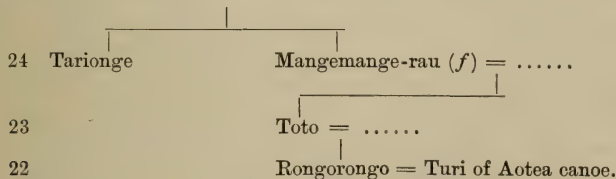
*	*	*
Na Kiki taua, na Toto taua,	We are descended from Kiki, from Toto,	
Na Tarionge e !....	And from Tarionge....	

Again, the same volume, p. xcvi.—we have in a Taranaki lament :—

*	*	*
Kihai koe i whangaina	Thou wert not fed	
Ki te manga tawhiti.	On foods of distant lands,	
Naku koe i whangai	But 'twas I that brought thee up	
Ki te aitanga a Tarionge	On the offspring of Tarionge	
I te kai whakaoto e piri i te toka.	The astringent food that adheres to the rocks.	

Here, Tarionge's name appears to be used as a synonym for shell fish.

From the Ngati-Rua-nui tribe we have this short genealogical table, which fixes the date of Tarionge according to the Maori traditions :—



Possibly Mangemange-rau married Kiki, of the lullaby (see *ante*). If so, this table agrees with the song.

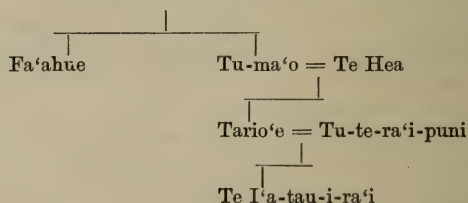
and Ngati-Porou say that Nga-waka-aurua (of Pakakohi) admitted this to be true. If so, they have only been at Patea since about 1650; but they have so inter-married with Ngati-Rua-nui that they may now be looked on as the same people. This shows, however, how much the tribes have become mixed, and illustrates the many migrations that have taken place.

Next, we find in the Rarotongan history of Tangiia, that the latter after his expulsion from Tahiti, went to Huahine Island (about 120 miles west of Tahiti) to visit his sister Raka-nui, where a long conversation takes place, in which occurs the following:—"Rakamea married the lady Raka-nui, and they gave birth to Tarionge." Now Tangiia flourished twenty-six generations ago, and if Tarionge was a nephew of his (by his sister Rakanui) there is only one generation difference between Maori and Rarotonga story.

But Tarionge, under the form Tario'e—these people do not pronounce the "ng"—is known to Tahitian tradition also. Miss Teuira Henry, of that Island, supplies me with the following:—

"Te Fatu (Maori, Te Whatu) was the name of a man who went from Rarotonga to Porapora (twenty-two miles northerly of Rai'atea, Turi's old home) where he married Te Uira. Their *marae* was called Fare-rua (Whare-rua in Maori). The family from whom Te Whatu came was named Tario'e (Tarionge) whilst that of Te Uira was Te Hiva (a well known Raiatea *hapu*). Pou-tara was the high priest of the *marae*. The children of these two people were Maro-te-tini and Vaearai (? Wae-arai or Waea-rangi in Maori)."

In a further communication Miss Henry supplies the following information:—



Fa'ahue, she adds, is the ancestor of the Pomare family of Tahiti. This man is shown in the Pomare pedigree table, page 26, Vol. II., Journal Polynesian Society. But the position he there holds is much too near the present day to allow of his nephew Tario'e being the same as the Maori ancestor, for he is there shown to have lived about nineteen generations ago—accepting Hiro, on the same table as being identical with Rarotongan Iro, and Maori Whiro, who, there is very little doubt flourished twenty-five generations ago (see Chapter IV.). Maybe Fa'ahue, the Pomare ancestor is a different man, and this seems to be proved by the fact of Te-I'a-tau-i-r'ai (Maori, Te Ika-tau-i-rangi) being known to both Maori and Rarotongan histories as having flourished in Hawaiki before the *heke* to New Zealand in 1350, *i.e.*, more than twenty-two generations ago, but his exact position cannot be determined.

NGA-RAURU TRIBE.

The tribes already described, all inhabited the Province of Taranaki—excepting the few Tai-nui tribes alluded to in the beginning of Chapter VII. We now come to those living in the Province of Wellington, about whose boundaries there is much less information available. Many of them, however, spring from the same sources as we have dealt with, and particularly Nga-Rauru. The boundaries of this tribe on the north-west was the Whenua-kura river, which was common to them and Ngati-Rua-nui. Their coastal frontage extended from the above river to about the Kai-iwi stream,* a distance of about twenty-three miles, where they were joined by the Ngati-Hau, one of the series of tribes known under the name of Whanga-nui. This same tribe bounded them also on the east and north-east, until the boundary closed on to Ngati-Rua-nui again, somewhere on the upper waters of the Whenua-kura. The Wai-totara river runs through the middle of this territory, and is navigable for canoes for many miles, thus affording the tribe an easy means of retreat, in case of invasion, to the wooded hills in the interior, and as it was formerly full of large eel weirs, was a great source of food supply. The coast line is low, and generally occupied by sand-hills, inland of which is a very fertile undulating country, which, at about six or seven miles from the coast, rises gradually into wooded hilly country, often a good deal broken, due to the *papa* rock of which it is composed, and which is much given to extensive land-slips.

The name Rauru, is said to refer to the upper part of a *kumara* pit. The name was brought from Hawaiki with the people who came here in the “Aotea” canoe, and is the name of their ancestor.

There are some notable old *pas* in this territory, many of which have an interesting history, but they are not so numerous as the next district to the north, already described. There are also some noticeable modern fortifications occupied by these people during the wars with the Pakeha, in the sixties of the nineteenth century, such as Tauranga-ika, near Nuku-maru, Te Weraroa on the Wai-totara, etc.

The eponymous ancestor of this tribe is Rauru, shown in Table No.

* Kai-iwi is a stream six miles north-west from the Whanganui river; but this has not always been its name. Formerly, a certain man from the East Coast set out in chase of a very peculiar fish, which was in fact a *Kahawai*, but it had a tree growing out of it! He chased this fish all along the coast till he came to a stream, where he cast his net, and from that circumstance the place was called Te Kupenga-o-Mamoe; but he failed to catch the fish there, but did so at Wai-ngongoro. Subsequently the same stream was the scene of the death of some men by a *taua*, who were eaten there, hence its modern name—Kai-iwi.

38, a few pages back, and also in Table 25, Chapter IV., by these people said to be a grandson of Toi, but by the East Coast people, the latter's son. They are essentially descended from migrants to New Zealand by the "Aotea" canoe, indeed, the main lines from Turi's sons are to be found amongst Nga-Rauru, which the quarrel on account of Turanga-i-mua's dogs explains, for the sons all settled on the south side of Patea, and they have possessed the *whare-maire*, or houses of learning, in which the priests taught, from the days of Turi down to Christianity—(see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IX., p. 229, for a list of these houses and the names of those who taught in them). The people also claimed descent from those who came in the canoe "Tu-aro-paki," under Te Atua-raunga-nuku, but nothing is known of the history of this canoe, beyond the statement of the tribe, that some of their ancestors came in it.

Mr. John White says that one of the ancestors of Nga-Rauru named Rakei-wananga-ora, came to this coast from Hawaiki in the "Panga-toru" canoe, but the people would not allow the crew to land, so they returned to Hawaiki. He does not explain how the Nga-Rauru get over the conflict between the two above statements—probably this is one of the local canoes already referred to.

I have just said that Rauru was the eponymous ancestor of this tribe. The Nga-Rauru people are very precise and positive in their traditions as to the fact of this ancestor living in Hawaiki—at any rate for part of his life. At the same time, it is clear he is identical with Rauru, son of Toi, of the *tangata-whenua*—but on this subject see Chap. IV. He flourished about twenty-nine generations ago according to Table No. 25, or approximately the middle of the thirteenth century; and he was apparently one of those daring voyagers of the Polynesian race, whose exploits fill us with wonder. It is this Rauru who is accredited with making the voyage from Hawaiki—in this case there is little doubt, Hawaiki-raro, or the Samoan and Fiji Groups are meant—to Wairua-ngangana, a place that can be no where else than in Indonesia, if not beyond, on the coast of Asia. Mr. Hammond's account, is as follows (see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. III. p. 106):—"The expedition consisted of two canoes well-manned and named respectively 'Pahi-tonoa' and 'Haki-rere.' The former was commanded by Rauru, the latter by Maihi. On the outward voyage 'Pahi-tonoa' was wrecked, Rauru and the survivors being rescued by the crew of 'Haki-rere.' Going on her way, 'Haki-rere' arrived safely at Wairua-ngangana, and application was made to the inhabitants of the island for roots of the *taro*, which were presented to them by two women, who also gave them directions as to the cultivation of

the plant, and the requisite behaviour on their return journey with such valuable food on board. Following their directions Maihi was enabled to return safely to Hawaiki, and accordingly introduced the *taro* to that land"—and planted it at Te Papa-i-kuratau, which from other traditions can be located as being either in Samoa or Fiji—probably the latter.

There is some confusion in the traditions as to the canoe "Pahitonoa." The above account says she was wrecked, whereas Tautahi holds that she was one of the fleet that afterwards carried the migration under Rauru, from Western Hawaiki (Samoa, Fiji, etc.) to Rangi-atea of the Society Group (see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IX., p. 213). This, however, is not a matter of great moment—another canoe may have been called after the old one, by the same name. The important thing is that Rauru led a migration from the Western to the Eastern Pacific, where they settled down in Rai'atea and Tahiti, and lived there for seven generations, until the war with Ngati-Puna and Ngati-Ue-nuku, at Rai'atea, forced Turi and his compatriots to migrate to New Zealand in *circa* 1350.

WHARE-KURA.

I find amongst my notes a probable reason for the migration of Rauru from Western to Eastern Pacific, though my informants did not connect the two things, and I regret to say I neglected to follow it out—indeed the connection had not occurred to me at the time. There are traditions amongst these West Coast tribes of a great division having taken place long before they came to New Zealand, which was due to dissension among the priesthood on a matter of belief—in the same manner that the Gothic and other Arians differed on a point of belief with the Italian and other Catholics in the fourth or fifth centuries. This separation of the people is also known to the Tahitians, who call those who resided in the west, and held one faith, Ao-uri, whilst the others (Tahitians and Islanders of that neighbourhood) were named Ao-tea. There is little doubt that the two traditions refer to the same movement. The most detailed account of this split in the tribes, from the Maori side, is given by the Rev. R. Taylor in "Te Ika-a-maui," p. 65, which, however, is corroborated, but not with the same detail, by my own notes and those of others. Mr. Taylor did not see the significance of the matter he recorded—indeed he could not have done so, for the time was not ripe, and hence perhaps, with his well known predilection that way, he has attempted to find its analogy in Hebrew history.

I abbreviate here part of Mr. Taylor's account of Whare-kura,

that being the name of the house in which this division of the people took place—a name, however, which has become a general one for their various houses where the history, beliefs, genealogies, etc., were taught, even from the times of this original Whare-kura, down to the time when Christianity put an end to such teaching. Some of Mr. Taylor's names, often incorrectly given, are also corrected.

Mr. Taylor states that the original Whare-kura was a "house of prayer," or worship, which seems to me a mistake, for nothing like worship, in our sense of the word, ever occurred amongst any branch of the race. What is meant, is that here their sacred *karakias* (invocations, incantations, etc.) were recited, but these do not imply worship. It is said to have been a very large edifice, in which people met for "the rehearsal of their several pedigrees as well as the heroic deeds of their ancestors, for holding their solemn councils and administering justice." In this respect Whare-kura much resembles the Koro-tuatini of Rarotonga tradition, which, however, was far more ancient than this particular Whare-kura, and probably was situated in India. The same ideas, however, transmitted through the ages, would induce the people to perpetuate the character of the Koro-tuatini and its uses in various stages of their migrations; and therefore Whare-kura may be said to have been the legitimate outcome of the ideas which originated Koro-tuatini. "At the other extremity (of Whare-kura) was a small building in which the high priest resided, and seventy other priests had their houses ranged around, each building bearing the name of one the heavens." I think Mr. Taylor has got somewhat astray here, for the Maori only acknowledges ten heavens.

The following tribes used to assemble in Whare-kura:—

1. The Kahui-Kauika, and their chiefs Kauika-nui, Kauika-roa, Kauika-papa, Kauika-whakaroa-korero.
2. Te Kahui-Whata, and their chiefs Whata-nui, Whata-roa, Whata-korero, and Whata-atua.
3. Te Kahui-Kapua, and their chiefs I-Kapua-nui, I-Kapua-roa, I-Kapua-tuatahi, and I-Kapua-whaka-roa-korero.
4. Te Kahui-Rangi, and their chiefs I-Rangi-tu-ana, I-Rangi-tu-Tawhaki, I-a-Whiro, I-Roto-pua.*
5. The tribe of Maru, and their chiefs Whiro, Monga, Wai-turourou-atea, Hurihanga, Marama-nui-o-Hotu, Rakeipingao.

* These names beginning in I are peculiar, and unknown in any other connection in Maori, though quite common as Marquesan proper names, and are also known in Hawaii.

There were two priests whose function it was to procure and braid in a special manner the sinnet that was bound round the images of the gods,* whose names were Huru-manu and Takitaki. Their sisters were high priestesses, and were named Rito-whara† and Rito-maopo.‡ It was said that it was due to these two women that the great quarrel took place, and the final separation of the tribes occurred, when many migrated to Eastern Polynesia. As is usual in all events of importance in Maori history, this separation has a special name given to it, viz.: “Turia-te-ngairi” (according to Mr. Taylor but which I suspect is Turia-te-ngahiri, meaning uproar, contention, discussion, etc.)

The other faction appear to have been under the leadership of Ue-nuku, who was the head of 180 chiefs, some of the groups of whom were:—

- | | |
|-------------------------|--|
| 1. Te Kahui-Potonga | 4. Te Kahui-Pou-taha |
| 2. Te Kahui-Poupou-titi | 5. Te Kahui-Pou-korero |
| 3. Te Kahui-Torea | 6. Te Kahui-Pepe—Pepe-mua,
Pepe-roto and Pepe-te-muimui |

“The different tribes which met at Whare-kura were ranged in two grand divisions, one party occupying one side of the building, and the other the opposite side. One party possessed a staff called Te Tokotoko-o-Turoa (*i.e.*, the ‘ancient’ or ‘enduring staff’), whose owner was Rangi-tawhaki. The other side also had a staff named Tongitongi (to peck, to point out) which belonged to Maihi-rangi.”

When the tribes quarrelled, “Kauika broke the staff of Maihi-rangi, and this became the signal for anarchy and confusion; sorcery and witchcraft were then practised against each other, and then they fought. Whakatau-potiki set the building on fire, and a multitude perished in the flames.”

It is a question, if there is not some confusion here as to Whakatau-potiki—if this is the same hero who burnt Te Uru-o-Manono temple, and it seems as if he were from the context—for according to Raro-tonga history he flourished about the year 900, and Rauru about 1150; Whiro about 1275 to 1300; Ue-nuku (if the same) about 1300. Probably the two histories have in time become mixed up.

There is a great deal in this obscure tradition that offers food for

* See a specimen of this pattern of binding sinnet round the emblems of the gods, Plate 4.

† These two names are significant—Rito-whara = Pandanus core; Rito-maopo = Breadfruit core—neither of which trees grow in New Zealand, but are common in Samoa and Fiji.

thought, for it evidently refers to some great dispersion of the people. Even the names given are worth study, for they are all capable of an emblematical translation, and may have been of the same nature as the honorific names of Samoa, or the *marae* names of Tahiti. It is to be feared we shall never get much further light on this subject, unless Miss Teuira Henry's Tahitian Traditions, when published, may help us.

My informants are quite positive that this division in the people took place before they removed to Rangi-atea (Rai'atea Island), whereas other traditions say it occurred at the latter place.

There is amongst the Nga-Rauru people a peculiar remnant of an ancient story, that may be classed as folk-lore; the only other version I have ever seen is to be found among the Ure-wera people, and which was published by Mr. Elsdon Best in his "Wai-kare-moana."

The following is the West Coast account. It is termed the—

STORY OF POU AND TE MANU-NUI.

In former times there was a kind of *taniwha*, or monster named Ikaroa, in shape like a fish, which came ashore and laid on the beach, at a place named Kene-puru-roa in the Patea district. Now as Pou—a dweller in those parts—was wandering along the beach he came across this great fish and thought it a good opportunity to replenish his larder. Having with him his *mira-tuatini*, or sharks-tooth saw, he commenced to cut up the fish; but to his great surprise, as soon as he made a cut it closed up again. This, thought Pou, must be a *tupua* fish, and not to be dealt with in an ordinary manner. So he commenced to say his *karakias* in due form, whilst Ikaroa was listening all the time, and fearing that Pou would succeed in the end, with the aid of his powerful incantations, suddenly took up Pou and carried him away to the Muri-wai-o-Hawaiki. On arrival at this distant country, a council was called (presumably by the people of Hawaiki) to adjudicate on the case, as to whether Ikaroa was justified in his abduction of Pou. The decision come to was, that Ikaroa was wrong, inasmuch as he was out of his own element when Pou attempted to cut him up. The story does not say whether the decision also carried costs against Ikaroa; but at any rate, the powers that ruled in Hawaiki decided to assist Pou to return to his own country, and to that end engaged a *taniwha* (sea monster, but here evidently a monster of the air) named Te Manu-nui-a-Rua-kapanga to convey him home. On nearing Patea, the place from whence Pou had been carried off, the Manu opened wide its wings, and said to Pou—"Pull out a feather from my side, to

be a *māna* (power, prestige—in this case a talisman) unto you.” So Pou did as he was told, “and the name of that thing was Te Rau-a-Moa”—the feather of the Moa.

Now when the people of the Whanganui district heard of this object that Pou had acquired, they sent Tukai-turoa, and his sister, to obtain it for themselves. They came to Pu-manga at Patea, and there Pou gave to them this talisman as a power and prestige to Whanganui, in order that they might avenge their wrongs. And it was through the power of Te Rau-a-moa that Whanganui got compensation for the evil they were suffering under. (It is not stated what it was.) That talisman never came back from Whanganui; “it finally disappeared there, and is not; it would have been better if this valuable property of Nga-Rauru and Ngati-Rua-nui had come back to them.”

Rua-kapanga is known to the Rarotongans as the name of a great kite (*manu*), and is mentioned in some of their old songs. There is a saying about it—“*E tia e te kuekue.*”

I have suggested in Chapter IV., that this Pou may be identical with Pou-te-anuanua of Mangaia Island, whose other name was Toi, and whose genealogy is given in Table 22. In fact, the suggestion is made that this mysterious journey of Pou to Hawaiki, when he was carried off by Ikaroa, may be the dimly remembered record of a voyage made prior to the *heke* of 1350.

In order to preserve it, I copy an ancient lament of these people, in which the above incidents are alluded to.

HE TANGI NA TE IKA-TERE-ANIU MO TE PERE.

Takiri ko te ata, kua whitirere au,
 Kaore ana nei he pere i wehe ai
 Kei a Hine a te hoa,
 Tena E Whaene! Tirohia iho ra,
 Taku mareikura, he koata ariki,
 No Kai-atua e—i, no te Kahui-whata,
 Turakina te kahui kuaka,
 Ki te Uru-a-Tawhiti nei—e—i.
 He hia kai hapu kia tomo atu koe
 Ki a Whaka-tauroa,
 Ko te kete tena i tuwhera ki te rangi
 I tukua iho ai te whenua e takoto
 Kua tu ai ki te ao nei.
 A, rongō ano au te huka a Te Tawhiti,
 I takoto a Wai-matua ki te hohonu
 E Tama—e—i.
 Ka tupu te tangata, ihi kau ki te ao,
 Hoki atu ki te kore—te kore i oti atu—e—i

Huti kau mai au nga huti o te kura,
 E kore e hoki mai ; ka pae ki te one-roa,
 I Pikopiko-i-Whiti e—i.
 Mona te kura pae
 Whai mua koe ki te Wai-o-rangi—
 Ko Wai-whakatipua,
 Ko Rua-rongo, ko au,
 Nana i kopekope ko te ewe
 O te ika wai-waha
 He putanga ariki e—i,
 No Te Kahui-pua.
 Kia whawhiā iho ki rōto, karanga atu
 Ko te kete tena i whakairia ai
 Ka tau ki te matapihi o te whare o Tangaroa—e—i.
 Ka rangona ki reira te kupu a Te Tawhiti
 Kei te kune, kei te weu, kei te aka.
 Kei te tamore, kei te katoa,
 Kei te karawa, kei te au ika,
 Ka tupu ko te Kahui Iawa e—i
 Ko Rua-kapanga, ka whakatawhi au,
 Ki a Ikaroa e—i.
 Me kokomo iho koe ki Paopao-te-rangi
 Te Huki-o-te-moa, ko te ipu tena
 I takoto mai ai, koia Huna-kiko
 No Te Apiti-o-te-rangi,
 E Tama e!—

I regret I am unable to furnish a translation of this ancient song, so full of references to the traditional lore of the Maori. Without the help of one of the tribe learned in such matters, it is impossible.

There is another very strange tradition among these people, the origin of which is very difficult to fathom. So far as I am aware it is found no where else in New Zealand, nor anywhere else in Polynesia. We are indebted to Mr. John White for the preservation of it, and it is to be found in his “Aotea” papers, now with the Government. It is called—

Te ewe i tere—THE WINGED PEOPLE.

“A placenta was cast into the sea, and in due course became a man whose name was Whanau-moana, or Sea-born. He had wings, as had all his descendants. At first, none of these beings had stationary homes, but flew about from place to place, sometimes alighting on the tops of mountains, or extending their flight to islands in the sea. One of the women, named Tara-pu-whenua, first caused them to dwell in *pas*. This people belonged to Wai-totara and lived at Tieke,

(Moerangi a sacred place, where the famous "Awhio-rangi" axe, brought here from Hawaiki by Turi, was buried seven generations ago, and re-discovered in December, 1887—see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. IX., p. 229). The last of this people who had wings was named Te Kahui-rere, and he lost them through a woman pressing them down in the night when he was asleep. Hoani Wiremu Hipango of Whanga-nui (died about fifteen years ago) says that his wife was a descendant of these winged people."

Another version is as follows:—Hare Tipene, of Te Ihu-puku *pa*, Wai-totara, says Tama-nui-te-ra (sometimes given as a name for the Sun) was the first person who possessed wings, or who could fly, but it is not now known whether he had wings or merely possessed the power (*māna*) of raising himself up in the air at pleasure, which he used to do, and could take long flights. Hence is the saying:—

Ka rere te atua iti	When the minor god flies,
E kore e marama te rangi,	The heavens will not be bright.
Ka rere ko Tama-nui-te-ra,	When Tama-nui-te-ra takes flight
Ka marama te rangi.	Then will the heavens be bright.

Tama-nui-te-ra had a house in the sky named Whare-totoka. Tama-hewa was the last person who had powers of flight, but he lost them through his wife Raka-takapo treading on his wings in the night. They lived at Tieke and Moerangi."

Here is a *Waiata* or Maori song, in which these winged people are alluded to:—

Ra te uira ka hiko i te rangi !
 Ou tohu ra, E te hoa ! i haere ai koe.
 E hara, E Hine ! te tau mai nei,
 No Te Mounga-roa, no Tawiri koe—
 Na Tauru-a-te-rangi.
 He matamata ariki no runga o Tieke
 No Moe-rangi ra.
 Na Te Rangi-hikaka,
 Na Uru-te-angina,
 Na Te Kahui-rere,
 Na Te Manu-i-te-ra—e.

Behold the lightning flashes in the heavens!¹
 'Tis a sign from thee, O friend ! that thou art gone.
 'Tis not, O Lady ! that all are departed,
 (For some rest here still)—
 Thou wer't descended from Te Mounga-roa,² from
 Tawiri,

From Tauru-a-te-rangi,³
 From the high-born fountain above at Tieke,⁴
 And from Moe-rangi⁵ there.
 Thou wer't descended from Te Rangi-hikaka,
 From Uru-te-angina,
 From Te Kahu-rere,⁶
 From Te Manu-i-te-ra.⁷ (The bird in the Sun.)

NOTES:—1. The lightning flashed and thunders pealed at the death of great people, in the Maori's belief. 2. Te Moungaroa, Captain of "Kura-hau-po." 3. Tauru-o-te-rangi, probably an ancestor. 4. Where the winged people lived. 5. The last of the winged people. 6. The bird in the Sun (an expression sometimes—perhaps not often—substituted for Tama-nui-te-ra, "the Great Son of the Sun"), the true meaning of which, if we could obtain it, would throw a light on the ancient beliefs of this people, that would take them very far back in old-world ideas. Tawhaki's wife was impregnated by "the bird in the Sun."

The only other reference to a winged people, I know of, amongst the Polynesian people—but not living in Polynesia—is to be found in Fornander's "Polynesian Race," Vol. I., p. 57. He says—"The people of Pulo Nias, an island off the south-west coast of Sumatra, like the Battas and Dyaks a pre-Malay remnant of the Polynesian race, call the sky, or heaven by the name of Holiyawa, and people it with an order of beings whom they call Baruki, superior to mortals, *gifted with wings*, and invisible at their pleasure. And they relate that in olden times a King of these Baruki, called Luo-mehu-hana, arrived from that Holiyawa, and was the first who taught them arts and civilization, and also how to speak." This is quoted from Sir Stamford Raffles, Vol. II., chapter 17. It would thus appear that this tradition of winged people was brought by the Maoris from Indonesia, if not from further to the west, and localized at Wai-totara.

The *hapus* of Nga-Rauru are:—

- | | |
|---------------------|-----------------|
| 1. Rauru-matahi | 4. Ngati-Hine ? |
| 2. Rauru-kitahi | 5. Araukuku |
| 3. Ngati-Rangi-moka | |

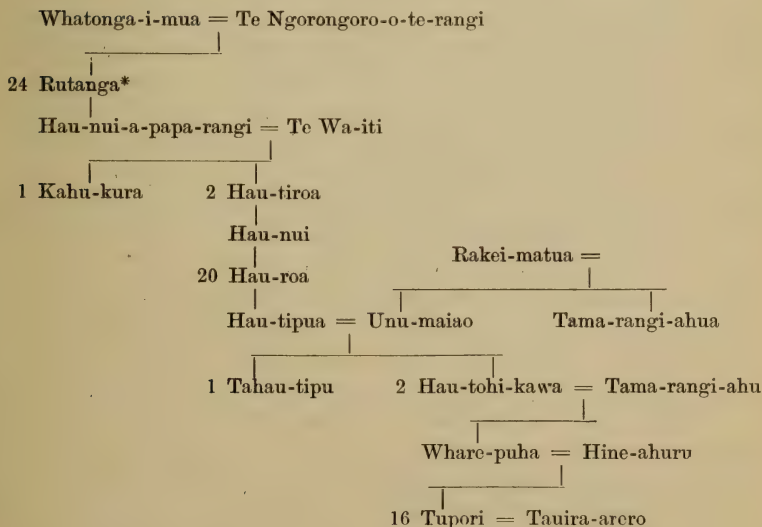
WHANGA-NUI TRIBES.

Coming now to the tribes that occupied the country to the south of Nga-Rauru, the first is Ngati-Hau, one of the numerous tribes known under the name of Whanga-nui, derived from the river of that name. Ngati-Hau take their name from Hau-nui-a-Paparangi, who is believed to have come to New Zealand in the "Aotea" canoe, though this is doubtful. On this subject see note 182, Journal Polynesian

Society, Vol. XIV., p. 219, where Col. Gudgeon says:—"I was talking with a Tahitian member of the Makea family, of Rarotonga, concerning the old tribe of Ngati-Hau, and gave them their name in full (as above). When he heard this he said, 'My old tribe! Hau-a-Pa-pa-ra'i;' the only people who never bowed down before the Pomares in Tahiti, who were braves wherever they went." This is a confirmation of what has so often been stated in this paper, to the effect that the migration of 1350 came from Tahiti here. The Whanganui people have a saying to this effect:—"Te uri a Hau-nui-a-Papa-rangi, nana i taotao te nuku roa o Hawaiki." The descendants of Hau-nui', who suppressed the land (or people) of Hawaiki, and which seems to bear out the statement of Col. Gudgeon's friend to the effect they had never been beaten—at least in Tahiti, Hawaiki-runga being the Rarotonga name for that group.

I quote the following piece of a descent from Hau-nui', as it may prove useful to others following in the same lines as myself:—

TABLE XXXVIII A.



* Rutanga above, by Table 38, was a nephew, not a son, of Whatonga's. Hau-nui-a-papa-rangi, by this table, belongs to the generation of Turi's grandfather, although he is said to have come with Turi in the "Aotea" canoe. The descendants of these people are Ngati-Hau through Hau-nui, and Ngati-Rakei, through Rakei-matua.

I am unable to give the precise boundaries of Ngati-Hau, or indeed of any of the Whanganui tribes, but they occupied a large extent of country, being bounded on the west generally by the Nga-Rauru, Ngati-Maru and Ngati-Tama tribes (already described), on the north by Ngati-Mania-poto and Ngati-Tu-whare-toa, and on the east, near the base of Ruapehu, by Ngati-Whiti, Ngati-Tamakopiri, etc., and towards the sea on the east by Ngati-Apa, the boundary between the two, in the case of the latter, being somewhere west of the Whangaehu river. The above is a very large territory, and was, at the time of the first settlement of this country by Europeans, almost entirely forest-clad, with the exception of a strip along the coast some three to four miles wide, and parts of the open plains of Okahukura lying on the western-slopes of Ruapehu mountain. It is, moreover, a very broken country with deep gorges, in the bottom of which flow the streams all more or less discoloured by the *papa* rocks of which nearly all this country is formed. The beautiful Whanganui river flows through the centre of this district, and formed a highway available for canoes for some 170 miles from the mouth.

Besides the crew of the "Aotea," it is certain that the crew of the "Kura-haupo" canoe also contributed to the population; and the strong probability is, that the *tangata-whenua*, or original inhabitants—*te iwi o Toi*—formed the basis of the present tribes. One of the principal is called Nga-Paerangi, and it is believed that Paerangi, from whom the people take their name, was one of the *tangata-whenua*. He flourished about 21-23 generations ago, or about the time of the *heke*, (or migration) to New Zealand, and many families of rank trace their descent from him. At the same time, some natives say, that Paerangi came to New Zealand with the *heke*, and more than one line show him to be a descendant of Whiro, whose ancestors are shown quite correctly on the Maori lines according to Tahitian and Rarotongan genealogies.

Mr. Best has a note to this effect: "Though all the Whanganui people say that Kupe on his arrival here, found only the *tiwaiwaka*, *tuake* and *kokako* birds, with no people, yet when questioned closely the old men admit the existence of *tangata-whenua* in the valley of Whanganui. These were the descendants of Paerangi-o-te-mounga-roa whose ancestor came from Hawaiki five generations before the arrival of Captain Turi in the 'Aotea' canoe. He was brought here by his *atua*; he had no canoe. There have been three men of the name of Paerangi, one of whom came in the 'Aotea.'" Now this statement as to Paerangi having been brought here by his god, means nothing more than that the old *tangata-whenua* traditions having become overlaid and obliterated by those of the more forceful *heke*, and

TABLE No. XXXIX.

Mou-uruuru
Mou-rekareka
Mou-raki-tu
Mou-raki-hau
23 Whiro-te-tupua
22 **Pae-rangi**
Mata-raha
20 Tu-tapu
Tama-te-anini
Uru-rangi =

Karanga-tai =

Tai-ka-here-ata

Rae-whakaumu
15 Rangi-te-ekewa
Te Ekewa-nuku
Te Ekewa-rangi
Te Maha-o-te-rangi
Te Ronaki
10 Tapua
Hine-turiki-rangi
Puku
Te Rangi-rori
Mutu
5 Turia
Henī
Hakiaba Tawhio
(of Whanganui)
.....
.....

Rangi-whakau-nui
Rangi-te-kiwa
Maha-o-te-rangi
Te Uru-o-te-rangi
Tiri-o-te-rangi
Matoha-o-te-rangi
Nga-rangi-ka-maho
Rangi-tataia
Hine-makehu-rangi
Rangi-mahuki =

Rangi-araia
Wa-korea-o-te-rangi =
Rangi-whakaarahia
Kainga-hare
Rangi-te-paia

Rangi-wetea =
Puaki-te-ao
Noho-kino =
Tiri-o-te-rangi
Hine-makehu-rangi

Tai-ka-nui
Tai-wiri
Uenuku-manawa-wiri
Maru-hiku-ata =
Rangi-tauria =
Wai-pikari
Hine-kehu
Tai-wiri
Tama-huki
Ra-whiti-ao
Rangi
Tautira-materau
Matenga
Uta-ora
Mete-Kingi-Paetae
Hoani-Mete
Rangi-po
(of Whanganui)

some origin for Paerangi being necessary, the marvellous has been invoked, and his arrival accredited to the gods. If we may believe the earliest legends extant relating to these parts, there was a numerous people dwelling here in the time of Turi's children and grandchildren. Tu-whawhakia, in his version of "Tutae-poroporo," mentions a very numerous people named Ngu-taha, who lived at Aropawa Island and the Sounds, north end of the Middle Island. Aokehu the slayer of Tutae-poroporo was a grandson of Turi; and Nga-Paerangi are mentioned also as a numerous people living in the Whanganui valley as far up as Operiki (near Corinth) and extending to Whangaehu, at that same period. Mr. Best, after having made inquiries in the Ure-wera country, comes to the conclusion that Paerangi came here with Paoa, about five generations before the *heke*. Col. Gudgeon says, the Whanganui ancestor is identical with Paoa's companion, and that there were two of that name—Paerangi—one coming in the "Aotea" canoe, the other the ancestor of Ngati-Hāua of Upper Whanganui, about whose *tangata-whenua* origin there can be little doubt.

In order to preserve it, I quote some descents from this Paerangi, in which it is shown that he was a son of Whiro-te-tipua, who flourished according to Rarotonga history—twenty-five generations ago, whereas he is here twenty-three—not too great a discrepancy to prevent it being the same individual. See Table No. 15 also. Whether the Paerangi here shown is he who came with Paoa in the "Horo-uta" canoe or not, I am unable to say.

The Whiro-te-tipua, shown on the tables, occupies a very prominent position in Polynesian history; and much about him is to be found in Maori, Rarotongan and Tahitian history. (See Table 39.)

The Whanganui people have a tradition that part of the Middle Island, on the west side of Tasman's Bay, was peopled from their tribe, the first *heke* being under the leadership of Te Ahuru, a second one was under Tu-mata-kokiri, who gave his name to Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, the tribe that occupied Golden Bay and those parts, and which was exterminated by Ngati-Toa and Te Ati-Awa in the second decade of the nineteenth century, as will be shown in Chapter XVI.

Readers are referred to Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIV., p. 131, for further information about the Whanganui tribes.

NGATI-APA AND OTHER TRIBES.

Lying to the south of the Whanganui tribes, are the territories of

Ngati-Apa, whose southern boundary was (very roughly) the Manawa-tu river, whilst their inland boundaries extended to the Ruahine Mountains, and were limited on the north by Ngati-Whiti and others of the Mokai-Patea country, a very large district of open plains and broken forest ranges. This tribe claims to be descended from Ruatea and other people, who came to New Zealand in the "Kura-haupo" canoe in 1350, besides the descendants of Apa-hapai-taketake, who came from the Bay of Plenty originally, and gave his name to the tribe.

Another migration from the north took place in later times; they first went to Taupo and lived there sometime, but finally falling out with the Ngati-Tu-whare-toa tribe of those parts were defeated in battle, and departed for the West Coast. The chiefs of these fugitives were Te Whakakahu and Tu-makoha, and their particular *hapu* was named Te Apa-o-Rangatira. Such is the account by the people of the Rangi-taiki, Bay of Plenty. This tribe was one of those that suffered from the incursion of and conquest by Ngati-Raukawa of Maunga-tautari in the "twenties" of the nineteenth century, as we shall have to refer to later on. So far as our history is concerned, they do not occupy an important position, and indeed not much of their history is known to me. The records of the Native Land Court no doubt contains a good deal about them.

The Rangi-tane tribe, which joined the Ngati-Apa on the south, has been at one time a large tribe occupying the Manawa-tu district, and extending over the Rua-hine and Tara-rua ranges into the Upper Wai-rarapa and Upper Manawa-tu valleys, the Seventy Mile bush, etc., and has equally suffered—on the West Coast—from the invasion above referred to. They claim descent from Tane-nui-a-rangi, and are mostly a *tangata-whenua* tribe, mixed with the descendants of the crew of "Taki-tumu" canoe. All that is known of their history is summarized in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XV., p. 71, to which the reader is referred for further information.

Mua-upoko is the name of the tribe adjoining Rangi-tane on the south, and having their head quarters about Otaki. Their eastern boundary was the Tara-rua range, and their territory was not a very large one. There are but few of them left, as the tribe suffered severely from the Ngati-Raukawa and Ngati-Toa conquest already alluded to. The tribe is said to be an offshoot of Rangi-tane.

Ngati-Ira was the next tribe to the south, which before the conquest just alluded to occupied Pori-rua, Port Nicholson, etc. The

history of this tribe, as known to the writer, will be found in *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. XV., p. 74.

The whole of the above four tribes were conquered by Ngati-Toa of Kawhia, Ngati-Raukawa of Maunga-tautari (Waikato) and Te Ati-Awa of Taranaki, between the years 1821-1830, as will be shown ; and as a consequence the interest in them is absorbed by the later occupants of these territories.

CHAPTER VIII.

TURANGA-I-MUA'S EXPEDITION.

(Circa 1370—1390.)

THE earliest noticeable incident in the history of the Taranaki tribes, subsequent to their arrival from Hawaiki, and after settling down in their new homes, was an expedition made by Turanga-i-mua (son of Turi, captain of the "Aotea") which, considering the times in which it occurred, was a very extensive one, and it moreover brings us face to face with the fact of a numerous population living in this country at the time of the *heke* of 1350. Turi had settled down and built his *pa* of Matangi-rei, on the south bank of the Patea river, when, probably some few years after, this expedition went forth. We do not know the reason of it, but probably it was due to the same causes that have in later times originated so many others, *i.e.*, the love of fighting for fighting's sake, or it may have been due to some affront offered to 'Turi's people as they came down the coast. It is clear that Turanga-i-mua had a considerable body of warriors with him, and though no doubt some of the crew of "Aotea" took part, the bulk of his party must have been recruited from the *tangata-whenua*, for the Hawaiians could not have been sufficiently numerous in themselves to have accomplished what they did—even allowing for exaggeration of deeds in the story itself.

Turanga-i-mua, accompanied by Kauika, one of the priests of the "Aotea" canoe, and their men, started from Patea, and proceeding to the north overland, made their way as far as Tamaki, which was then and for long after the general name of the Auckland Isthmus. Here, for reasons unrecorded, they fell foul of the people there living, whom my informants refer to as the people of Titahi, and defeated them with great slaughter in a battle called Te One-po-takataka. This, says one of my informants, was the first occasion on which his tribe (Nga-Rauru) defeated the Titahi people, but not the last, as we shall see. From Tamaki the war-party travelled through the interior of the North Island, and came out to the East coast at Ahu-riri (Hawkes' Bay) where they again fell in with a numerous people, who are expressly said to have been *tangata-whenua*, when fighting again took place. The first battle fought was called Kare-po, in which Turanga-i-mua

[illegible]

Tribal boundaries shown thus...

Old Tracks -

Old Pas

W. Gordon del.

gained the victory. This was followed up by a series of sieges, during which as many as ten *pas* are said to have been taken by the invaders, the last being at a place called Mimi-a-Rauru. These *tangata-whenua*, there is little doubt, were some of Te Tini-o-Awa, Whatumamoā, or Rangi-tane, who then occupied all the Hawkes' Bay country, and who were descendants of Toi and Te Awa-mui-a-rangi, often previously referred to.

From Hawkes' Bay, Turanga-i-mua made his way south through the other Tamaki district (Seventy-mile Bush) and then ascended the Rua-hine ranges, by the old native path, which, starting near the present town of Woodville, passed to the north of the Manawa-tu gorge, coming out on to the plains of the West coast, at the present village of Ashurst. It was a terribly rough track as the writer experienced in 1872. Near the summit crossed by the track, Turanga-i-mua was set upon by the *tangata-whenua*, who were probably Rangi-tane, and after a great fight he was killed, whilst most of his party made their way home to Patea. After his death, the people stuck into the ground a *matipo* post to mark the spot where he was killed, and heaped up (*ahu*) earth round it, and hence arises the name of this spot (and the track) Te Ahu-o-Turanga, or Turanga's mound. His body, however, was afterwards exhumed and taken to Patea for final burial. The party on reaching Patea found Turi in his *pa* at Matangi-rei, and when the news of the death of his warrior son was made known to him, the old man went out of his house, and, as tradition says, disappeared for ever. He was seen by his daughter, Rua-putahanga,* going towards the cliff that fronts on the Patea river at that place. The Patea people say Turi's spirit went back to Hawaiki his old home, and it is very strange that the people of that old home, Rai'atea, say also exactly the same thing, and that his spirit was a serious trouble to them for generations after, even down to three generations ago, as I learnt at Mo'orea Island in 1897. Turanga-i-mua is said to have been a great warrior in his time, and appears also to have been a *taniwha*-slayer, for we have the statement that he slew a *tipua-whenua*, or monster, at Taranaki, named Pou-poto—about which, however, I know nothing further.

It is stated above, that it was the people of Ti-tahi who were slaughtered at Tamaki (Auckland). Another account says it was the Wai-o-Hua tribe; but in this I think the reciter, knowing that the

* It is doubtful if this name is right, for it is the only occasion on which this lady is mentioned as a daughter of Turi, whilst it is well known that one of that name was a famous ancestress of these people who lived many generations after.—See Chapter IX.

latter tribe did occupy the isthmus in modern times, has merely jumped to that conclusion. The Wai-o-Hua did not occupy their Auckland home for many generations after the time of Turanga-i-mua. And as to Ti-tahi, this man, according to the best traditions, flourished about the year 1600*, whereas probably Turanga-i-mua's expedition occurred about the years 1370 to 1390. The probability is, that as Ti-tahi himself was descended from the northern Ngati-Awa, who at one time also occupied the Auckland Isthmus, and built many of the *pas* still to be seen there, my informants mean Ngati-Awa (or Te Tini-o-Awa) when they say Ti-tahi, *i.e.*, the people from whom Ti-tahi sprung.

TAMA-AHUA RETURNS TO HAWAIIKI.

(Circa 1380.)

The marginal table, being part of Table No. 33, will show the position of the people referred to below.

TABLE XXXIXA.

Te Hatauirā = Wairau	
Tama-ahua = { 1st Tauranga	
| 2nd Kauhangā-roa	
Raumati = Te Kura-tapiri-rangi	
Uru-te-kakara = Ngarue	

Te Hatauirā came to New Zealand in the "Kura-hau-po" canoe, and it is thought his son did so also, as a young man. Rau-mati was born in New Zealand, and Ngarue is said to have been a grandson of a younger brother of Te Mounga-roa, the latter being the priest of "Kura-hau-po."

Another account says he came here in the *Waka-tipua*.

When these several members of the crew of the above-named vessel first arrived on the West coast, they settled down at Wairau, where Captain Mace, N.Z.C., now lives, and which place afterwards became celebrated through the death of Dr. Hope, Lieut. Tragett and five men of H.M. 57 Regt., who there fell into an ambush during the war on the 4th May, 1863. Tama-ahua here married his first wife, Tauranga, who, my informant said, was a woman of her husband's people, but from what follows in relation to her son Rua-mati, it is probable he confused the two wives (or I misunderstood him). His second wife was Kauhangā-roa, said to be from Tauranga. After his first marriage Tama-ahua-ki-Tauranga (which is his full name) removed to and built a house on the flats at Oakura river, just seaward of the bridge on the south side. This house was named "Whakamoe-ariki," the foundations of which, together with a red stone on which the main internal pillar (or *pou-toko-manawa*) once stood, are to be seen at this day.

On one occasion, after the *kumara* crops had been gathered in,

* "Peopling of the North," page 47.

Tama-ahua was busily engaged in storing them away in the *whata* or store-house, his two wives being occupied in making baskets not far off. Whilst so engaged, the *pukoro*, or front part of Tama-ahua's *maro*, or waist cloth, fell off, and he stood naked as the day he was born before his wives and the other people. It was then seen that Tama-ahua was a *tehe*, or had been circumcised, which caused his wives a great deal of amusement, and gave rise to some remarks ridiculing their husband. Now, no Maori can stand ridicule—it has very often led to what they call *whakamomore*, or desperation, in which state of mind the one so affected has often committed suicide. Tama-ahua felt shamed and humiliated by the conduct of his wives, and withal exceedingly angry. So taking his *maro* and his arms, he departed from the village and went away up the Oakura valley to a place called Pirongia, which is situated between the Pouakai and Patuha ranges, not far from Te Iringa, which is the name of the southern peak of the latter range. Here his sister Taupea was living with others—who, I would remark, were probably some of the *tangata-whenua* people, the Kahui-maunga. Arrived there, and after the usual greetings, he said to his sister, “I am returning across the seas to Hawaiki, and I have come to bid you farewell.” His sister asked, “What is the reason of your going?” “Because my wives laughed at me when my *pukoro* fell off, and I am filled with shame.” His sister replied, “Do not go; remain here; let us two abide in this settlement of ours.” But Tama-ahua would not listen; he had made up his mind to abandon home and family, and go back to Hawaiki. Seeing that her brother was determined, Taupea ceased her efforts to persuade him; and then they cried over one another, and took farewell. When departing, Tama-ahua said, “If I arrive safely on the other side—to that other home of ours—I will cause my shadow to appear at the break of day in the east, in the morning sunbeams, so that you may know I am safe. When you see this sign, you must do likewise, so that I may know that you have understood my signal.”

After this Tama-ahua departed from Pirongia and returned to his home at Oakura. Here he took farewell of his son Rau-mati (son of his wife Tauranga) and of Rakei-nui-te-kapua, (his son by his other wife Kauhanga-roa) saying:—“Remain here; I am departing to hide myself. May you grow up to be men after I am gone.” His two wives, hearing this, endeavoured to persuade Tama-ahua to abandon his project, but he was obdurate, and determined to carry out his plans. They commenced crying and lamenting, but it was of no avail. Tama-ahua now caused his canoe to be prepared for the voyage, by taking in stores, etc. How many, or who accompanied him, our story

does not say. The canoe was named "Te Rona-waiwai," and when ready, Tama-ahua proceeded to his *tuāhu* or altar, to propitiate the spirits of the storms he might encounter on the way, and also to placate "the great fish of the sea." So he sailed away from his home at Oakura, and in due course safely arrived "at the other side," for on his arrival he *haea mai tona ata*, or caused the sign he had arranged to appear in the early dawn, which was seen by his sister Taupea, who then knew of his safety. She then ascended the Pouakai range and *haea atu tona ata*, by causing her shadow to be cast so that Tama-ahua might know she had received his message. "And so Tama-ahua died on the other side, at Te Rere-a-Kura-hau-po."

I am unable, any more than my informants, to offer any explanation of that part of this story which has reference to the signals exchanged by the brother and sister; but it is probably true that an expedition left Oakura with the intention of going back to Hawaiki—which here means Tahiti and the neighbouring islands; whether they ever arrived or not there is nothing to show, for no communication with those parts has taken place since the date of this supposed voyage. Considering the genealogies, we may roughly fix the date of Tama-ahua's voyage at the year 1370 to 1390.

There are one or two things in the above story that are worth noting. One is, the surprise of the two women at circumcision, evidently showing that they were unaccustomed to it. So far as my enquiries have gone, this custom was only introduced to New Zealand some two or three generations prior to the *heke* of 1350, and probably it had not spread, or was only in partial use on the West Coast, for the introduction of it took place on the East Coast. Hence these wives of Tama-ahua were probably *tangata-whenua* women, for had they been Hawaikians, the custom would have caused no surprise. The next point is, that if Tama-ahua's voyage is a fact, whence came his crew to man a large sea-going canoe, if not from the *tangata-whenua*?

Again, there is a question, if this Tama-ahua is he whose adventures in search of greenstone are related in Journal Polynesian Society Vol. V., p. 203—and where he is said to have belonged to the Kahui-maunga people, *i.e.*, the *tangata-whenua*, which seems to me to be right. Apparently he is a different individual altogether from Tama-ahua-ki-Tauranga, who was a Hawaiki Maori.

THE BURNING OF "TE ARAWA."

(Circa 1390.)

Tama-ahua's son, by Tauranga, a woman possibly of the *tangata-whenua* (see *ante*), who came originally from the neighbourhood of

Tauranga, where probably Tama-ahua married her whilst the crew of the "Kura-hau-po" were on that coast—was Raumati, or to give his name in full, Raumati-nui-o-taua. After his father had left on his return to Hawaiki, he grew to man's estate at Oakura. He became desirous of visiting his mother's relatives, and after obtaining from her the directions for so doing, he started off on his long, overland journey. He arrived safely at Tauranga amongst his mother's people and was duly received by them as a relative. He dwelt with them for some time and then went on a visit to Maketu, the place where the "Arawa" canoe landed after her voyage from Hawaiki, and where the famous vessel still lay, hauled up on the beach above high water mark and under the *wharau*, or shed, not far from the mouth of the Kaituna river. Raumati visited the celebrated canoe to see what she was like, and then, for reasons my informant could not explain to me, but connected with some old tribal feud perhaps, he set fire to her and the canoe was completely destroyed. There were few people at Maketu at the time, the chiefs of the "Arawa" migration being all away.*

When the news of the destruction of the vessel spread abroad, there was consternation amongst the people, for, like other great canoes of the *heke*, she was venerated and loved almost as a parent—indeed, the canoe has been referred to as such; see the speech given at p. 99, "Nga Mahinga," "*to koutou tupuna e ka mai ra i te ahi a Raumati*," the ancestor of you all that was burnt by Raumati. The consequence of this deep feeling for the canoe, and of the insults offered to the people, eventuated in a war-party being raised, under Hatu-patu, to avenge the wrong done. It is to be presumed that Raumati's relatives and connections of Tauranga made his cause their own, for they met the Arawa people (who, however, were not as yet known by that name) somewhere near Maketu, and a great battle was fought and Raumati's party, though successful at first, were defeated and their leader killed—as my informant says, by the power of *makutu*, or witchcraft, for Hatu-patu caused a cliff to fall on him as he retreated from the battle, and thus killed him. The Arawa account of this battle will be found in Sir Geo. Grey's work quoted a few lines back, wherein it is stated that Hatu-patu secured Raumati's head, and took it back with him to Rotorua, to exhibit to his father.

* In a note to be found somewhere in Journal Polynesian Society—where, I cannot remember—is a statement to the effect that Raumati was a member of the aboriginal tribe named Piri-rakau, inhabiting at the present day the forest country inland and to the west of Tauranga. Probably this is so far right that his mother came from that people.

“Te Arawa” canoe was burnt before the expedition of Nga-toro-i-rangi went back to Hawaiki, to avenge the insult offered to him by Manaia, and consequently the occurrence took place not very many years after the arrival of the *heke*, in 1350—probably if we say somewhere about the year 1390, it will not be very far out.

NGARUE AND WHARE-MATANGI.

(*Circa 1420.*)

Raumati, on his way north to visit his relatives at Tauranga, had stayed some time at Kawhia, and there married his wife, Te Kura-tapiri-rangi, and their daughter, Uru-te-kakara (see Table 39A) was born there, and grew up to womanhood at Taharoa, a lake about three miles south of Kawhia. Another version of the story, which follows, says that Uru-te-kakara lived at Awakino, about three miles north of Mokau—possibly both are correct.

Ngarue was a native of Waitara, said to be a grandson of a younger brother of Te Mouna-roa, who was chief and priest of “Kura-hau-po” canoe. As a young man, Ngarue paid a visit to Kawhia, where he met Uru-te-kakara, Raumati’s daughter, and fell in love with and married her. Time passed and Ngarue and his wife were spending some time at one of their cultivations, living in a temporary shelter for the time. Whilst here, some of the people of the place were overheard to make some disparaging remarks in reference to Ngarue, to the effect that he was a landless man and had to cultivate other people’s land to obtain crops. This so deeply offended Ngarue that he decided to return to his own home at Waitara. Before doing so, he said to his wife: “If the child that you will shortly bear proves to be a son, call him Whare-matangi (or windy house); if a daughter, call her Kai-matangi” (to eat in the wind). In thus saying he alluded to the temporary shed in which they dwelt, which was open to the wind. So Ngarue returned to his home at Waitara, leaving his wife amongst her own people. In due course, a male child was born to Uru-te-kakara, which, in accordance with his father’s wish, was named Whare-matangi. As the child grew in stature, he became very expert at all kinds of games such as young Maori boys indulge in, and was generally the victor over his young companions. On one occasion the game of *niti* was in season and all the boys of the village were engaged in it. This game consists in throwing a light dart, usually made of *toetoe* reed, or the stalk of the bracken, in such a manner that it strikes on a low ridge of earth and then flies upwards and onwards for a considerable distance. The dart is called a *teka*. The game is common to the Polynesian, wherever

found. Now on this occasion Whare-matangi's dart far exceeded all others in the distance to which it carried. This at length annoyed the other boys, one of whom said in Whare-matangi's hearing: "This bastard throws his dart farther than any of us." The boy retained this in his heart, for he was much ashamed at being called a bastard, and, on one occasion, asked his mother where his father was. For answer, she took him to a high ridge near the coast, and pointing across the sea said, "You see that white snow-clad mountain that projects above the horizon (like a bell-tent)? That is Taranaki (Mt. Egmont); below it lives your father." "I will go in search of my father," said the boy. "Not yet," said his mother, "first become accomplished in all the arts of the warrior." So the boy grew up, living with his mother until he was a young man and was tattooed; he became expert in all the accomplishments of a chief, such as the use of the spear, the *taiaha*, and other weapons; the knowledge of *karakias* and the rites of old, which were taught him by his uncles on his mother's side.

At last the time came when he decided to go in search of his father, and accordingly he told his mother and other relations of his determination. His relations gave him directions where to find his father, together with a magic *teka*, or dart, to aid him on his way. From a point on the coast near his home he cast his dart, which flew in a southerly direction and stuck in the ground at Tirua Point. (Reader! the distance is sixteen miles! but then it was a magic dart!) Whare-matangi followed along the coast until he found his dart. Again casting it from there, the dart flew on and landed at Mokau (a distance of twenty-one miles). Again the young man followed and found his dart. From Mokau he again started the *teka*, and after a flight of fifteen miles it fell on Pari-nihinihi, or the White Cliffs. The next flight carried it to Te Taniwha, a point distant about thirteen miles, and the succeeding one—at about five miles distant—it stuck into Ngarue's house, which was situated on the north bank of the Waitara river, just opposite where W. King's *pa*, Te Hurirapa, stood in 1860, Ngarue's home being about three-quarters of a mile seaward of the present bridge over the Waitara, at the town of that name. Ngarue himself was sitting in front of his house when the dart struck the ornamental *maihi*, or barge board, and then fell close beside him. He at once divined that something out of the common was about to occur.

Presently Whare-matangi appeared, coming over the sand hills from the sea shore, and, as he drew near, saw his dart and the old man sitting beside it, so he came to the conclusion that probably this was his father. He approached and sat down near the old man, who said

to him, "Whence come you, and for what object?" "I am in search of my father," said the young man. "What is your name?" asked the elder man. "I am Whare-matangi, a name given me by my mother in accordance with the request of my father to that effect, if she should have a male child after his departure." Then said Ngarue, "Thou art my son!"

After this, and the usual *tangi* on like occasions, Ngarue took Whare-matangi to the *wai-tapu*, or sacred water of the village, where his father duly performed the rite of *tohi* over him; this was, in fact, the giving of his name to him, which, as a rule, must be done by the father. Then to the *tuāhu*, or altar, where other *karakias* were recited, to take the *tapu* off. They then returned to the house where food was placed before the guest—he could not have eaten, according to Maori custom, until the *tapu* had been removed at the *tuāhu*. The people of the *pa* were all out at work during the day, so none of them saw the arrival of Whare-matangi. The father now took his son down to the river to bathe, and on his stripping, the father saw that his son was fully tattooed on the *rāpe* and legs in a very handsome manner.

When the people returned, the news soon spread that Ngarue was entertaining a stranger; but the father kept his son in the house and would not let him be seen until the next morning, when he assembled all the people and introduced Whare-matangi to his uncles and aunts, brothers, sisters, and cousins, etc. After a time, a fine young woman named Awe-pohewa, who was distantly related, was given to Whare-matangi as a wife. She was a woman of rank, and was specially selected so as to preserve the status of the family in their offspring.

The grand-children of this couple were Moeahu and Tai-hawea, twins, from whom are descended most of the principal families of Taranaki at the present day—they also gave their names to the Ngati-Moeahu and Nga-Mahanga tribes of Taranaki proper.

We may roughly fix the date of Whare-matangi's journey in search of his father at the year 1420.

The full name of the Waitara river is Waitara-nui-a-Ngarue, so called after this Ngarue; and a learned Maori friend of mine suggests that the name Waitara originated through Whare-matangi's action in following up his dart, and that the name is in reality, Whaitara, (not Waitara) which means 'follow the barb.' These West Coast tribes constantly omit the "h" where other tribes use it. The matter is, however, doubtful.

TUMUAKI'S SEARCH FOR THE GREEN JADE.

Uenuku-mai-te-ra-roa had three sons: 1. Taha-nuku-o-rangi, 2. Paikea, 3. Ruatapu—the last two being celebrated in Polynesian History, as referred to in Chapter V.

TABLE XXXX.

Ruatapu = Karikatia

Tamatea-huatahi

Ngai-tauira

Te-Ha-tauira

Tama-ahua

In the generation succeeding Ruatapu, occurred the great *heke* to New Zealand of 1350. The marginal table is quoted to show where one account places Tama-ahua, who made the journey (or voyage) to the Middle Island to procure jadeite or greenstone. The Tama-ahua here shown is identical with he who returned to Hawaiki, as related a few pages back, and could scarcely be the same who went after the greenstone. If this is the man who prosecuted that search, then his voyage took place in the next generation after the arrival of the fleet, or say somewhere about the year 1400, which shows a much earlier acquaintance with that stone than the Rev. Mr. Stack allows in his account, which places the first knowledge acquired of it by the Ngai-Tahu people, of Canterbury, as about the year 1700. Mr. Justice Chapman, in his pamphlet, "The Working of the Greenstone," page 15, says:—"Mr. Stack puts the visit of Rau-reka (who first made known the existence of the jade to the Ngai-Tahu tribe of the East Coast, Middle Island) about 1700, but thinks that the traffic in greenstone had probably sprung up between Ngati-Wairangi and the North Island tribes, bordering Cook's Straits, long before it became known to Ngai-Tahu." Ngati-Wairangi is one of the branches of the West Coast, Middle Island Maoris, known generally as the Pou-tini people, and in whose country alone is the green-jade found in New Zealand. Mr. Stack's suggestion as to the early knowledge of greenstone by the Cook's Straits tribes, as quoted above, will be proved by what follows, for whatever we may think of the peculiar story of Tama-ahua and his search for the precious stone, the journey of Tumuaki, on the same errand, is historic, as will be seen. I cannot think that the Tama-ahua, shown on Table 40, is the same person as he about whom is the mysterious story of the search for the jade.

Tumuaki was a young man of the Taranaki tribe, who was born and lived to manhood at a place between Okato (the modern village seventeen miles south of New Plymouth) and the sea. His imagination became excited by the stories of the quantities of *pou-namu*, or green-jade, to be procured in the South Island, and he decided to try

and obtain some of this valuable article, which to the Maoris was the the most precious possession they had. His own people were adverse to undertaking the journey, on account of the many difficulties in the way; but Tumuaki eventually persuaded a party of the Nga-Rauru tribe (to whom no doubt he was related) to accompany him in his quest. They crossed Cook's Straits by canoe, and from somewhere on the southern shore started on their long and tedious journey—"probably a year were they travelling," says my informant. They finally, however, reached the *pou-namu* country, and were made welcome by the Poutini people.* My informants could not tell me the name of the place where the party went to, but probable, it was to the Ara-hura river a few miles north of Hokitiki, from which place, and its neighbourhood, the *pou-namu* has always been obtained. Tumuaki disclosed to the local people the errand on which he had come, and asked them to explain the methods by which the jade might be obtained. The people told him that the *pou-namu* was difficult to procure, and then only after appropriate *karakias* had been said. "When you go to sleep" said they, "you must *hirihiri to ngakau*,† (excite your heart, imagination) and then if you dream that you are nursing a child, or embracing a woman, you will be able to find the *pou-namu* next morning in the river." Tumuaki carried out the advice of his friends, and in the morning proceeded to the river, where to his great delight he found a fine block of jade, in the form of a boulder. (The jade is nearly always found in this form, and so far as I can learn, the Maoris never found it in *situ*, except at an inaccessible place at the head of the Ara-hura river, under a waterfall, to get at which one must swim. Such is the traditional account. The Government Geologist, Dr. J. Macintosh Bell, however, says it is found in *situ* at the head of Griffin's Creek, a branch of the Tere-makau—not Tara-makau, as usually spelt—river.) So Tumuaki proceeded to split up his block of jade, taking directions from the local people who were also at work at the manufacture of *meres*, ear-drops, etc., at the same spot. There are certain rules that obtain with respect to the finding

* The genealogies shown in Table 41 *infra*, preclude the idea that the Pou-tini people here referred to had any connection with the Pou-tini-Ngai-Tahu who now live on the West Coast, South Island, for the latter only conquered that country in about the sixteenth century. But, as usual, the *tangata-whenua* were absorbed into Ngai-Tahu, and they no doubt were the people alluded to in the text as Pou-tini.

† Perhaps it may here be suggested that *hirihiri to ngakau* may be translated as a mode of auto-suggestion, for I am persuaded the Maoris were acquainted with the doctrine.

and breaking up of the jadeite boulders. He who, through aid of his dream, finds a block of the stone, has the *tinana*, or body of it, whilst the people who assist him have the *maramara*, or chips, fragments, etc., broken off in splitting up the stone. Now Tumuaki, not being practised at the work, in hammering at his block to break it up, hit his finger and bruised it. To alleviate the pain he put his finger into his mouth, which was a very wrong thing to do, as the stone was *tapu*, whereas his food-contaminated mouth was *noa* (void of *tapu*); thus was the work polluted and evil consequences to Tumuaki sure to follow. Hence, say my informants, was Tumuaki himself turned into a stone, which may be seen to this day in the Pou-tini country. As a matter of fact there is a hill called Tumuaki in the neighbourhood of Ara-hura river, West Coast, South Island.

We need not believe that Tumuaki was turned into stone—this is a mere gloss, due to the culture-stage in which the Maori lived. But it is quite reasonable that Tumuaki died in the Pou-tini country, and that the hill was named after him, a common occurrence in Maori history. In stories, the period of which is four to five hundred years ago, we must constantly expect to find the marvellous entering into them—and we shall find more of it directly—but the historical part can usually be separated without much trouble.

POTIKI-ROA, AND THE SEARCH AFTER TUMUAKI.

Tumuaki's Nga-Rauru followers, after a time returned home to the North Island; and communicated to the former's relatives and friends the sad fate that had overtaken him. His wife, whom he had left behind him, was named Hine-tu-a-hoanga (a very ancient name connected with the grinding of stone axes, etc.; but there have been many so called, and it does not necessarily follow that this lady bore that name in consequence of her husband's connection with the jadeite) and she was dreadfully cut up at the loss of her husband. Hine' was a great chieftainess of Taranaki, descended from Toka-tara, who came over in the "Kura-hau-po" canoe, see Chapter VI. After mourning for him for a long time, she urged her brothers to take her to the place where her husband had died, in order that she might wail over him. To this her brothers consented, but they had not any sea-going canoe fit for the voyage; so it was decided to make a new one. The elder of her brothers was named Potiki-roa, and he, with his younger brothers and their people, proceeded to the forest, where, after the appropriate *karakias*,* they felled a *totara* tree, and hewed it

* See end of this Chapter.

out into a canoe. The new canoe was then dragged down to the coast with the usual accompaniment of songs, and placed on the beach ready for the final adornment, finishing, etc. When Hine' saw the canoe she expressed her disappointment at the size of it, for, wishing to go in state with a large following, she feared the canoe would not hold as many as she required. The canoe had been named "Pu-nui-a-Rata," after a famous canoe that belonged to their ancestors in far Hawaiki, ages before this time. But Hine', to express her disappointment and anxiety she felt about its capacity, re-named it "Whakahotu-manawa" (the sobbing heart); this name was not considered satisfactory by the others.

However, preparations were made for the start, provisions placed aboard, the crew embarked, and they put to sea; Potiki-roa taking the command, and Hine' going as passenger. Finding that the canoe did not fulfil Hine's evil anticipations, and that it proved to be very fast, and an excellent sea-boat, its name was now changed a second time, and the vessel became known for the future as "Te Rangi-aure" — on account of those qualities — so says my informant, but the name does not seem to me to express that meaning. They passed on their way across Cook's Straits, until they reached the South Island at a place my informant could not give the name of, but it was on the north-east or east coast of that Island. Here they saw smoke some way inland, and Hine' desired her brother, Potiki-roa, to land and go in that direction to find out who the people were, and get directions as to where they should find the place in which Tumuaiki met his death. The brother went off on his errand, leaving all the others camped on the shore. It was a rough, hilly country, and took Potiki-roa a long time to approach the smoke. At last he drew near, and there found a village. He was seen approaching by some young women who were at a distance from their homes, and they, after greeting him, finally led him to the village of their father, whose name was Mango-huruhuru. At the village he received a warm welcome, and caused much admiration on the part of the young women, on account of his handsome appearance, the people saying, "*A! he pai tangata!*" (O! what a splendid man!) Now Potiki-roa was equally smitten with one of the daughters of the chief, whose name was Puna-te-rito, and, according to Maori custom, she was given to him by her father as a wife. Potiki-roa was thus engaged in love making to the neglect of his relatives and friends, and remained in his new quarters several days. At last he sent some of the people of the village down to the sea-shore to communicate with Hine' and the others, and to tell them what had occurred, and also to say that he

had made up his mind to remain with his new wife and her people. Hine' replied to this, "*E kore e ingo te rangi ki a ia!*" (The heart will no longer care for him; *ingo* to desire, *rangi* the heart, which are obsolete uses of these words). And so the messengers returned.

Hine' and her party having obtained directions from the messengers where to find the country where her husband, Tumuaki, had died, they started back on their way to the West Coast. On their way they came to a point of land projecting far out into the sea, and on looking down beheld *kahikatea* trees growing on the bottom. This so surprised them, that some of the men dived down and procured some branches. (The same story is told with regard to the north point of Poverty Bay, off Tua-motu Island; *kahikatea* trees are said to be seen in the sea. There is some meaning attached to this story if we could get at it). Soon after this the shades of night fell, and it became very dark. But Hine', being desirous of making up for lost time, urged the crew to continue on. Presently the canoe struck a rock, and the big waves rolling in caused her to capsize. All were drowned, says my informant; and I may add, that possibly the tree seen under the water was *tapu*, and hence the disaster, due to taking some of its branches; at any rate that would be a true Maori way of accounting for the wreck.

Next day, Potiki-roa, sent some of his new friends to see what had become of the party of Hine'. On climbing a high hill, they saw in the far distance the canoe drifting about bottom upwards. They returned and told Potiki-roa, who then, to make quite sure, himself ascended a high mountain, and from there beheld the hull of the canoe, thus confirming the report of the others. With a sad heart he returned to the village, and there bewailed his sister in a *tangi* or lament, in which he happened to mention his sister's name, Hine-tua-hoanga. At this the people of the place exclaimed, "*A! he rangatira te tangata nei!*" ("A! this man is indeed a chief") for the fame of Hine' as a chieftainess of great rank at Taranaki had reached those parts long before, and consequently the people thought much more of Potiki-roa, who became a man of importance with his new connections.

POTIKI-ROA RETURNS TO TARANAKI.

Now Potiki-roa dwelt with his father-in-law, Mango-huruhuru, who was a very powerful *tohunga*, or priest, and thoroughly versed in all the potent *karakias* that gave him power over heaven or earth. His eldest son was named Tuhuru, who, says my informant, was the direct ancestor of the chief of Pou-tini, also named Tuhuru, who was taken prisoner by Niho, in his expedition down the West Coast of the Middle

Island, *circa* 1828, for which, see Chap. XVI. Years rolled on, and the time came when Potiki-roa was seized with a desire to see his old home at Taranaki once more. He had often mentioned to his new connections what a fine country it was—such a rich soil, with fine forests, excellent flax, and food in plenty, but added that it had one drawback, viz., the lack of good beaches on which to haul up the canoes, or to draw the nets on. At last he put the matter to his father-in-law, and proposed that he should accompany him, with his people, on a visit to his Taranaki relatives. This Mango-huruhuru agreed to, and all hands proceeded to the forest to hew out a new and suitable canoe for the lengthy voyage across the stormy seas of Rau-kawa (Cook's Straits). With a priest of Mango-huruhuru's powers we may be sure that all the ritual under such circumstances was rigidly performed. On completion of the canoe it was dragged to the water and there the old priest arranged, by the aid of his great powers, that a *taniwha*, or sea monster, should be attached to one side of the canoe, the *tapu* side, and a piece of wood to the other, which was the *noa*, or common side. (I would suggest here that this piece of wood may have been an outrigger, and that that kind of canoe had not then gone out of fashion). The canoe was named "Wawara-a-kura," and her load of food, including *kiwis*, water, clothing, arms, etc., etc., was placed on board, and then all was ready to start, and the people took their places. Potiki-roa occupied the stern, next came his wife, Puna-te-rito, then her sister, Puna-te-ahu, then another sister, Heihana (who was *hape*, or lame), then Renga-pāpā, the youngest sister, all daughters of Mango-huruhuru; forward of these *rangatira* came the crew. When all was ready, the old man, Mango-huruhuru, came down to the water's edge, and said to Potiki-roa: "Stay awhile; let me first go up to the *tuāhu*." The old priest had decided to utilize his great powers as a *tohunga* to make some beaches on the Taranaki coast, and now went to his altar to commence his initiatory incantations towards that end, and also, as was usual, to utter others to secure a prosperous voyage for the canoe. The name of the altar was "Te Tuāhu-o-nga-one" (the altar-of-the-sands), and the sands, or beaches (one of which he proposed to bring) were named Wairua-ngangana, One-pua-huru, One-hau, and One-tipi. These were all situated in Hawaiki, and were very *tapu*. So the old man upraised his voice to cause the sands to go to Taranaki, and this was his *karakia* :—

Unuhia, ko te pou mua, ko te pou roto,

Ko te pou o te whare o Tangaroa,¹

Unuhia! ko One-pua-huru² te one,

Unuhia! ko Wairua-ngangana³ te one,

I kapua mai ki te ringa,

Hae!

Ko Pou-te-wharaunga,⁴ ko Atu-rangi-mamao,⁵
Hekeheke iho i runga i ou ara,

Ko Tiki-whara te whare,
Ko Wawara-a kura⁶ te waka,
Hae !

Ka tangi au ki nga maunga nei
Ka tangi au ki nga mori nei
Ka tangi au ki nga mania nei
Ka tangi au ki taku whenua,
Hae !

Ka eke atu au i a "Wawara-a-kura,"⁶
Hae !

Ka piki atu au i te ngaru kopu,—
I te ngaru kowhana,
I te ngaru tau-rewarewa, te moana waiwai
I a ngaru hora— hora ki uta,
Hae !

A ka whiti atu au ki Hukurangi,⁸
Hae !

Withdraw, the front pillar, the inside pillar,
The pillar of the house of Tangaroa.¹
Come forth ! One-pua-hura² is the sand,
Come forth ! Wairua-ngangana³ is the beach,
Which I take up in my hand—
So be it !

(Here the priest takes up a handful of sand.)

Pou-te-wharaunga, ⁴is Tangaroa's house,
Atu-rangi-mamao,⁵ is the *marae* of his dwelling,
Descend then, by ways that thou knowest.

Tiki-whara is the name of (my) house,
"Wawara-a-kura"⁶ is my canoe—
Be it so !

I bid farewell to those mountains there,
I bid farewell to the promontories there,
I bid farewell to my home and lands,
Be it so !

I am about to board the "Wawara-a-kura,"
Be it so !

And in her to climb the great rolling waves—
The great surging white crested waves,
The great waves just combing, of the deep sea,
The great spread out waves, spread out to the shore,
Be it so !

And then shall I cross over to Hukurangi,⁸
Be it so !

NOTES. (1.) Tangaroa, god of ocean, who rules the waves and shores. (2.) One-pua-huru, one of sands, or beaches, in Hawaiki. (3.) Wairua-ngangana, one of the islands, probably in Indonesia, from which the Maoris obtained the *taro* plant

originally.—See Chap. VII. (4.) The name of Tangaroa's house at the bottom of the sea. (5.) Name of the plaza, of his dwelling. (6.) Name of the canoe he is about to embark in. (8.) Hukurangi, an ancient name of the North Island.

In this *karakia*, the first part is evidently addressed to Tangaroa, to allow the sands to remove to Taranaki; the second, a farewell to his home.

After this incantation, the old man returned and boarded the canoe; he had secured the *māna* of the sands and was satisfied. He took up his position in the bows of the canoe in order to see the dangers and be ready by aid of his *karakias* to avert them. They went on, "by day, by night," says the story, until they arrived at Taranaki, and landed at a place called Tokaroa, at Waitaha, four miles south of Cape Egmont, which was the home of Potiki-roa's relatives. The voyage was thus propitious, but had it been otherwise no doubt Mango-huruhuru would have used his priestly powers to calm the ocean, and would have recited the following "*karakia rotu*," or invocation to calm, or "lay," the waves, which particular *karakia* belongs to the Taranaki people. I give it here to preserve it from oblivion.

HE ROTU MOANA.

Ka patua ! ka patua te moana
 Ka patua ! ka rotua te moana,
 Ka rotua ! ka hoea te moana,
 Ka hoea !
 Nga hau ! nga hau o uta
 Te pokia nga hau o tai—
 Te pokia nga hau tuku iho,
 Te pokia tena te hau,
 Ka popoki ko te hau o te ahiahi,
 Koia ! Koia ! i moana nui
 Ka tu te hoe,
 Koia ! i moana roa,
 Ka tu te hoe
 Koia ! i moana tai-rangaranga
 Ka tu te hoe
 Taku hoe, taku hoe nei
 Kei te rangi hikitia
 Kei te rangi hapainga—
 Tōna, tona eketanga
 Kei te puke i Hikurangi.
 Tina tenei kaihou,
 Tina tenei mātua iwi.
 I tu, i tu, i te toko
 I karo i te toko
 To mata i tukutuku
 To mata i heiheia.

Pūta ! pūta whakataura Tawhaki
 I te hahatia.
 Mariri ngaru, marara ngaru
 Te hahau atu te kakau o taku hoe nei
 Pupu ma whai-ao,
 Puta tata ra ki Hikurangi—
 Te whai-ao, ki te ao-marama,
 Te tua, te tua kei runga
 Te tua, E Rangi !
 Tua mata-hinahina—
 Mata-whakaroro-hau.
 Ka puta kei waho kei te hahatia
 Hora tu taku takapou
 E! ka piki, Rangi,
 Hae !

TRANSLITERATION.

Be stricken ! be stricken thou ocean !
 Be stricken ! be "laid" ¹ thou ocean !
 Be "laid," so thou mayest be paddled over.
 It will be paddled over.
 Ye winds ! ye winds of the shore !
 Overcome the winds of the sea—
 The winds now sent down.
 Then shall the winds be overwhelmed
 By winds of the evening destroyed.
 Truly ! truly, it is so, on the broad ocean,
 The paddles shall ply.
 Truly so, on the great ocean,
 The paddles shall ply.
 Truly so, on the rolling waves of ocean,
 The paddles shall ply.
 This paddle, this paddle of mine,
 Is endowed with powers of the uplifted heavens,
 With the powers of the heavens upraised,
 Its powers, its powers shall reach
 Even to the sacred hill of Hikurangi. ²
 Enforce with power this invocation,
 Enforce this lay of old,
 That fronts, that fronts the thrust ³ (of heaven)
 That wards off the thrust (of heaven)
 Thy face is battered (thou angry wind)
 Thy front is scarred.
 Ascended ! ascended by the rope-like way, did Tawhaki, ⁴
 Through the "space" ⁵ betwixt heaven and earth.
 Be calm then the waves, be smooth,
 That my paddle may force its way,
 To safety and the world of being,
 And quickly reach to Hikurangi. ⁶

To the world of being, the world of light.
 My prayer, my prayer is above,
 My prayer, O Rangi!⁷
 It slays the breaking waves,
 It kills the steady breeze,
 And brings us forth to the "space."
 Spread out now is my incantation.
 A! we climb over the waves, O Rangi!⁷
 Be it so!

NOTES. (1.) *Rotu*, to becalm, to smooth, to press down, hence to "lay," as a ghost is laid. (2.) *Hikurangi*, a sacred hill in Hawaiki (probably India is here meant) connected with The Deluge. (3.) *Toko*, really a spear-thrust. Afflictions of a wide and universal character are alluded to as "spear thrusts of heaven." (4.) *Whakataura*, like a rope, refers to the *toi*, or spider-web like cord, by which Tawhaki ascended to heaven; the composer desires his invocation may be as powerful and as successful as that of Tawhaki. (5.) *Hahatia*, a very peculiar form of this verb, here used as a noun, meaning "the sought for," the "space sought for" by Tawhaki. (6.) *Hikurangi*, here used as emblematic of safety—for it was on Mount Hikurangi the people fled to in the flood. (7.) Rangi, the heavens.

On the subject of the *karakia*, to becalm, or press down, the waves of ocean, a very peculiar custom obtained amongst the Ngati-Kuia tribe, of Pelorous Sound, Middle Island. I have a long *karakia* in reference thereto, but it is too difficult to translate, except the first four lines, in which the custom is alluded to, thus:—

Ko te huruhuru o Rangi,	The hair of Rangi,
Kia whakahinga ā!	Let it fall a!
Kia whakahinge ki te hau,	Let it fall to the wind,
Kia whakahinga ki te tonga.	Let it fall to the south.

The hair here referred to is that growing on a woman's private parts, which is said to have been given to woman by Rangi, the Sky Father. "If a canoe were out at sea fishing, etc., and a storm came on, the chief person on board would say to his wife, who would be busy bailing out the water due to the lap of the waves, "*Whakaarahia te huruhuru*"! "Uplift the hair"! The woman would then take from her private parts a single hair, and then hold it up in her fingers, with arm outstretched to its full length, whilst the man would recite the *karakia* (of which the above are the opening lines) and, as he finished, let it fly into the sea." This would, in my informant's belief, cause the wind to abate. The above *karakia* is called a "*Rotu-hau*, and my informant, an old man well versed in his tribal customs and history, could give me no explanation of its meaning, except that it was not an offering to Tangaroa, god of the ocean. Confirmatory of this peculiar custom, I was told by one of my Taranaki friends that, in his childhood, he was taken out fishing by his relatives, off Okahu, Cape Egmont. It appears that one of the men had brought with him some flax, gathered from a

wahi-tapu, or burial ground. Presently the sea became disturbed, the waters rising up in an unnatural manner, and there appeared a number of what my friend called *Taniwhas*, which came round the canoe, some getting under it and, lifting it up and then letting it down again gently. All on board were very much alarmed. The principal man on board told the others to keep very quiet and not to speak a word, and asked, “*Kei awai te hara i a tatou*”? Which of us has done wrong? One of the men replied, “Perhaps it is the flax I took from the burial ground”—which of course would be *tapu*. The flax was then thrown overboard, and the chief, repeating a *karakia*, took a few hairs from his head, from his armpits, and from the lower part of his abdomen, which he threw into the sea. Hair used in this connection is called a *wew*. The *taniwhas* then departed.

Again, as illustrating the old belief in the powers of the *tohunga*, or priest, the same man told me the following:—The landing at the Taunga-a-tara river, Taranaki Coast, is often very difficult. Here, in former times, when the canoes were about to go out to sea, fishing, an old *tohunga* used by the power of his *karakias*, to call up from the deep twelve *taniwhas* to convoy the canoe through the breakers. He would stand up in the water, facing inland, and the *taniwhas*, six on each side, would come and pass quite close to him to the shore where the canoe was, and then remain on each side of it till it had passed through the breakers. These *taniwhas* are about two feet long, nine inches deep, with head cut squarely off, with spikes all over them—such fish, in the north, are called *Kopu-totara*.

THE COMING OF THE SANDS.

So Potiki-roa and his party arrived safely at Taranaki, and after the usual welcome they all settled down at a place called Potiki-taua, which lies between Waitaha and Tipoko, a little to the south of Cape Egmont. Mango-huruhuru now built a large house at that place, which was used by him and his people as a dwelling. Its name was *Te Tapere-o-tutahi*. Potiki-roa also built a house about an eighth of a mile further inland, where he and his wife dwelt. The large house was situated on low land not far from the sea, the frontage to which was rocky and, therefore, a bad landing, whilst Potiki-roa's house was erected on higher land, where he and his wife, Puna-te-rito, lived. Mango-huruhuru's daughters, Puna-te-ahu and Renga-pāpā, married into the Taranaki tribe and went away to their husband's homes, whilst Hei-hana, the youngest daughter, remained with her father.

“Now, it was many days that the old man dwelt at that place, with his daughter and his people. He looked at the landing place and saw

how inconvenient it was, covered with stones and other obstructions. The only beach was a very little one, and compared very badly with those he had left at his old home. So the thought grew with the old man that he would exercise his powers and bring some sands from Hawaiki, to improve his new home. Having come to this decision he gave notice to all his people of what he was about to do—to remove one of the beaches to their present home. When evening came and the sun had set, the old man climbed up to the ridge of his large house, and there standing, raised his invocation to bring the sands. This is the *karakia* he used:—

Papa e takoto nei! whakarongo ake ;
 Tangaroa e takoto mai nei !
 Whakarangona mai i aku one i toku whenua
 Kia korikori mai, kia titiro mai, kia aroha mai,
 Kia maranga mai ki runga.

Hae !

Kia awhitu mai ki au nei

Hae !

Ko aku matau, ko Whiua, ko Taia ;
 Hei hiwi mai mahaku ki One-pua-huru,
 I Wai-rua-ngangana,

Me kore e piri mai.

Me kore e maimai-aroha mai ki au nei

Hae !

Tāhia te papa o te whare o Tangaroa,
 He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu
 Na ra tāhia !

Tikina nga pou-roto o te whare o Tangaroa
 He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
 Na ra tāhia !

Tikina nga pou-amo o te whare o Tangaroa,
 He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
 Na ra tāhia !

Tikina nga pou o te whare o Tangaroa,
 He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu
 Na ra tāhia !

Tikina te tahuu o te whare o Tangaroa,
 He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
 Na ra tāhia ?

Tikina nga heke o te whare o Tangaroa,
 He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
 Na ra tāhia !

Tikina nga kaho o te whare o Tangaroa,
 He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
 Na ra tāhia !

Tikina nga toko o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga paepae-tapu o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga korupe o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina te papa o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga paru o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga turapa o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga rau o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga taotao o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga mahihi o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuann,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina nga tua o te whare o Tangaroa,
He whare kau-awhiawhi, he whare kau-anuanu,
Na ra tahia !

Tikina Te Pou-te-wharaunga, kia haere mai ki au.
Ko to matua, Hae !

Tikina tou urunga i raro, kia maranga mai,
Kia haere mai ki au nei,
Ki to matua, Hae

Whakarongo mai ki te tai-whatiwhati,
Whakarongo mai ki te tai-karekare,
E mihi ana au, e tangi ana au,
Ki taku whenua i mahue atu i a au,
 Me kore e piri mai—
 Me kore e tata mai—
 Me kore e maimai aroha mai,
Ki au nei, to matua,

Ko Whiua, ko Taia, nga matau ;
Hei hiwi mai mahaku, i Wairua-ngangana,
Me kore e piri mai—
Me kore e tata mai—

Hither bring the topmost ridge pole,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 The house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the sloping rafters,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 The house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the battens of the roof,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 The house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the strong supports,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 The house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Hither bring the sacred door step,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 The house of comfort and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Hither bring the carved lintel,
 Of the house of Tangaroa—
 The house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the very foundations,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 That house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the reeded walls,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 That house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the *turapa*,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 That house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the thatched roof,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 That house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Hitherward bring the poles, that press the thatch,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 That house of comfort, and of greatest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Bring hither the barge-boards, richly carved,
 Of the great house of Tangaroa—
 That house of comfort, and of highest dignity,
 Then sweep it clean !

Hither bring the back and sides,
Of the great house of Tangaroa—
The house of comfort, and of highest dignity,

Then sweep it clean!

Bring hither "Te Pou-te-wharaunga,"⁴
The great house of Tangaroa—
Let it hither come to me—

To thy parent, Be it so!

Bring hither thy pillow, let it arise,
And forthwith come to me—

To thy parent, Be it so!

A dark cloud appears on the horizon, rapidly advancing towards the reciter, charged with a heavy burden of sand, with lightning flashing and thunders rolling.

Listen, then, to the breaking waves,
Incline thine ear to the rippling sea,
I greet it, I cry to it in welcome,
To my home that I abandoned.

If it perchance will come to me,

If it to me will nearer draw,

And towards me love and obedience show.

To me, to thy parent, Be it so!

For Whiua and Taia¹ are the sacred means
By which I cast, and haul it hither,
The ancient land of Wairua-ngangana.³

For it perchance will come to me,

To me be closely drawn.

To me here, to thy parent, Be it so!

My sands that are swept—

Swept hither by incantation's aid,

That are swept by the *moa*,⁵

One-hau is the name of the sand,

One-pua huru is the name of the sand.

O! that it will approach!

To me be closely drawn!

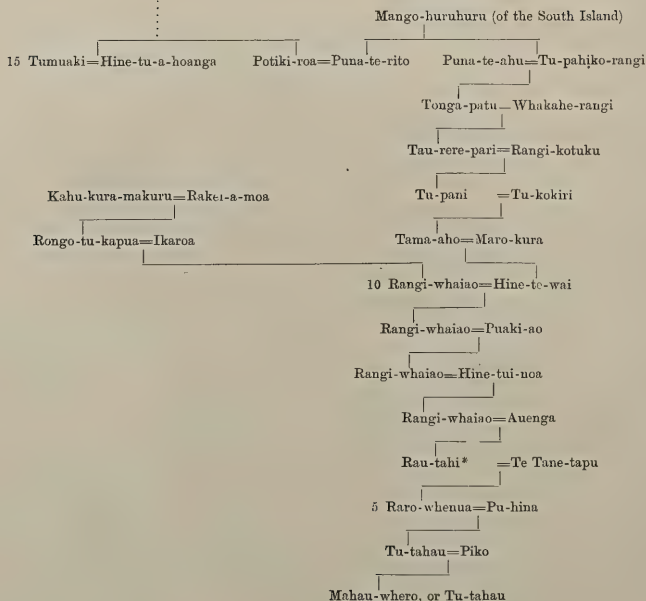
It comes ashore! it lands! Be it so!

NOTES.—1. Tangaroa, Lord of ocean, in whose keeping are the sands of the shore and of the Ocean depths. 2. Whiua and Taia, expressions used in fishing, here applied as proper name to fish-hooks, to the effect of which the reciter likens his incantations in drawing the sands to him. 3. Wairua-ngangana, some island, or may be the continent of Asia, from which they first obtained the *taro* root, and here used as emblematical for the "Father-land," from which the sands were supposed to come. 4. Te Pou-te-wharaunga, the name of Tangaroa's house at the bottom of the ocean. Different tribes give it different names. 5. I am quite unable to explain the word *moa* in this connection.

This *karakia* is quite unique in its form; it differs from all others I am acquainted with, and is expressed in language much more simple than usual, but I have no doubt the old *tohunga* would object to the

TABLE No. XLI.

Toka-tara (came in "Kura-haupo") canoe *circa* 1350.



* Lived at Punga-rehu.

interpretation I have put on some of his words. But I have had the advantage of discussing them with a learned man of Taranaki.

On the conclusion of the old man's *karakia*, the dark cloud, with its burden of sand, and its surface flashing with lightning, reached the shore. The women assembled there near the great house, called out in terror, "A! the sea rises; the waves and the sand will overwhelm us." In a moment the storm was upon them; a darkness as of night settled down, only illuminated by the vivid lightning, whilst the wind roared, and the rain fell in sheets of water; the sands came with the storm, and the people in the great black darkness fell where they stood and were buried in the sands. The house and cultivations and all the surrounding country were buried deep in the sand, and with them the old priest, Mango-huruhuru, and his daughter Hei-hana, who, says my informant, was then and there turned into a rock, which still stands there, "to bear witness to the truth of history."

Potiki-roa and his wife, Puna-te-rito, escaped the disaster from the fact of their home being further inland and on higher ground. This house was named "Te Arai-o-Tawhiti," and the stone foundations of it may be seen to this day. My informant says over a hundred people were killed by the sand, and their bones are there still. The present inhabitants are often annoyed by white people taking them away.

We unbelieving *Pakehas* find a difficulty in accrediting old Mango-huruhuru with power sufficient to bring sands to a place where there were none originally. Nor are we able to understand the efficacy of the Maori *karakias*, and are inclined to set down this catastrophe to some mighty storm, which altered the character of the coast line and destroyed the people living there. But the Maoris think otherwise; they have the "faith which will remove mountains"!

For the purposes of this history, the epoch of this disaster is an important one, as it serves to fix the date of some great events which had far reaching results. To illustrate this, and for future reference, I quote here the genealogical descent from one of the people mentioned in the above story. (See Table 41.)

According to this table Potiki-roa would be born about fifteen generations, or three hundred and seventy-five years, back from the year 1900, and as he was a young man when he went in search of Tumuaki, we may fix the date of his expedition at about the year 1550, and Tumuaki's search for the greenstone a few years earlier. Tupahiko-rangi was of the *tuturu*, or main stem of the Taranaki tribe. I

shall have to refer to him and some others in this table, later on, in connection with the wars of Te Ati-awa.

This story of the sands may possibly be the origin of that alluded to in Chapter V. (also in A.H.M., Vol. II, p 63), wherein it is stated that a Hawaiki chief sent the sands to the Taranaki coast in return for hospitality shown to his daughters, who had been blown there by adverse gales.

A few pages back it was stated that when Potiki-roa went to the forest to fell a *totara* tree with which to make a canoe for his projected voyage to the South Island, that the appropriate *karakias* were used before doing so. According to Maori belief, the trees of the forest were sacred to Tāne, the god of forests and all bird life, and, therefore, could not be touched without placating the god by invocations and offerings. There are several stories in Polynesian traditions which illustrate the effects due to a neglect of these preliminary invocations, the most noticeable being, perhaps, the long Rarotongan story connected with the hewing out of the celebrated canoe, in the forests of Samoa, which, after many changes of name, came to be called "Taki-tumu." But, as I have a briefer story, in which much the same incidents occur, in connection with the "Tainui" canoe that formed one of the fleet of 1350, I will here place it on record, as it has not yet appeared in print. It was told to Mr. Elsdon Best and myself, at Porirua, in 1894, by old Karihana Whakataki, of Ngati-Toa:—

"After it had been decided to leave Hawaiki (which there is little doubt was on the west coast of Tahiti, for the immigrants by the 'Tainui' called their first altar set up at Kawhia, Ahurei, after Ahurai, in Tahiti) for New Zealand, Hotu-roa, the principal chief and afterwards captain of the 'Tainui,' sent his people to the forests to search for a suitable tree, from which to make a canoe. One was finally selected, at the foot of which, or near to, had been buried the grandfather of Whakaoti-rangi, Hotu-roa's wife, and whose name was Tainui. After working all day and making a commencement in the *umu*, or scarf, the party returned to their homes at night.

"Next morning the workmen went back to the forest, and to their great surprise could find no sign of their previous day's work; the tree stood as if it had never been touched by the axe! but the party set to work again, and after much labor managed to fell the tree. The next day, on returning to the site of their labors, a greater surprise than ever awaited them. The tree was standing erect as if it had never been touched! and the chips of the previous day had disappeared. With determined hearts the men set to work again, and by evening had again felled the tree, but, in this case, instead of returning home they hid

themselves and waited to see what would occur. Before long, a great rustling and twittering was heard in the forest, and directly there appeared immense flocks of little birds called Pi-rakaraka and Pi-rangi-rangi (the messengers of Tāne), and these, as soon as they arrived, set to work to gather up the chips and replace them in the spots from whence they had come, and the tree arose and stood on its stump, perfect, as if it had never been touched by the axe!

“The workmen were confounded and alarmed, so stole away home to the village, where they recounted to Hotu-roa all that they had witnessed and heard. Said Hotu-roa: ‘Perhaps you did not use the *karakia-whakamoemoe*’? (or incantations to lay the spirits of the wood). ‘No’! said the men, ‘we used no *karakias*.’ ‘Then,’ said both Hotu-roa and Whakaoti-rangi, ‘it is no wonder you failed in your object. Return in the morning to your work, and before anything is done let the *karakias* be recited.’ So the next morning the men on return to their work were careful to recite the appropriate *karakias* to appease Tāne, for destroying one of his sacred trees.

“The result was that no further trouble occurred. The canoe was completed as far as her hull was concerned, and then with *karakia* and song she was dragged, by large numbers of people, from the forest to the shore, where the master builders fashioned and fitted her with top sides, and the artists carved the stem and stern posts. The canoe then received the name of ‘Tainui,’ after Whakaoti-rangi’s grandfather.”

Such was the effect, in Maori belief, of neglecting the proper rites when dealing with so sacred a thing as a tree—the manifestation of the god Tāne.

Numbers of *karakias*, in connection with canoe-work, have been preserved, and many have been published. But the following is one belonging to these West Coast tribes, and may well have been that used by Potiki-roa when he fashioned his canoe:—

“This is the *karakia* used in felling a tree to be used as a canoe. When fallen, the head of the tree is severed, then the vessel shaped out, and afterwards the head of the tree is drawn to the stump and there left.

Ki konei hoki au, E Tane !
 Moria, E Tane ! ka wehe i te pu,
 E Tane ! ka wehe i te moenga,
 Waiho Tane, kia mihi, kia tangi,
 Ki te ipo—ki tona toki,
 Ka tangi, tona pahu,
 E ! ka tangi whakarorotu
 Moe tu ana mai te moenga o Tane,
 E ai, E Tane ! ko te putiki,

Mou ake, whai ake i te ringaringa
 I uta, i te pu, i te weu, i te aka,
 I te tamore.
 Pera hoki ra te kahu-kura a Tane,
 Koia i whakatipua
 Koia i whakatawhito
 E tu te ara ki a Tane,
 Ka whakatau-rekareka
 Ki mua waka,
 Ka whakatau-rekareka
 Ki roto waka,
 I aua ki' hui E!
 Taiki e! i!

Ka mutu, katahi te tohunga ka karanga ki nga tangata kia piri ki te waka, Heoi,
 ka piri katoa nga tangata, ka whakahua e te tohunga, "Pipiri!" A, katahi te
 tohunga ka whakahua i te karakia e toia ai te waka:—

Ko wai toku tupuna?
 I horomia e wai?
 I horomia e Matuku-takotako,
 Whariki Tane i tona rongo,
 Ko rongo mania, ko rongo paheke,
 Taki mahuta waka!
 Hui e!
 Taiki e!"

TRANSLATION.

(In the following the *tohunga*, or priest, addresses the tree—and
 also the canoe—as Tāne, the trees being the offspring of that god.)

Here stand I before thee, O Tane!
 To remove the sacred *tapu*, O Tane!
 To separate thee from thy stump.
 O Tane! now art thou removed from thy resting place.
 Tane will greet, Tane will cry,
 To his loved one—to his axe,
 To the noisy axe with blows
 That resound with chopping sound.
 Tane slept in form erect.
 Naught but thy top is left, O Tane!
 Seized and followed by the cunning hand,
 Inland, at the stump, the rootlets, the roots,
 Even the very tap-root,
 Thus shall it be with the splendours of Tane.
 Endowed with powers occult
 From ancient times remote.
 Now is set up the way of Tane
 With careful work and true
 The bows of the canoe.

With careful work smoothed out
 The inside of this canoe.
 Ordained for this great gathering!
 Removed then be the *tapu*!

At the end of the work of shaping, the *tohunga* calls on the people to gather to the sides of the canoe, and when they have done so, he gives the command "Stick to it!" At the same time he recites the *karakia* used in hauling the canoe:—

Who then is my ancestor?
 By whom was he swallowed?
 He was swallowed by Matuku-takotako!
 Now are the skids laid down for Tane (canoe)
 They are slipping skids, descending skids,
 Now strong arms uplift the canoe!
 All together!
Taiki e!

It is difficult to say what Matuku-Takotako has to do with canoe hauling. He was an ogre, a monster, about whom there are tales belonging to the period when the Polynesians occupied parts of the Fiji group. Perhaps it refers to the great effort used in dragging the ogre from his lair, and the *tohunga* calls on his assistants to exert a similar powerful haul on the ropes.

CHAPTER IX.

IN the third generation after the arrival of the Taranaki tribe from Hawaiki, and during the residence of some of the descendants of the crew of "Kura-hau-po" at Oakura and that neighbourhood, the first trouble with the Ati-awa tribe occurred, but which did not finally end till the beginning of the nineteenth century. The tribes were not always at war, but nevertheless fighting was very frequent, and apparently up to a hundred and fifty years ago Taranaki seems to have generally got the best of it.

In the last chapter it was shown that Raumati's daughter married Ngarue, of Waitara. But he had another daughter named Kámate, who married Awhipapa, of Taranaki. In the times of this man the Taranaki people had spread out from Oakura; as indeed has already been seen in the story of Tama-atua, where it is shown that his sister and her people were living at Pirongia, between the Pouakai and Patuha ranges; and in Awhi-papa's lifetime the Taranaki tribe possessed an outlying *pa* called Karaka-tonga, which was situated on the banks of the Waiwhakaiho river a considerable distance up the slopes of Mount Egmont. I should judge from the description given by my informants that this *pa* could not have been very far from the site of the present mountain house. The object sought in placing a settlement so far inland was so as to be near the *pua-tahere*, or bird preserves, where *Kakās*, pigeons, *Wekas*, *Kiwis*, *Tuis*, and other birds were plentiful; and also in order to obtain the *kokowai* or oxide of iron, which the people used formerly for pigments in painting their canoes, houses, etc., etc., including their own bodies. It was in this neighbourhood, also, that fine, close-grained stone was found, suitable for making axes.*

Karaka-tonga, in its day, was evidently a place of some importance, for it had its *whare-kura*, or council house, named Kai-mirumiru, and a *marae*, or plaza, where meetings were held, which was named Ra-paki-marae, so called because the chiefs who lived there were sufficiently important to ensure peace there, i.e., when it suited them. The name means Fine day *marae*—fine day implying peace. Lists of

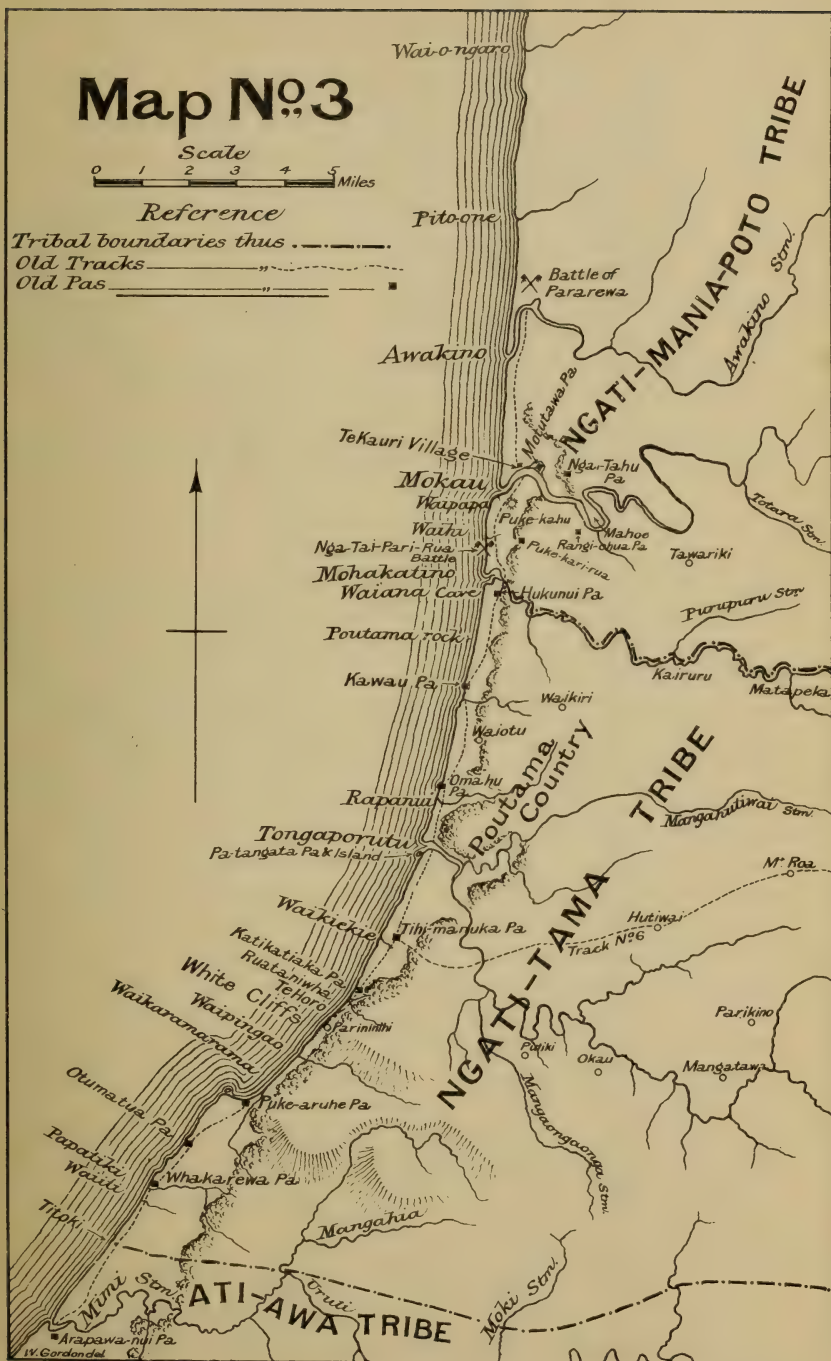
* Most of the places mentioned in this Chapter will be found on Map No. 2—others, as indicated, on Map No. 4.

Map No. 3

Scale
0 1 2 3 4 5 Miles

Reference

Tribal boundaries thus
Old Tracks
Old Pas ■



peoples names are not of much interest to the general reader, but as I have those of many of the chief people who formerly occupied Karaka-tonga, and some of whom were engaged in the wars between Taranaki and Ati-Awa, I preserve them here, as they may be of interest hereafter :—

Ha-nui	Ka-ru-te-whenua	Tahu-rangi	Make-tuhi
Ha-roa	Kaū-nguha	Manawa-kā	Manawa-tare
Ha-ruku-pori	Kaū-papa	Awhi-papa	Make-hana
Tara-moana	Tira-haere	Rua-tara-rauihi	Make-taua

Awhi-papa, the only one of these people we have the descent from, would be born somewhere about the year 1380, or the end of the fourteenth century, and the fight I am about to refer to must have occurred when he was of some age—say between the years 1410 and 1420.

KURUKURU-MAHE FIGHT.

(Circa 1420.)

It would appear that the Ati-Awa people had objected to the Taranaki tribe occupying Karaka-tonga, as they claimed that country right up to the top of the mountain. How long this objection had existed I know not, but the time arrived when Ati-Awa deemed themselves strong enough to enforce their title by an appeal to arms, and therefore raised a war party—probably from the people of Waitara and the adjacent inhabitants—and proceeded to eject Taranaki from Karaka-tonga. This party was under the leadership of Tama-whereo-kaka-ruku, Tama-whereo-kaka-nui, and Tu-whaka-momo-rangi, and they made their way through the forests up the course of the Waiwhakaiho until they approached the *pa*. Karaka-tonga at that time was held by the Taranaki chiefs, Tara-paoa, Kahu-kura-nui, Kahu-kura-roa, Kahu-kura-pirau, Kahu-kura-porewarewa, Tama-heia, and Awhi-papa (mentioned above). These chiefs led their people out of the *pa* and fought the Ati-Awa on a flat of the river banks not far from the *pa*, and from the fact of Taranaki using *mahe* (or stone fishing-net sinkers) to throw at the enemy, the fight is known as Kurukuru-mahe (pounded with sinkers). Te Ati-Awa appear to have been beaten in this fight, though they managed to kill Tama-heia,* one of the Taranaki chiefs, whose body they carried off with them, and at a place then called Marua, lying between Waiwhakaiho and

* From the following words of a Taranaki song there appear to have been three of those mentioned on the page above also killed :—

... Ka ngaro ki kona, ko Make-tuhi . . .	And died there also, Make-tuhi
Ko Make-hana, ko Make-taua,	Make-hana, and Make-taua,
Ko te Kahui po—o—i . . .	With the company of the dark ages . . .

Manganui rivers, they consumed him after baking him in the ovens, even eating the soles (*raparapa*) of his feet; hence the name of that place became known as Kai-raparapa ever afterwards. My informant also added that Tama-heia's heart was eaten at a place called Kai-auahi, said to be "near the ascent to Pouakai ranges," but probably on the river called Kaiauai on the maps, but how it was Ati-Awa went that way back I know not, for it was quite out of their road. At any rate, the attacking party did not take Karaka-tonga *pa*; and in after years, when the Bell Block was purchased by the Government, 29th November, 1848, the sellers of that land, the Puketapu *hapu* of Ati-Awa acknowledged the former right of the Taranaki tribe to that and the adjacent country right up to Karaka-tonga by presenting the latter tribe with part of the payment.

It was from Karaka-tonga *pa* that Tahu-rangi, mentioned in the preceding list, ascended Mount Egmont, he being the first man to do so, says my informant, and he lit a fire on top to let people see that he had accomplished the climb and had taken possession. In after days, whenever the thin wisps of cloud are seen encircling the summit of the mountain and blowing away to leeward like smoke, the Taranaki people say "Ah! there is Tahu-rangi's fire!" (*te ahi a Tahu-rangi*). The sacredness of Mount Egmont, which prevailed down to the middle of the nineteenth century, was probably due to the mountain being used as a place for the deposit of the bones of the dead. It has always been difficult to obtain the help of Maoris in ascending the mountain, for it was *tapu*.

THE TANGATA KOTAHI NO MOTAI.

(*Circa 1425*).

It has already been said that there have been constant conflicts between the tribes of Taranaki and those which I have described in Chapter VII. as the Tainui tribes, who lived north of Mokau. The

TABLE No. XLII.

22 Hoturoa
Hotu-matapu
20 Motai
Ue
Raka
Kakati
Tawhao

15 Whiti-hua=Ruapu-tahanga

first instance of this we have any note of occurred in the third generation after the arrival of the fleet in 1350, in the times of Motai, who, as will be seen from Table No. 42, was a grandson of Hoturoa, captain of the "Tainui" canoe. Motai had taken up his residence at Maro-kopa, a river eight miles south of Kawhia Heads, whilst some of the Ati-Awa

people (so it is said, but probably one of the off-shoots of that tribe of *tangata-whenua* people) were living at Hakerekere, about half way between Tirua Point and Awakino. For some reason, now unknown,

these two tribes fell out and a fight took place, in which a woman belonging to Motai's people was taken prisoner and became the slave of some of the Ati-Awa chiefs. She was taunted by her master with being a slave, and her reply has passed into a proverb, which is quoted unto this day—" *He kotahi tangata no Motai, e haerea te one i Hakerekere.*" (One man of Motai's tribe will pass over the sands of Hakerekere beach); the meaning of which is that though the woman was a slave and thereby degraded, she had left one behind (her son) who would avenge her and overrun the sands (people) of Hakerekere.

The woman's son was Kapu-manawa-whiti, and he raised a war party, which he conducted to Hakerekere, where he vanquished the Ati-Awa people and rescued his mother. But he did more than that. Kapu was the younger son of his parents, Hae being the elder. As often happens, the younger son, by force of character, gradually took the leading part in the affairs of the tribe to the exclusion of his elder brother. Either on the occasion referred to above, or on a subsequent one, Kapu led a large war party down the coast from Kawhia, and made a fierce attack on Ngati-Tama, the tribe who owned the Poutama country; and such was his ability as a leader in war that he took Te Horo, Waikiekie, and seven other *pas* in that neighbourhood and as far as the Mimi river. This was the commencement of the series of conflicts in that neighbourhood which lasted, with few intermissions, down to 1828, when Ngati-Tama abandoned their country and removed to Kapiti, eventually settling in the Chatham Islands. But this little tribe, Ngati-Tama, made a most strenuous defence of their country, as we shall see later on. Kapua-manawa-whiti first distinguished himself in the expedition of Ngati-Raukawa to Te Aroha, on the Thames, about which there is an interesting story, but it has nothing to do with this history. This fact is alluded to in the *papeha*, or saying, below, which is an extension of that quoted above:—

He iti na Motai; tena kei te rawhiti e taka ana,

He iti na Motai; kei te one i Hakerekere e haere ana.*

RUAPU-TAHANGA'S JOURNEY.

(Circa 1560.)

Some of the preceding stories will have shown that the Maoris travelled to distant parts of the country, and often took wives from the tribes who lived at great distances from their homes. There are

* Which may be translated:—

The few of Motai are distinguishing themselves in the East.

The few of Motai are overrunning the sands of Hakerekere.

indications that in the early days, after the arrival of the fleet, there were times when peace prevailed sufficiently to allow of these long journeys, though at the same time wars were common, during which the original inhabitants were gradually absorbed by the more forceful tribes of the *heke* of 1350. The fame of some distant chief—either male or female—for profuse hospitality, for courage, ability as a cultivator, or other character prized by the Maori, often led to a desire to visit and see such a person.

There is a somewhat noticeable instance of this amongst these West Coast tribes, which is one of the stories they are very fond of, and of which there are several versions, the following being principally from my own notes, amplified here and there by one printed by Mr. John White in the “Ancient History of the Maori,” and I give it in abbreviated form. It refers to the doings of Ruapu-tahanga, a woman of the Ngati-Rua-nui tribe of Patea.

There was, at this period, a chief of Kawhia named Whatihua (see Table No. 42) whose fame as a cultivator had reached far and wide, even unto Ruapu-tahanga, who dwelt with her tribe at Patea. From the accounts which were received, this lady came to the decision to journey to Kawhia with the intention of becoming Whatihua's wife. With a company suited to her rank, she started on her long journey, passing inland by way of Tangarakau and Ohura rivers—branches of the Whanganui—where there are places to this day named after her—one especially, Te Puna-a-Ruapu-tahanga, or the spring of Ruapu—where by her magic powers she caused a spring to issue from a rock, at a time when her followers were suffering from thirst. On reaching Kawhia she became the wife of Whatihua—the second wife, for he had one already, named Apa-kura, from whom are descended Ngati-Apakura of that place. Ruapu' had a son by Whati-hua, who was named Uenuku-tu-hoka. After a time Whati-hua gave this lady cause for jealousy; so she determined to return to her own people. She started from their home at Kawhia, carrying her child, her dog following her. But for some reason, unexplained, she left the child on the way, and continued on with her dog. Whati-hua, as soon as he heard of the lady's flight, followed in haste to try and persuade her to return. The coast along that part consists of beaches, interrupted by high cliffs which can only be passed at low water. At one of these points the husband came in sight of the runaway, at a place about three miles north of Tirua Point, but could not come near her on account of the tide having risen since she passed. But he tried his best to induce her to return; it was of no avail however. She replied to him: “*Ka tu nga tai a Rakei, mata-taniwha rau.*” (“The seas of

Rakei, with the hundred *taniwha* eyes have cut you off") which is still used as a proverb. So the husband returned, picking up the child as he went. The story says that Ruapu-tahanga was the first person ever to pass along the path by way of Tapiri-moko, and Moeatoa hills, places a few miles south of Maro-kopa river. She came on her way, and finally reached Mokau, where she was well received by the people there, and after a time married a man named Mokau of that place, from whom (says my informant, an old man of Mokau) the river was named. She had a child by this man, and his descendants are living at Mokau at this day.

After a time Ruapu-tahanga tired of her second husband, and again started on her travels towards her old home. From Waitara river she passed along the old war-trail to the east of Mt. Egmont, and at a place near where the modern town of Stratford is built, she camped for the night. In going to sleep, she laid on her back with her face up to the clear sky, and hence the name of that place and the track itself, Whakaahu-rangi (*whakaahu*, to turn towards; *rangi*, the heavens).

Ruapu-tahanga now reached her old home, where, after a time she married a man of Ngati-Ruanui, named Porou, by whom she had two children, named Wheke and Ngu. As Ruapu-tahanga's end approached, she said to her sons, "Let my bones after the exhumation be placed in a *whata* or stage, and when your elder brother from Kawhia comes to visit you, as he will do, you will know him by the fall of my skull to the ground." Her wishes were faithfully carried out by her sons. Years passed, and the prediction of Ruapu-tahanga came true. Uenuku and Kaihamu, in their home at Kawhia had grown to man's estate, and then the desire to visit their mother, Ruapu-tahanga, in her native home arose. So they started with a considerable party, and finally reached the place where their mother and her husband Porou had lived, but to find them both dead, and their sons Ngu and Wheke the leading people of the village. There were few people in the village when the party arrived, and those did not give them a very warm welcome, but sent off messengers to the bulk of the people who were scattered in their cultivations some way off. In the meantime the party of strangers, tired of waiting, proceeded to amuse themselves with a game of *niti* (for which see *ante*), and during which, some of the darts flew on to the *whata* in which Ruapu-tahanga's bones were laid. The people of the *pa* were horrified at this, and sent off urgent messengers to Ngu and Wheke telling them of the desecration of their mother's bones. The people remonstrated with Uenuku and his brother, saying, that the bones of the

mother of Ngu and Wheke were in the *whata*. One of them replied, "I always thought those were fishes' names, now I learn they are men"—thus adding fuel to the anger of the people of the place. When Ngu and Wheke and the people all arrived at their village, they found the strangers all gathered in a big house named Rama-nui, for the latter could see by the attitude of the villagers that they would be attacked. The head of Ruapu-tahanga had fallen to the ground; but quite forgetting the significance of this omen, Ngu and Wheke prepared to attack the strangers, and commenced trying to get at them with long spears. Now Kaihamu had been taught all the arts of the sorcerer, and seeing the plight he, his brother, and their people were in, he sought for a means of preparing a *tuāhu* or altar, at which to say his incantations. Finding none suitable, he used his hollowed hand for the purpose, and then thrusting his arm through the window, such was his necromantic power that his *waha-tapu* (sacred or powerful mouth) blasted all the surrounding people, and killed them! Thus Kaihamu and his party escaped the fate intended for them. Tradition does not say whether these Kawhia sons of Ruapu-tahanga discovered or not, that Ngu and Wheke were their half-brothers.* After Kaihamu had thus confounded his enemies, he cut out the heart of his dog and sent it to Kawhia, where, at their ancient *tuāhu* called Ahurei (so called after a place of the same name in Tahiti Island), it was offered up to the gods as a *whangai-hau*, or sacrifice, to remove the *tapu* from the party after shedding blood.

Hence is the reference in Te Mamanga's lament:—

Ko te mokopuna a Hau-taepo—

A Ruapu-tahanga—e-i.

Ka maea ki roto te Rama-nui

Whare hanga a Porou, i taklā mai ai,

Nona te waha-tapu, no Kai-hamu,

E Tama! e-i.

For he is a descendant of Hau-taepo,

And of Ruapu-tahanga—

Not like those gathered into Rama-nui,

The house of Porou's deep laid scheme,

Defeated by Kai-hamu's powerful spell,

O Son!

* Another version of this story says that Hia-poto, a woman of Nga-Rauru, married a chief named Mango, of Kawhia, and that she fled back to her home and uttered the prophecy accredited to Ruapu-tahanga above. Mango was a contemporary of Whati-hua.

NGATI-MUTUNGA GO TO KAWHIA.

(Circa 1675.)

TABLE No. XLIII.

14	Uru-tira
	Pahau
	Korokino
	Toa-rangatira
10	Marangai
	Maunu
	Mahuta
	Taka-mai-te-rangi
	Matao
5	Hohepa-Tama-i-hengia

The first occasion on which we hear of a Taranaki tribe making a war-like expedition to Kawhia, was in the days of Toa-rangatira of Maro-kopa, who was the eponymous ancestor of the celebrated Ngati-Toa tribe, that in the 19th century was led by Te Rau-paraha to victory, and under whom also the tribe abandoned their old homes at Kawhia, and removed to Cook's Straits.

Owing to troubles in the days of Pahau (see Table 43) with the other Waikato tribes, he and his people left the north side of Kawhia, and migrated to Maro-kopa river, still retaining, however, many of their *pas* on the south side of the harbour. Korokino, Pahau's son, married Tu-whare-iti of Te Ati-Awa, and hence were Ngati-Mutunga of the Urenui river drawn into the expedition to be related. Toa-rangatira married Pare-hou-nuku, and their son was Marangai, but it is said he had twenty wives in all. It will thus be understood that Toa-rangatira was half Ati-Awa, a fact that helps to explain the alliance of the latter tribe and Ngati-Mutunga with Ngati-Toa in the nineteenth century.

For the following story I am indebted to Mr. E. Best, who collected it from old Kari-hana Whakataki, of Takapu-a-hia, Porirua, in 1894. Although only slightly relevant to this History, it shows why Ngati-Mutunga went to Kawhia in arms.

The period of this story is about 1670 to 1675. "Pua-roro lived at his *pa*, Te Totara (a prominent point a mile and a-half south of Kawhia Heads and within the harbour—(see map No. 4 for the localities of this and other places at Kawhia). The news came to Kawhia that Te Rau, who lived over the ranges in the Waipa Valley, had completed a very handsome *huru*, or *kahu-topuni* (dogs' skin cloak) which Tuahu-mahina (who lived at Heahea, the present town of Kawhia), son of Tuiri-rangi (hence Ngati-Tuiri-rangi) was desirous of possessing. He sent a messenger over to Te Rau asking for this cloak as a gift. (Of course in such a case a handsome present would have to be made in return some time or other.) But Te Rau replied, "I will not give it!" So the messenger returned to Tuahu-mahina and reported the refusal, at which the latter was very angry.

Now Pakaue (of the Ngati-Koata tribe, a branch of Ngati-Toa),

the father of Kawharu, heard of this refusal, and thought he would also try and obtain this valuable cloak. For this purpose he journeyed over and saw Te Rau, who, on his solicitation, gave him the cloak. On the return over the ranges, at a place named Te Whatu, under Mount Pirongia, he blew a blast on his *putara* or trumpet from the summit of the hill. Tuahu-mahina heard this blast, and, knowing of Pakaue's errand, was certain he had been successful. (From the top of the range to the *pa* is rather a long way to have heard a trumpet, as it was apparently on the harbour itself.) He at once made up his mind what to do; he went out with a party of his men and laid an ambush on the road that Pakaue must return by, and there caught and killed him, thus securing the coveted cloak for himself.

The news of the death of Pakaue soon reached his son Kawharu, who determined on revenge. He went with a few men and hid himself near the *pa* of Ngati-Tuiri-rangi, and, as the people came down to the spring from which they obtained their water, he cut them off in detail, carrying the bodies to a cave, where he left them. This went on for some time, until a party of Ngati-Tuiri-rangi, out searching for their missing clansmen, came to the cave where they saw blood dripping from the rocks. Kawharu was on the watch near by, and, as soon as he found his victims were discovered, he rushed off, followed by the other party. He crossed the Wai-harakeke river and reached his own *pa*, situated on the shores of Kawhia. Evidently thinking he would get the worst of the siege, which was inevitably bound to follow, he concluded it would be better for him to leave the district and go to his father's tribe, the Koro-Ati-Awa (Ngati-Awa), of Whakatane. But first he decided to visit Pua-roro, passing by Te Poporo on his way to Te Totara, Pua-roro's *pa*. On arrival he said to the latter, "Shall I remain here or go to Tauranga?" (to Whakatane, probably.) To which Pua-roro replied, "Yes, remain here!"—and then Pua-roro uttered his "saying"—"*Titiro ki taku pa ngaio ki runga o Moe-atoa.*" (Behold my grove of *ngaio* trees above at Moe-atoa.) In which he referred to the tribe since known as Ngati-Toa, and their allies of the Ati-Awa as able to defend him.

Messengers were now sent off to Koro-kino and his son Toa-rangatira (who were living at Maro-kopa) to ask their aid, and they sent away at once to the Taranaki district to the Ngati-Mutunga tribe of Urenui to come and help. Two hundred warriors of Ngati-Mutunga responded to the call, under the leadership of two brother chiefs, named Rehe-taia (see Table No. 33A) and Tukutahi, of Whakarewa *pa*, near Waiiti, Mimi district, and marched to Maro-kopa, where they were joined by

the Ngati-Toa, and then all proceeded to Kawhia. When Ngati-Tuiri-rangi beheld the war party advancing they determined to fight Ngati-Mutunga and Kawharu's party. The order of battle was now arranged; one company under Toa-rangatira, one under Kawharu, and another under Rehe-taia. As they advanced, three younger brothers of Toa-rangatira advanced in front of Kawharu's company and occupied the post of honour. This annoyed Kawharu very much, who shouted out, "Who said the advance should be led by the *umu-karaka* (*karaka* berry oven) and take the lead of my company?" When Toa-rangatira heard this he ordered his brothers to the rear; so Tete-whare, Tara-mangu, and Taumata-raū retired—they were braves of Toa-rangatira. Ngati-Tuiri-rangi now attacked Kawharu's column, and his brother was the *mata-ngohi*, or first slain, but Ngati-Tuiri-rangi were defeated in the battle that ensued, which was called "Te Moana-waipu," and soon after their *pa* of Pohue-tangehe was also taken. This battle was fought on the beach of Kawhia harbour, and the name is probably derived from a similar battle fought in Hawaiki, of the same name, as described in Chapter V.

Pua-roro's part in this fight is not mentioned. When he lived at another of his *pas*, Tiritiri-matangi (the peninsular exactly opposite Kawhia township), he composed a *whakaara*, or sentinel's song, which Mr. Best has preserved:—

Te tai ra, te tai whakarongo ki,
Whakarongo korero i pu ai te riri,
I mau ai te pakanga.
Nau mai, nau ake,
Kei te tihi, kei te tihi,
Kei te pari, kei te pari,
Kei mata-nuku, kei mata-rangi,
Nohoanga atu o tua-tane,
Tenei nei te para-tahae
Whakamataku ana te taringa
Ko nga tarutaru e maha,
O te pukohu o te ngahere,
O te Wao-nui-o-Tane,
He kiwi, he weka, he toko kokako,
Kia hara mai hei toko
Mo to taokete, mo Tara-pu-umeume
He waewae huruhuru,
Mōe! āū!

The sea there, that hears the speech,
That listens to anger inciting words,
That enduring make the quarrels,
Welcome! welcome!
To the summit, to the summit,
To the cliff, to the cliff,
To the face of the earth, of heaven,
Place where dwell young fellows.
Now there is the stealthy advance,
That fills the ear with dread.
There are very many productions
Of the mossy floor of the forest—
Of the Great-Wood-of-Tane,
The *kiwi*, the *weka*, the sad *kokako*,
May they come and give support
To thy brother, to Tara-pu-umeume
With the hairy legs.
Sleep! o me!

It may be mentioned, though it has little to do with this story, that directly after the above fight Toa-rangatira fought several other battles, capturing and killing Tuahu-mahina, who had obtained the valued

cloak by killing Pakaue, and thus acquiring the Kawhia district again for his tribe.

THE FALL OF KOHANGA-MOUKU.

Rehe-taia, mentioned a few pages back, as the leader of the Ngati-Mutunga contingent that went to Kawhia to assist the Ngati-Toa, was a warrior of some fame. His position in the tribal pedigree will be seen by a reference to Table 33A, Chapter VII. For the following incidents I am indebted to Te Rangi-hi-roa :—

About this period there lived at Wai-iti, some four miles north of the Mimi river, and which was the ancient home of Ngai-Tara-pounamu as described in Chapter VII., seven brothers of the Ngati-Mutunga tribe, of whom Rangi-nui-te-ao was the eldest. On one occasion he and his brothers, with forty of their men, attended a feast given by Ngati-Rahiri (of Te Ati-Awa), by their special invitation. For some reason not now known, the whole of this party were massacred, including all the brothers but the youngest who had remained at home. Now Tuku-tahi, the elder brother of Rehe-taia, had married Heke-nga-tini, a woman of Ngati-Rahiri; and in order to secure some *utu* for the massacre, Rehe-taia wished to kill the woman and her children, who of course were his nephews and nieces. But Tuku-tahi, their father, held the children up before Rehe-taia's face, saying, "*Me patu ko a taua keakea!*" ("Shall we kill our own offspring!") This action stayed Rehe-taia's hand; but, determined to have revenge, he sent off a special messenger to Wahie-roa, of Kawhia, to come to his assistance on a certain night of the moon, to help him on a meditated attack on Kohanga-mouku *pa*, near Turangi, five miles north of of Waitara, belonging to Ngati-Rahiri.

When the time came, Rehe-taia went down to the beach and there waited on the sands the arrival of the expected reinforcements. Ere long he heard the crunching of the sands as Wahie-roa and his one hundred and forty men tramped along the beach, in each others footsteps, so that it might appear as if only one or two men had passed along. Sending the *taua* forward, Rehe-taia went on to Aro-pawa *pa* (an isolated hill situated just south of the mouth of the Mimi river; it is defended on the south and east by swamp, with the river on the north; the *pa* is still in good preservation, see Plate No. 9), where he entered the house occupied by his brother, who was asleep, and carefully abstracted his *patu*, or weapon, from beneath his head without waking him. He then charged his wife, Nga-Rongo-ki-tua, to look to the south in the early dawn, and told her if she saw a red blaze against the sky, it would be a sign to her that Kohanga-mouku had fallen.

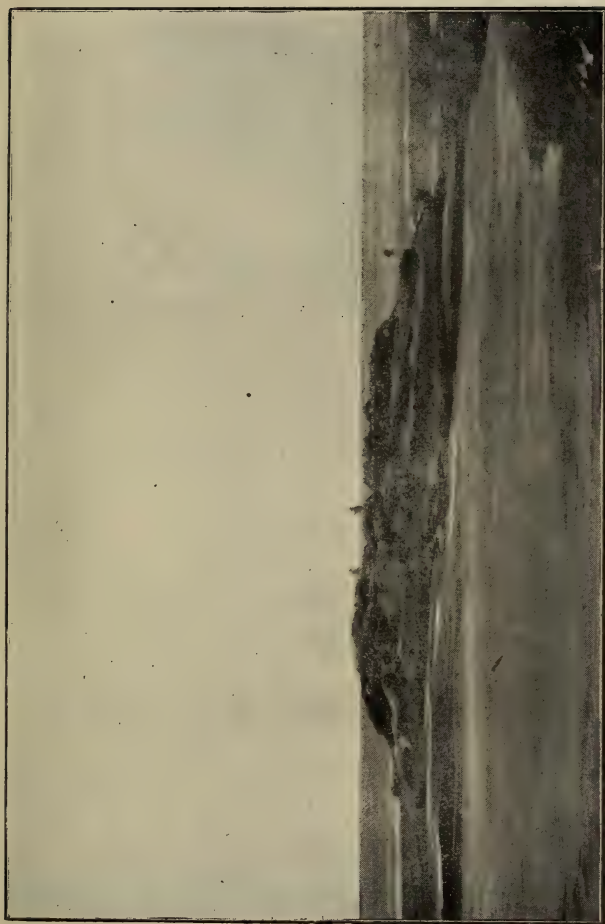


PLATE No. 9.
Arapawa-nui *Pa*, at mouth of Mimi River.

Overtaking Wahie-roa and the rest of the party, they all marched forward through the night for the doomed *pa*; and on reaching there, heard the sentinels calling the *mata-ara*, or watch song. Waiting until the sentinels had retired, Rehe-taia now persuaded Wahie-roa, who was a very tall man, to place his arms against the defences of the *pa*, in order to form a living ladder. Up this human ladder Rehe-taia quickly mounted, followed by the whole party, and they soon made themselves masters of the *pa*. Rehe-taia slew one of the head-chiefs named Kuri, but his brother managed to make his escape, and at a place a little distant from the *pa* uttered his *poroporoaki*, or farewell to his brother, saying, "*Hei kona ra E Kuri! Mou te po, moku te ao!*" ("Farewell, O Kuri! Thine is the night, mine the day!" Meaning, his brother was killed in the night, he would soon fall in daylight.) Rehe-taia heard this, and sprang forward in pursuit. The chase was a long one, but Rehe-taia gradually overhauled his man, and springing upon him, slew him.

The *pa*, Kohanga-mouku, was set fire to, and as the flames ascended upwards, Rehe-taia's wife, Nga-Rongo-ki-tua, acting on her husband's directions, gazed to the south, and saw the blaze. She then went to her brother-in-law, Tuku-tahi, and said, "Kohanga-mouku has fallen before your brother's strength." Tuku-tahi shook his head, but said nothing. On the return of Rehe-taia, his brother reproached him, "*E Rehe! tangata kino!*" ("O Rehe! thou art a bad man!")

The youngest of the seven brothers, the sole survivor of the family after the massacre of the others by Ngati-Rahiri, already referred to, lived on at Wai-iti. But the Ngati-Tama tribe which at that time occupied part of the country south of the White Cliffs, cast longing eyes on the lands occupied by the few remaining people of Ngati-Mutunga in that neighbourhood, and especially did those who dwelt at Waitangi. When the Ngati-Mutunga went out fishing, and returned home, they found their fish stolen. Fern-root neatly laid out to dry was also taken—even the live embers of the fire, covered over with ashes to keep it alight, had disappeared. All this was done to make the young man uncomfortable and to induce him to leave the place. Then the young man, who was fully tattooed, thought of the days when his brothers and their *hapu* were alive, and such outrages would have been impossible, as they had been strong enough to resist aggression. His sense of helplessness found vent in the following words, "*Ko te moko, tae kau ki ahau. Mehemea ko te moko i a Rangi-nui-te-ao, e mana ana te kowhatu, e mana ana te tukituki,*" which may be paraphrased, Although I am tattooed as a warrior should be, it is useless. Had my elder brother Rangi-nui-te-ao been alive, it would have

been otherwise; stones were stones, and killing was killing. This saying travelled far and wide as it was meant to do, and reached the ears of Tuku-tahi and Rehe-taia at their *pa* of Aropawa. These two brothers roused their people, and immediately attacked Waitangi, in order to avenge the insults to their kinsman. One division of the *pa* fell without great loss, and Tuku-tahi, who was a humane man, seeing that abundant *utu* (or payment) had been obtained, sprang before the fence of the remaining division, crying out to his brother, "*E Rehe! patupatu a waka!*" ("O Rehe! do not slay all!") But Rehe-taia, eager to make a complete victory, replied, "*Whanō! kia motu te kaka o te roi!*" ("Forward! sever the stringy fibres of the fern root!" or in other words, give no quarter).

However, the more gentle counsel of Tuku-tahi prevailed, and the remnant were spared. According to the old men, Rehe-taia was one of the best fighters Ngati-Mutunga ever had. When he died of his wounds received in battle against the Taranaki tribes, the following *tangi*, or lament, was composed for him:—

Tenei Pounamu moehau te tangi nei na;
Kihei to matua i tangihia i a Rongo;
Tangihia to matua, te peka o Houmia.

Taku mahuri totara ka hinga i a Rehua—
Taku piki-kotuku ka mawhe i a Matiti.
E tama na Pare! tena taku manu,
Naku i tuku atu ki roto o Maru-wehi,
Te ika o te akau e whanatu na ē,
Wai here taniwha i roto o Ure-nui.
E tama na Rua! kia whitikia koe
Ki mua ki te upoko, i te ika whakarewa
Ki runga o Turangi.
Hoia to maro, te maro o Houmia, o Hauenuku ē
A koaina koe e te puni wahine,
Hei whakautu-rua mo o matua ē
Ka tika i te ara i runga o Nga-Motu,
Ka whakaraui katia koutou ki roto o Timaru.
Ngongoro tangi mai i te iwi toi-ora ē
Whakahokia mai ki te hau kainga.

Rehua ai koe ki te kupu a Hoi,
Te mangai o Uenuku e
Hekenga ihu waka ki roto o Piwara
Ka tu mai tama i te ihu o te waka,
To uru mahora ka māngi i te hau ē
Tama taringa turi ki te turanga korero,
Tama taringa turi ki te tira haerenga,
To mata i tuhia ki te renga wai-tio

E kore e ngaro te ika o Wahie-roa
 Kirikiri ka taka i runga o Moe-here
 Ki tua o Manuka ē

Wawara ana te tai ki tua Te Rangiora
 Ka he nga tohu i haere ai koe,
 Kia ruku atu ana, kia ea ake ana,
 He taniwha kai tangata ē.

TRANSLATION.

Here is Pounamu-moehau, bitterly weeping ;
 Thy parent is not bewailed through ways of peace,
 But rather through the effects of war.

My young *totara*-sapling has fallen
 During Rehua, the months of war,
 My gallant heron-plume has faded
 In the months of Summer
 O son of Pare ! there is my bird.
 'Twas I that let him go forth from Maru-wehi
 Like the fish on the coast, forth he went,
 In Ure-nui's waters where *taniwhas* are found.
 O son of Rua, thou crossed to the front,
 At the head of the advancing war-party.
 In front of Turangi, the *pa*.
 Thy war belt with spells was empowered,
 Spells of Houmea, spells of Hau-enuku,
 Thy heart was gladdened by woman's applause,
 Double satisfaction for the elders to obtain.
 Thou went by the route, south by Nga-Motu,
 And there in heaps lay the dead at Timaru,
 Loud was the lament of those who escaped
 And brought thee back to thine own home.
 Thou wert wounded by the words of Hoi
 The mouth-piece of Uenuku the god.
 Like the canoe's bow, descending at Piwara,
 And thou, O son ! stood forth in the bow,
 Thy waving locks, flying forth to the wind,
 A deaf ear thou turned to the council of chiefs,
 Nor listened to the departing company,
 Thy face that was adorned with fine tattoo,
 Never shall be lost the victim of Wahie-roa
 Beyond there, the other side of Manuka.

The seas are moaning beyond at Rangiora
 The omens were false when thou departed,
 Then dive thee down, and arise again
 Like a man-eating *taniwha*, alas !

PAHAU IS KILLED BY ATI-AWA.

(Circa 1680.)

Toa-rangatira's brother was Hamu-paku, who had a son named Pahau, who married a sister of Tai-tuha, of the Ngati-Tawhiri-kura *hapu* of Ati-Awa, who lived at Pekerau. Te Whetu says he thinks this is south of Moeatoa. Pai-hau made a journey to Wai-tara with his eighty followers, and on his return Tai-tua decided to kill him; why, I do not know. Whilst the visitors were eating, Tai-tuha and his people suddenly attacked them and killed Paihau and many others, some escaping to tell the news to their relatives.

On receipt of the news, Toa-rangatira and Hamu-paku raised a war party and at once proceeded down the coast to avenge the deaths. Meeting a party of Ati-Awa women on the beach gathering shell-fish, they were all killed by the *tau*, which then advanced on Tai-tuha's *pa*. The advance guard was driven back, but Toa-rangatira, who was in the rear, came forward, and then the whole force became engaged. Kawharu (who avenged his father Pakau's death by killing the people at the spring) was with Toa-rangatira's party, and as he stood on a stump he was seen by Tai-tuha, who advanced, intending to kill him. But the former sprung on to Tai-tuha's back and killed him instead. This caused a rout in Tai-tuha's people, who fled back to their *pa*, which Toa-rangatira's party entered at the same time and so took it, killing all the people.

We thus see an illustration of Maori life in the old days. Ngati-Mutunga (which tribe is really a branch of Ati-Awa) are found helping Toa-rangatira, and in the next generation one of Ati-Awa murders a relative of Toa-rangatira, who then makes war on Ati-Awa.

Kawharu, mentioned above, is said by my Ati-Awa informants to have been a great "General." On another occasion, with the assistance of Ngati-Mutunga, of Ure-nui, he defeated Waikato in a battle named Toto-rewa, somewhere in the Waikato territories, when a large number of slaves were brought back to Ure-nui by Ngati-Mutunga.

THE MIGRATION OF TURANGA-PUREHUA TO WHAKATANE.

1625-50.

Turanga-purehua and his brother Te Aponga were two chiefs of Te Ati-Awa tribe, who dwelt at Puketapu *pa* (on the coast six miles north of New Plymouth—now a bare sand hill, but formerly a large *pa*), and sometimes at other *kaingas*, such as Matakītaki, which was another *pa* (? between Wai-o-ngana and Waitara) in the neighbourhood of Puketapu, now said to have been blown away, for all that part of

the coast is loose sand, though formerly good land. Turanga-purehua had three sisters named Hine-paihangā, Paenui, and Rongoreā, who all dwelt in those parts, and who married leaving descendants who still live at Wai-o-ngana and that neighbourhood.

On one occasion Turanga-purehua and the men of the tribe (or *hapu*, which was named Puke-tapu) went out to sea in their canoes to catch fish. Whilst the party were away, a quarrel between some of the children of the village took place, in which some of the women, mothers of the children took part. After the return of the fishermen, and whilst the women were cleaning the fish, one of the women said to Turanga-purehua, "Your child has been struck." This was a somewhat serious matter, for in old days the children were rarely if ever struck, or even corrected for their faults. When, therefore, this same child helped himself to some of the entrails of the fish to cook for himself, the woman engaged in the work reproved him severely. This led to Turanga-purehua taking the matter up, and to a wordy war between him and his elder brother, ending in blows, during which Turanga was wounded. Another account says that Turanga actually killed one of the children because his own child had been maltreated and reported to him as dead. When he found out the truth, this so prayed on his mind that he decided to migrate, and endeavoured to persuade others to accompany him—"Tohe tonu ki te whakakoro"—(Strove to induce a desire to migrate), and hence the name these people give to the Whakatane Ngāti-Awa, Koro-Ngāti-Awa.

At any rate a serious quarrel took place amongst the people, which some accounts say ended in fighting, and this engendered such a strong feeling of hate that Turanga-purehua and Te Amonga decided to migrate to Whakatane, in the Bay of Plenty, of which they knew by tradition and from visitors who brought accounts of the fine *kumara* grown there. So a canoe was prepared for this lengthy voyage and properly provisioned, and then Turanga-purehua and his relatives and friends started away from Rarotonga, a point on the coast close to the mouth of the Wai-o-ngana, on the south side. From here they coasted down through Cook's Straits, then up the east coast to Whakatane, in the Bay of Plenty, a distance of some 600 miles. No doubt, these people called in every night at places where they could land, but it must have taken them a considerable time to accomplish their voyage.

Turanga-purehua and his people first settled down at Te Awa-o-te-atua, near Whakatane, but eventually removed inland to

TABLE No. XLIV.	Pu-tauaki or Mt. Edgecombe, where they made
10 Puani= Turanga	their permanent home. They are known at this
Te Rangi-moe-tu	day as Ngati-Hika-kino. The marginal table
Te Ika-koara	shows the descent from the leader of this expedi-
Te Keteora	tion to the present day, so far as the latter tribe
5 Te Tai	are concerned, which line agrees with another
Te Hura	from Te Rangi-moe-tu to Tarakawa, but strange
Te Aka-o-tau	to say the Ati-Awa people decline to give the
.....	descent from Turanga's sisters to themselves. So
.....	we have no check on the date of the migration,

which, however, from the above table, would be about 1625 to 1650. Puani, shown in table 44 above, was a woman of Matata, Bay of Plenty.

When Turanga-purehua went south by sea, his brother Te Amonga, who was mixed up in the family quarrel, departed with his people for the north, by way of Mokau, and, as my informant says, he travelled as far as the Nga-Puhi country, going overland all the way, and from there came down the east coast to Whakatane, where he is believed to have settled.

When Te Amonga left Wai-o-ngana, he is said to have carried off with him the *mauri* of the fish *kahawai* in order to provide himself with food in whatever place he settled. Some of the *mauri* was left at Maro-kopa river, a few miles south of Kawhia. My informant thus describes the *mauri*, which in ordinary cases may be considered as a sort of talisman connected with birds, fish, etc., and the presence of which is supposed to retain in the locality where it is deposited the fish, birds, etc., to which it pertains: "The *mauri* of the *kahawai* fish is just ordinary sea-sand, which, however, has been subjected by the priest to the most rigorous forms of *karakia* or incantations to endow it with *tapu*. When required for use in fishing the *punga-tai*, in which it is kept, is taken out to sea in the canoe, and there the sand is scattered broadcast on the surface of the water. This immediately attracts large shoals of *kahawai*, which are thus caught in abundance. When Ati-Awa in later years migrated to Port Nicholson, they found the waters of that harbour completely barren of *kahawai*. They consequently sent back to Wai-o-ngana for some of this sand. Ever afterwards we had abundance of *kahawai*," says my informant. The *punga-tai* is a receptacle in which this sacred sand is kept. It is about three inches in diameter and in the form of a solid cup made of stone or pumice. One informant says that such receptacles were originally brought from Hawaiki filled with sand from there to be used in catching fish, and whenever required the *tohunga* would say his *karakias*

over it, to *taki* or lead the fish from Hawaiki here—for fish are supposed to come from the spring at Rangi-riri in Hawaiki. The *punga-tai* was also used in the cultivation of the *kumara*, but in such a case earth from Hawaiki, instead of sand, was used over which to repeat the invocations. The *pihapiharau* or lamprey had also its own particular *punga-tai*, used to draw them to the rivers. In fishing, these Ati-Awa people had another custom connected with their belief in the source of fish being in Hawaiki: the first fish caught, which was called *ika-whakataki*, had a piece of green flax threaded through its nose, and then it was returned to the water; its function was to draw the other fish from Hawaiki..

The descendants of Turanga-purehua have often visited these parts in modern times; but they are very careful when passing the old *pa* of Puketapu to avoid its neighbourhood and go by some track further inland, for fear of desecrating the *tapu* of their ancestors in the elder line, who formerly lived there. Moreover the *māna* of the elder branch still living there would enable them to take from the visitors any article of theirs the former might fancy. Several of these strangers, says my informant, have died through transgressions of the *tapued* houses of their ancestors, the elder brothers of Turanga-purehua. The Puketapu *pa* has always been excessively *tapu*, much more so than ordinary, and so have the people who take their *hapu* cognomen from that particular place.

Mr. W. H. Skinner says that the foundations of the houses of these migrants are still to be seen at Mangati, a branch of the Wai-o-ngana, and a native informant says the same thing of Rewa-tapu, a place about half a mile south of the river's mouth along the coast, another of their villages.

Takoha was the name of another of the chiefs who migrated from Mangati to Whakatane with the others.

THE MIGRATION OF TI-TAHI.

(Circa 1640-50.)

About this name, Ti-tahi, there is considerable difference of opinion amongst the many old Maoris who have supplied me with information for this narrative.

Most of them, and those who are probably best informed, hold that there was a tribe of that name living at Tamaki, Auckland peninsula, at the time the fleet arrived there in 1350, and it was against this people that Turangi-i-mua fought when he won the battle of Te One-potakataka, as related in Chapter VIII. The probability seems to be that Ti-tahi was a division of the great Ngati-Awa tribe of the

north, some of whom occupied the Tamaki district at the time of the *heke*, and also all lower Kaipara (see "Peopling of the North," p. 42).

The Rev. T. G. Hammond informed me that he obtained the following from the best authority of the Ngati-Rua-nui tribe: "Turi (of the "Aotea" canoe) had a wife previously to Rongorongo, named Whare-nui, who bore him a son, named Ti-tahi, who also came in the "Aotea" canoe, but for some reason remained at Tamaki, while the main migration crossed the isthmus" (at Otahuhu—I do not think this is correct. "Aotea" came down the west coast, calling in at Hokianga and Kaipara) "and came down to Patea. As time went on, the descendants of Ti-tahi came south to join their relatives."

It is possible that this story may be right in a measure—it is at least possible. A son of Turi's, named Ti-tahi, may have settled amongst the ancient Ngati-Awa of Tamaki, and, as has occurred in many such cases, his more forceful character as a Hawaiki Maori may have placed him in the position of forcing his name on the aboriginal tribe as a tribal cognomen. But if so, it is difficult to account for Turanga-i-mua fighting against his own brother (Ti-tahi).

In the "Peopling of the North," p. 47, an origin for Ti-tahi is there given on the authority of H. M. Tawhai—certainly an authority for Nga-Puhi history—which make him out to be a son of Rahiri, of Nga-Puhi, who flourished thirteen generations back from 1900. Rahiri was by descent partly a Ngati-Awa of the north; but the discrepancy as to the age Ti-tahi flourished in as between the Nga-Puhi and these Taranaki accounts is too great to be reconciled. But, at the same time, the Nga-Puhi story of the migration from their country at thirteen generations ago of the Ti-tahi people from the north agrees fairly well with the Taranaki accounts of the date the migration reached these southern districts, as we shall see.

Colonel Gudgeon told me the following in 1896: "I believe I have found out who the Ti-tahi people of Oeo were; I give the genealogy.

TABLE XLV. They were driven from the upper Mokau and went to Awakino, whence they were driven to Taranaki."

22	Hotu-roa	Hotu-roa (in table 45) was captain of the "Tai-nui "
	Motai	canoe. This is the only occasion I ever heard it even
20	Ue	hinted that Ti-tahi belonged to the Waikato tribes, and
	Raka	I cannot help thinking that Colonel Gudgeon's informant
	Kakati	must have been mistaken.
	Tai-hanga	
	Pou-tama	Possibly, this question may never be settled. But
15	Haumia	what interests us in this connection is that a people who
	Whata-kai	

- 1 Ti-tahi are still called Ti-tahi did come from the north, and
- 2 Wharewhare after a series of disastrous adventures finally settled
- 3 Whaita down near Oeo, on the Taranaki coast.

What their adventures were, or how this wandering people passed through the whole series of Waikato tribes without being exterminated, we do not know. A large body of men hampered with women and children would find such an undertaking one of great difficulty if the tribes, through whose territories they had to pass, were hostile, and it was only Maori nature to be so.

Taking the mean of several accounts, the Ti-tahi migration appeared in the Ngati-Maru country first, at twelve generations back from 1900, or about the year 1600. The tribe was then under the leadership of Takirau-o-whiti. The first probable notice of the migration we have is when a series of fights took place on the upper Whanganui and Ongarue rivers, which ended in the migration having to leave the district, and from there the course seems to have been followed down the Mokau valley to the mouth, where they built a *pa* named Kumu-nui, after which they moved on south along the coast to Mimi, where they built another *pa*; thence through the great forests at the head of the Waitara river and into the Ngati-Maru country. Naturally, Ngati-Maru resented this intrusion of a strange tribe into their midst, and fighting commenced. In the narrative I am now following the Ti-tahi people are called Nga-Puhi, which is perhaps natural, for the migration started from the Nga-Puhi country as has been shown in the "Peopling of the North." The Ti-tahi people appeared to have suffered a defeat at the hands of Ngati-Maru in the first fight that occurred, and probably in other fights also, for it is evident that there were several and that the wanderers were a long time in the Ngati-Maru country—so long that, according to one account, they had time to gain a certain ascendancy over many of the people of that tribe and Te Ati-Awa. One of these fights—says Mr. W. H. Skinner—occurred at Pa-kai-tangata, in the Manga-moehau valley, a few miles eastwards of the modern village of Tarata, which *pa* was defended by Rere-kopua, of Ngati-Maru. After being driven out of this place the harassed tribe passed to the west and settled for a time at Waihi, in the Ngati-Rahiri territories, a few miles north of Waitara, where they built a *pa* named Motu-whare, situated on the sea cliffs near the mouth of the Wai-au stream.

But the people found no rest at Motu-whare. They were driven from there and obliged to proceed further south. This time they occupied and fortified the hill known as Papa-whereo, situated just inland of the present Great South road, half a mile south of the

freezing works, in the lands of the Nga-Potiki-taua people. Whilst living here in apparently friendly intercourse with the local people, an invitation was sent to Takirau-o-whiti, their leader, to remove with all his people to Otu-matua, a place on the coast a little seaward of the modern Pihama village, in the Taranaki country. This place and *pa* was a thickly populated district at the time of the European occupation of the country, but the *pa* has long since been deserted. The reason of the invitation was this: Ruaroa, who was a leading chief of Otu-matua, had a young wife. The fame of Takirau-o-whiti as a warrior and a handsome man had spread far and wide, and naturally reached the ears of this lady, who became possessed with the desire to see him. She accordingly made a journey to Nga-Motu, and visited Papa-whereo, the Ti-tahi *pa*, and on seeing Takirau-o-whiti became so enamoured of him that he, in response to her overtures, made her his wife. What Ruaroa's feelings were at the loss of his wife we are not told; but wives were plentiful in those days, and he could easily console himself with another, or more than one if so minded. It was this lady's relatives that invited the Ti-tahi people to remove to Otu-matua and make a home for themselves there.

The above is mostly from Mr. Skinner's account; my notes are a little different and are to the effect that Ruaroa's wife being angry because her husband took one of his other wives away with him on an expedition, leaving her at home, she took the opportunity of his absence to obtain another husband in Takirau-o-whiti.

It was apparently not long after the removal of the Ti-tahi people to Otu-matua that quarrels occurred with their new friends, and after a fight at Matiti-kura with Taranaki and others with Ngati-Rua-nui, the wandering tribe were again obliged to take the road to the south. This time they moved on to the Patea district and built and occupied a *pa* on the south side of that river near Hukatere, which is about four miles from the mouth of the river at the point where the old native road from the south crossed the river, and where, in 1857, was a large fortified *pa* with numerous inhabitants. Whakameremere was the name of the *pa* built by Ti-tahi at this place.

Whilst here, the Ti-tahi people split up, and under the chiefs Tu-nui-amo and Kauika, a party of them proceeded south to obtain more country for themselves. At this period there was a large settlement at a place called Te Waha-o-wairua, on the site of the Waverley racecourse, where lived Rae-kuia, who was a descendant of Tonga-potiki, Turi's younger son. Rae-kuia and his ten children (named Timo-a-nga-atua, Tonga-te-ka, Tonga-hake, Tonga-manoko,

Tonga-mihi, Tonga-inu, Kake, More, Kura-mahanga (*f*), and Tane-paro (*f*), who were the chiefs and leaders of this branch of the Nga-Rauru tribe, were much alarmed at the incursion of this strange people, who were numerous and had a reputation as warriors. It was feared they would attack the settlement, kill all the people, and take the country for themselves. On the arrival of the Ti-tahi tribe in the neighbourhood, a fight took place with that division under the leadership of Kauika, at a place named Manga-mate, near the present town of Waverley, in which the Nga-Rauru were so successful that they exterminated the whole of Kauika's band, including himself.

Tu-nui-amō and his party were, says my informant, persuaded to move on towards the south and finally disappeared, so far as the Nga-Rauru tribe was concerned.

To return to the rest of the Ti-tahi people left at Whakameremere. It appears that on their way thither from Otu-matua they had come into collision with Ngati-Rua-nui, and had been generally successful in the encounters that took place. But in this they had engendered in Ngati-Rua-nui a strong desire for revenge. Mr. Hammond says: "Had they (Ti-tahi) remained peaceably in occupation of their *pa* all would have been well, for they were related" (? through Takirau-o-whiti's wife and probably other intermarriages whilst at Otu-matua), "but they were an *iwi kai kino* (a gluttonous, greedy people), so the Ngati-Hine and Paka-kohi *hapus* of Ngati-Rua-nui decided to attack and destroy them." Mr. Shand says: "Ti-tahi were too strong to be attacked in the open daylight by Ngati-Rua-nui, but the latter observed that in times of flood in the river the Ti-tahi people kept no guard in their *pa* at Whakameremere, but slept, thinking themselves secure. When this fact came to the knowledge of Ngati-Rua-nui, they held a consultation and decided to build a large canoe, sufficient to hold a large party, and then take advantage of a flood to make the attack. When all was ready, they came down the river one dark night when the waters were out, and, landing silently, crept into the *pa* and awaited the first streak of dawn. When the time came they arose and massacred nearly the whole of the Ti-tahi people; only Tohu-roa, Takirau-o-whiti's son escaping." A native informant says Takirau-o-whiti was taken prisoner here, but his life was spared.

Presumably, Tohu-roa was a son of the Taranaki woman who fled from her first husband, Rua-roa, and married Takirau-o-whiti, the Ti-tahi leader, for he, together with the few survivors who escaped the massacre, fled back to Taranaki, and were there allowed to settle down at a place called Papaka, situated on the coast two miles west of the present Pihama village and close to Otu-matua. From these

people descend the present Ti-tahi *hapu* of Taranaki, and, says Mr. Hammond, "it is remarkable how many leading men of both Taranaki and Ngati-Rua-nui have Ti-tahi blood in them. Te Whiti (the prophet), Tohu (a prophet), Motu, Tautahi, of Taranaki; Titoko-waru, Hone Pihama, Nga-hina, of Ngati-Rua-nui; Kauika and Kahu-kaka, of Nga-Rauru, are all descendants of the Ti-tahi people, and all are characterised by some undesirable qualities, such as selfishness, love of position, and other evil propensities."

Mr. Hammond omits from the above list the chief Tai-komako, of Oeo, who is the direct descendant of Takirau-o-whiti, and Mr Skinner adds these: "The late Porikapa and Minarapa, of Taranaki." Tautahi, mentioned above, was the Taranaki leader in the war against the white people in the sixties of last century; and it was Titoko-waru who drove the Europeans out of the Patea district in 1869. Hone Pihama (whose Maori name was Te Ngohi) was a great warrior, who fought against us in the early sixties, but eventually came over to our side, and proved by his ability and courage a most able ally of the Government. He was a very kindly, hospitable man, and the firm friend of all Europeans in the trying times of 1868-70.

It is obvious that all these events in the history of the wanderings of the Ti-tahi tribe must have occupied many years, probably not less than forty or fifty from the time of the first appearance of the people in the Ngati-Maru country; so we may fix an approximate date for their final settlement at Papaka as about 1640-50.

In the above account of Ti-tahi Mr. Skinner's notes have been largely used, supplemented by my own and those of the gentlemen named.

NGATI-RUA-NUI AND NGA-RAURU WARS.

(*Circa 1650.*)

It has already been stated that the curse uttered by Tane-roroa against her brothers and their children, who occupied the south side of the Patea river, remained as an enduring cause of strife between the two divisions of the people down to the introduction of Christianity—or a period of some 500 years (see page 132).

At the time of Tu-nui-amo's attempt to occupy the Nga-Rauru country, as related a few pages back, one of these occasional periods of wars set in, which the Ti-tahi people were in some manner, not clear to me, mixed up with. The name of Rae-kuia, has been mentioned as living at Te Waha-o-wairua (Waverley racecourse), and it was with his people this war commenced. More, one of Rae-kuia's sons, was killed in an early engagement. When the news of this event reached

Uru-te-angina, a chief of Ngati-Rua-nui, but equally related to Nga-Rauru then living at Tangahoe, ten miles north of Patea. He went over to Rae-kuia's home to enquire into the circumstances and to *tangi* over the dead. He found the body laid out at One-titahi, and thus addressed the corpse: "*Aha! taku tamaiti, i ki atu ra ahan, kotahi mea i whakatiketike, kotahi mea i whakahakahaka; me pupuhi rawa i to kumu e rongo ai koe.*" (Aha, my child! I told you there was one thing elevated, one thing debased; it must be blown into your vitals to have your attention"), which has become a "saying," but I confess I do not see the application.

Uru-te-angina now, by force of persuasion, roused Nga-Rauru to avenge this death, and they went forth against Ngati-Rua-nui, who were then on the war-path. Two parties started from Te Waha-o-wairua, one going by an inland track up the Whenua-kura river, the other by the coast. They first met Ngati-Rua-nui in the forest and succeeded in killing most of them. The two parties now combined and raided into the Ngati-Rua-nui country, defeating that tribe in three battles, the last of which was named Te Rahi, near Waitangi. The losses of Ngati-Rua-nui were serious, and amongst them a high chief named Tonga-whiti-waru.

After this Ngati-Rua-nui took the Nga-Rauru *pa*, named Maunga-nui, which was followed up by much fighting, ending in the former tribe suffering great loss at another *pa* they attempted to take. "Thus," says my informant, "was the curse of Tanereroa avenged; but this was not the last fight between the tribes, for we have constantly been fighting, down even to the time of the introduction of Christianity, and all through the curse."

It is this people, Nga-Rauru, that have in charge the celebrated axe, named "Awhio-rangi," which was brought from Hawaiki by Tuir. But it is too sacred for any European to be allowed to see it.

TU-WHAKAIRI-KAWA'S CONQUEST OF ATI-AWA.

About 1730-40.

In the beginning of this chapter the first recorded trouble between the Ati-Awa and Taranaki tribes is described. This took place at the Kurukuru-mahe fight, about the year 1420. It seems to have been the commencement of a struggle between these two tribes which did not end until about 1830. During this long period of 400 years there were frequent quarrels and frequent interludes of peace, during which inter-marriages took place, bringing for a time periods of tranquility, in which each tribe increased numerically. But it took but little to

embroil the people anew; the memory of some unavenged death, some supposed act of *makutu* or witchcraft, some disparaging remark made by one side or the other, was sufficient to start the war-trumpets a-sounding, calling the tribesmen to arms against their foes.

What may have been the details of the many conflicts that took place we know not; we must be content with the general statement that troubles were constantly occurring; and as the later migration from Hawaiki infused into the old *tangata-whenua* stock more of their warlike spirit and capable leadership, these quarrels became more frequent and were carried out on a larger scale. In fact, they became inter-tribal rather than inter-*hapu*.

The Taranaki tribe say that they were like a wedge inserted between other tribes which were always at war with them—Ati-Awa on the north, Ngati-Rua-nui on the south—and that their only and occasional allies were the Ngati-Apa tribe of Rangitikei. This alliance is due to the fact that their ancestors crossed over from Hawaiki in the same canoe—the “Kura-haupo.” It has already been pointed out that the “Kura-haupo” immigrants settled down in the Oakura district, which is on the north part of the Taranaki tribal territories, and from there they would naturally spread both ways, incorporating the original element of the Kahui-maunga people, and coming into contact with the Ati-Awa on the north, about the Sugar-loaf islands, which appear from the names to have always been the boundary common to the two tribes—Te Motu-o-Tamatea, one of the Sugar-loaf islands, for instance, is said to have been named after Tamatea, an Ati-Awa ancestor.

Between ten and eleven generations ago there flourished two chiefs of Southern Taranaki—Tu-whakariri-kawa and Kahu-kura-makuru—both of whom were great warriors and who took the most important part in the conquest of Ati-Awa we are about to relate. In order to preserve their descent to the present day the following tables are given :—

TABLE NO. XLVI.

Tu-whakaici-kawa = Hine-tui-noa	Kahu-kura-makuru = Rakei-a-moa
Rangi-whai-hoa = Awenga	Rongo-tu-kapua = Ikaroa
Rau-tahi = Te Tane-tapu	Rangi-te-whaiao = Hine-te-wai
Raro-whenua = Pu-hina	Rangi-te-whaiao = Puaki-hau
Ani-Patene-te-Tahua = Whatawhata	Te Poniwha = Moenga-reka
Minarapa Te Rangi-atua-ke = Ripeka Marere	Whare-koreho = Hine-tari
Te Kahui-Kararehe = Riria Tini-rongoa	Mouri-o-rangi = Te Kaea
F. Te Kahui and others	Ripeka Marere = Minarapa
	Te Kahui
	F. Te Kahui

Somewhere about the year 1730 to 1740 this constant state of intertribal trouble was brought to a head by the following incident:

Tamakā, of the Taranaki tribe Nga-Mahanga, was on a visit to the Ati-Awa people of Pekerau, and for some reason not now known was killed by them at that place. Tamakā was the husband of Ueroa, also of Taranaki. As soon as the news of this murder reached the home of Ueroa, she urged her tribe to take measures to avenge his death. Nga-Mahanga arose at once and started for the Ati-Awa country, but at the first onslaught they suffered a defeat, and retired to their own homes to raise more forces, for this party was few in number and hence their defeat. After this reverse the rest of Nga-Mahanga and the Patu-pai (or Ngati-Moeahu) and Upoko-mutu *hapus* at once determined on returning to avenge the people who had been killed. The *taua* came on eager for the fight until they reached the Timaru river, near where one of the old chiefs of Taranaki lived, named Rangi-pakira, an experienced warrior and man of influence. Knowing that the *taua* was coming he went out to the cliff on the sea-shore to watch for them, and as they came along in the early morning just

before dawn, he listened as the party passed over the shingle beach, called Whenua-riki. Hearing but little noise (*ngaehe*) as the naked feet trod on the gravel, he knew it was but a comparatively small party and not sufficient for the purpose they had in view. Kahu-kura-makuru was the chief of the party; so Rangi-pakira called out to him, "*E Kahu E!*"—"O!" "*Ko pekapeka i nuku, ko pekapeka i rangi. Toia a Taranaki ki te wharau!*" ("O Kahu!" "Yes," replied Kahu. "A bat on the earth, a bat in the heavens. Drag back the Taranaki canoe to its shed!") By this he intended to imply that the party was too small to effect any useful purpose. Consequently, the old man's advice was taken, and the party returned; they were already fatigued from the previous expedition, and were altogether too few in numbers.

After the return of the party to their homes about Okato, they decided that vengeance must be obtained and the number of the war-party increased; but they were in this difficulty, that they had quarrelled with the southern *hapus* of Taranaki and were doubtful if they would assist them. Whilst in this doubtful frame of mind, some old woman (probably Ueroa, widow of the murdered man) composed and sung a pathetic lament for Hawea-nui and Rakai-wero, who had been killed in the last fight, and in which she called on Ngati-Atua and other *hapus* to come to their assistance. This so excited the people that it was decided to send Kahu-kura-makuru to the southern *hapus* to sing this song to them, and try and prevail on them to take up the quarrel. Ngati-Atua were then at inland Wai-wiri. So Kahu' started to arouse southern Taranaki, the principal chief of whom was Tu-whakairi-kawa. When he reached Punga-ereere, he asked the people where Tu-whakairi-kawa was to be found. A woman replied: "*Kei roto pea o Punga-ereere, tē rangona te pato.*" ("Perhaps he is away at inland Punga-ereere, who knows where his strength will take him?") Kahu' then said: "When your old man returns tell him I have come to rouse all the *hapus* to go against Ati-Awa," and then he went on to the other *hapus*. He was successful in his mission, and all the fighting men of Ngati-Atua, Ngati-Haumia, and Ngati-Tama-ahuroa (of Oeo), under Rakai-takiha and others arose. These were the most numerous *hapus* of Taranaki in those days, and they all came in response to the request, under the chiefs Tapapa-ngarara, Tu-waipā, Taurua, Kawa, Rongo-karangaranga, Whangai-ariki, Tu-kapua, Kopu-tangi, Tau-tahi-ariki, Haere-karawa, Pu-kauae, whilst Tu-whakairi-kawa and Kahu-kura-makuru were the leading chiefs, who directed all the movements of the *taua*. It was agreed that this expedition should inflict on Ati-Awa a serious blow, if possible.

As the party came along they were joined by contingents from every *pa* they passed, from Whatino, Matai-kawa, Taunga-tara. . . .*

For the reason stated in the foot note, I continue the narrative by quoting from Colonel Gudgeon's account of some of the doings of this *taua* :—

“As an instance of the importance of a really good and efficient *tohunga* to a Maori tribe, I may quote the following tradition:—During one of the numerous battles between the Taranaki tribe, and the Ati-Awa of Waitara, the principal chief of the former people, one Tamakā, and most of his companions were slain. The dead chief had, however, two sons, Kahukura-makuru and Tu-whakairi-kawa,† both of whom were already famous warriors whose duty it was to avenge their father. . . .

“As a rule the Maoris have no great respect for a large and unwieldy war-party, and have a proverb to the effect that a ‘rau-hokowhitu’ (340 men) will win the day. This proverb they explain by saying that the above mentioned number would represent the immediate followers and relatives of a chief, all of whom would naturally be actuated by the one impulse, and be ready to die in defence of their leader. The chances of victory would therefore be greatly in favour of a war-party so composed. On the other hand, a large army must of necessity be of many *hapus* (families), or, worse still, many tribes, who might not be equally interested in the result, and who, experience has shown, could not always be depended upon. For did not the 300 of Ngati-Hau defeat the united strength of Ngati-Rua-nui at Te Puia, on the Patea river, simply because each *hapu* of the last-named tribe had decided to fight a little apart from the others, with the result that they were beaten in detail, the rout of one *hapu* involving another. Another fertile source of weakness in a large war-party, was the proneness of one chief to take umbrage at something said or done by another. I need only quote the case of the famous Paeko, who on the morn of the fight sat, with his men hungry, watching the other sections of the war-party eating their scanty meal, and who, when the common foe were rushing upon them, remembered the fact that he had not been invited to share that meal, and therefore lifting his spear high above his head, he called to his people—“My sons the sign of blood,” and so stepped on one side,

* At this point my informant, Tu-tahan, was unable to proceed further with his narrative, through illness. He was in a consumption at the time, and died a fortnight afterwards, on the 7th April, 1907; after having given me a brief summary of the subsequent operations of the *taua*.

† Whilst it is true that the two chiefs named did avenge the death of Tamakā, they were not the latter's sons, but distant relations.

leaving those who had feasted to do the fighting. Is it not also related that his friends, being sorely pressed, called on Paeko to aid them, and received this reply : “ *Karanga riri, karanga Paeko; Karanga kai tē karangatia a Paeko.* ” “ When there is fighting to be done you call Paeko, but when there is food to be eaten you neglect to call him.” And so saying stood by, and allowed his friends to be utterly routed before he joined in and destroyed the common enemy.

“ The decision of a *tohunga* may not be gainsaid by any prudent leader, so Tu-whakairi-kawa returned home to collect more men, and when he had done this he marched northwards, halting for the night at Punga-ereere where Ueroa, the widow of Tamakā resided. Here they met with a very cold reception, for the widow, acting strictly in accordance with Maori custom, refused to supply the war-party with food from her late husband’s stores, until his death had been avenged.

“ When the second war-party had reached Timaru, Te Rangipakira again refused to approve their further advance, saying, “ I have not heard the footsteps of Tama-ahuroa,” thereby alluding to a kindred tribe of noted warriors. This reply was accepted as an omen of disaster in the event of their making any further advance; the chief accepted the position, and returning once more succeeded in inducing the Ngati-Tama-ahuroa to join in the raid. On this occasion the *tohunga*, or rather his gods, approved the composition of the war-party, and assured them of success through the medium of an inspired song chanted by a young man, who for this occasion had been chosen by the gods as their mouthpiece. Very joyfully did the warriors move on to the northern bank of the Waitara river, where they camped in five divisions under as many leaders. That same night Tu-whakairi-kawa, who had been chosen as war-chief of the assembled tribe, dreamed a very strange dream. It seemed to him that he alone kept watch over the assembled tribes, and while looking in the direction of the forest, he saw a flock of Kakariki (Paroquets) flying towards him as if in menace, and while preparing to defend himself from the enemies he suddenly became aware that he was threatened from the rear, and turning towards the sea saw an immense shoal of Kahawai (a fish) swimming towards the shore. So vivid was the impression left by this dream that the chief awoke, and knowing that he had received a warning from his ancestral gods, he roused up his brother, who was a *tohunga*, and demanded an immediate interpretation of the dream. I may here explain that the dream of a war-chief or priest on the eve of battle is of the utmost importance, and must never be neglected. When Kahukura had heard all the incidents of the dream related, he called the leaders of the army together, and explained that the dream was clearly a message from the

spirit world, and he warned them that shortly before dawn they would be attacked from the direction of the forest, and while so engaged would be assailed in the rear by the main body of Ati-Awa, who by this disposition of their forces hoped to gain an easy victory. He further warned all of his men that the enemy were in great numbers and evidently prepared for them, hence it was necessary that they should use great caution. Above all he warned them that they should not scatter in pursuit of the first party when they had defeated them, but should wait for the second and more serious attack.

“Shortly before dawn a furious onslaught was made on the Taranaki warriors, from the direction indicated by the dream ; but the numbers and the prowess of the Taranaki men were too much for the Ati-Awa, who after a gallant stand were driven back and fled southwards, pursued by a small body of men who had been previously selected for the purpose, and who slew many of their foes in the Waitara river. The main body ever mindful of their chief’s warning stood fast, and awaited the real event of the day. Not for long were they left in doubt, for the main force of the Ati-Awa, feeling certain of victory and anticipating only a feeble resistance from a disorganised and scattered force, precipitated themselves on their foes. Of the truly Homeric combat that ensued, I can only say that it ended in the defeat of the Ati-Awa, who were driven northwards in headlong confusion and pursued for many hours, the last man being slain at Pukearuhe, twenty miles from the field of battle. Here Tu-whakairi-kawa thrust his spear into the earth as a sign that he would go no further, and calling his men together, said, “We have accomplished the work of vengeance that brought us here, let there be no further bloodshed.”

“These two battles, fought on one and the same day, are the pride and boast of Taranaki, and are known to tradition by the following names: Kakariki-horo-noa and Te Upoko-tutuki-pari,* and there are many men of the tribes, who took part in these fights, who believe to this day that the *mana* thereof caused Mount Egmont to swell with pride, and grow quite visably in height. There is at all times a well understood, but I think undefined, connection in the Maori mind between the *mana* of a mountain and that of the tribe that owns it. For instance, there are mountains that are regarded as so sacred, that the tribe would loose *mana* by permitting a party of strangers to tread its slopes. We find, also, the same feeling cropping up in the tribal *pepeha* (boast) ; it is a saying of the Taupo people that “Tongariro is

* My information is to the effect that these two battles were fought on another occasion, and against Ngati-Rua-nui, but I may be mistaken.—S.P.S.

the mountain, Taupo the lake, and Te Heuheu the man" (the chief), and my readers may now understand how it came to pass that the Taranaki mountain took an interest in the success of its tribe."*

This expedition was a very large one and included all the *hapus* from Punehu (four miles south of Opunake) to Omata. They carried every *pa* they came to and were victorious in every battle, though having a very tough fight with the Waitara people at Te Rohutu (as described by Colonel Gudgeon), on the north bank of the river. They carried their victorious arms as far as Puke-aruhe, near the White Cliffs, which place they took—it was a *pa* of Ngati-Tama. From here the *taua* returned home, after having desolated the whole of the territories of the Ati-Awa lying along the coast, and having either killed or driven the inhabitants into exile in the forests.

Tu-whakairi-kawa, the leader of this successful expedition, is noted in his tribe for his exploits. There is a peculiar saying about him that I have never seen applied to anyone else—"Nana i karihi te niho o Taranaki." ("Twas he that pricked the teeth of Taranaki.") Which is explained to mean that Tu-whakairi-kawa had conquered his enemies and covered himself with glory. On such occasions there was a very curious ceremony performed: one of those left behind at the home would advance to the returning *taua* with a *wi* or rush in his hand, which he inserted in the leader's teeth, reciting at the same time the following *kiri-ora*, or charm:—

Homai to niho kia karihitia	Give us thy teeth to be pricked,
E tipu akuanei, e tipu apopo,	They will grow to-day or to-morrow
Taetae mai to kiri, to toki	
To mata-niho; māhu! māhu!	Thy teeth edge, be cured! be cured:
Māhu rawa!	Be effectually cured!

It seems to have been a cleansing from *tapu*, after having eaten human flesh.

The conquest of the Ati-Awa country from the Sugar-loaf islands to the White Cliffs seems to have been more thorough in the southern parts than in the northern, for it is acknowledged that the conquerors only occupied up to the Wai-o-ngana river. Northward of that the Ati-Awa people appear to have returned and occupied their country within a short time—perhaps a year or so—after the conquest. But Taranaki—or as this particular part of the tribe is generally called Nga-Potiki-taua—entered into possession of the southern part and

* This connection between a mountain and a chief is common to the Polynesian race. Compare the Tahitian traditions, and others.—S.P.S.

proceeded to build fortified *pas*, amongst which may be named Whakawhitiwhiti and Okoare (two miles south and south-west of New Plymouth), Pukaka (Marsland Hill), and Puke-ariki, (Mount Eliot the present New Plymouth Railway Station).

In these *pas* the people were living when—as we shall see—Ati-Awa again acquired the ascendancy and drove them out or killed them. But it was not for many years yet that the latter people felt themselves strong enough to attempt the undertaking.

THE ATI-AWA IN EXILE, AND RE-CONQUEST OF WAI-O-NGANA.

About 1760.

After the most disastrous defeat inflicted on the Ati-Awa *hapus* that lived between Nga-Motu (Sugar-loaves) and the Wai-o-ngana river, at the hands of Nga-Potiki-taua, the people were in a deplorable state. They had lost their *pas*, their villages, their cultivations, their fishing places, their sacred burial grounds—which latter were now open to be desecrated by the conquerors, a dreadful thing to the Maori people—in fact, everything but their arms and clothing. Their bravest warriors had fallen; many of the women had been killed or taken prisoners. Some families had disappeared altogether; in others none but one or two members remained. There were children without parents, husbands without wives, wives without husbands; in fact, the particular *hapus* that suffered so terribly by Tu-whakairi-kawa's conquest were next door to extinguished. But the people did not lose heart. Those that escaped massacre fled to the forests and secret hiding places known only to themselves, and where, as at all times in anticipation of defeat, there were small cultivations and rough *wharau* or sheds, in which they found shelter and food. In the first stages of their discomfiture, the birds of the forests and eels of the streams furnished them with the means of keeping body and soul together.

Mr. Skinner says: . . . “They were driven to the great forests around and along the banks of the Manga-mawhiti, Wai-puku, Make-tawa, and Manga-nui rivers, in the districts now known as the Moa,* Tariki, and Manga-nui. Another body of these fugitives lived at the head waters of the Manga-o-raka and Wai-o-ngana rivers. . . . Rakei-tiutiu, chief of Nga-Puke-turua (near Sentry Hill), with his wife and family, fled seaward and sought safety in hiding in the swampy seaward bush, then of large extent, on the sea-coast between the

* Te Moa, from which the district takes its modern name, was an old Maori clearing on the south side of the Norfolk Road School-house, known in early days as Tamati's clearing.—W.H.S.

Wai-o-ngana and Waitara rivers. Their cooking was all done at night for fear that the smoke by day should disclose their place of concealment. This family appears to have lived in hiding for a very long time*—how long I cannot say—but they were there when Koro-tiwha and Whanui recovered the country for Ati-Awa. . . . The Puke-tapu *hapu*—whose home was at the *pa* of that name situated on the sea-coast, just to the north of the Bell Block—secured shelter in an old *pa* of refuge, called Weraroa, built on a ridge between Awai and Kai-kokopu streams (on section 44 and 45, lower Taruru-tangi district). Here, under their chiefs Amaru, Tu-huia, Amaru-rore, and Amaru-arihi, they appear to have remained undisturbed until summoned from their hiding place by the messengers sent by Koro-tiwha after the victory at Omaru. It was probably at this time that the clearings along the King and Hursthouse roads were made for the cultivation of *kumara*, *taro*, and other food.”

Heta Te Kauri and his wife Mere Taura, of Wai-o-ngana, to whom as well as Mr. Skinner, I am indebted for what follows, say that the principal homes of the Ngati-Tawake *hapu* of Ati-Awa, at this time, were at Te Moa-nui and Te Moa-iti, two *pas* on the Make-tawa stream, and here was the head quarters of the chief men when they assembled to discuss matters for the benefit of the tribe. But most of the people were scattered in small groups, seeking a precarious existence on the products of the forest. It was decided by the chiefs, of whom the principal was Koro-tiwha, of the Kairoa *pa*—a very strong position situated just south of Matai-tawa, and two miles inland of Lepperton, and which is happily preserved from destruction by careful fencing under the auspices of the Taranaki Scenery Preservation Society; it is an excellent specimen of the old Maori *pa*; it was not occupied, however, at the time we write of; it was too near the enemy's position, and liable to marauding parties—and Whanui, that the tribe should adopt an old Maori custom, which, indeed, was not at all uncommon in similar cases of a defeat which approached annihilation, as in this instance. This was called *whakatupu tangata*, or “to grow men.” That is, the tribe decided to postpone any idea of recovering their former homes, or of seeking revenge, until the people had again become sufficiently numerous to ensure success. Knowing as we do the extreme power exercised over the mind of the Maori by the desire for revenge—a feeling that was never allowed to die, even if it remained in abeyance for several generations—we must allow that the subordination of every consideration to the attainment of this end, the patient waiting

* See *infra*, probably not less than fifteen to twenty years.

during long years until the children had grown to manhood; the suppression of the one ruling desire, and the strenuous exertion of every faculty in the one direction, is a trait in Maori character, which, if directed into a proper channel should lead to great results. But with the passing of the *māna-Maori*, the object of such a subordination to one idea has disappeared, and his European teachers have failed to supply an adequate substitute. Under the Pax Britannica this ruling passion has now passed away, and the exercise of the tribal or private vendetta has become a function of the law.

In regard to the case in point, my informants say that for many years the energies of the people were entirely directed to the one object of the growth and training of warriors, with the idea of eventually returning from their exile and driving their enemies from the lands which had been theirs and their ancestors for not far short of a thousand years. To this end the old warriors still left to the tribe were unceasing in their admonitions to the young girls to marry early, and bring forth children to be trained as *toas* or warriors. The boys as they grew up were incited by tales of war-like deeds; the wrongs the tribe had suffered were incessantly kept before them, and the duty of redressing them constantly dilated on. The military education included in the term "*nga mahi a Tu*"—the works of the war-god, Tu—were especially attended to by the old warriors, and consisted in the ocular demonstration of the use of weapons—of the *taiaha*, or wooden sword, which was a science in itself, consisting of blow and guard; of the *tao* or spear with the proper thrust and *karo*, or guard, in which latter the Maori was very clever; in the use of the shorter weapons, such as the *mere*, the *onewa*, the *koti-ate*, made of jade, stone or heavy wood; of the *kotaha* or sling-spear—indeed of all classes of Maori weapons, not omitting the *ki-tao* or *reo-tao*, charms repeated over weapons to give them *māna*, power or prestige.

Mr. John White, the author of the "Ancient History of the Maori," was at Waitara in 1860 as interpreter to H.M. forces, and whilst there gathered many notes on the history, etc., of the Ati-Awa people. In a long letter of his (known to be his but not under his name) published in the "Taranaki Herald," 9th and 16th June, 1860, in which he writes of the causes of the war of the "sixties" from the Maori point of view, and wherein he touches on the matters we are now dealing with, he says, "only one hundred of Ati-Awa escaped (at the conquest by Nga-Potiki-taua), and these men had eluded their enemies by being at the back of Mimi, in the forest. . . ." Our Maori historians say nothing of this, but Mr. White had excellent opportunities of getting good information at that time, and it is not at all improbable that a

party of Ati-Awa might have been away at the time of the conquest. If so, they would form a useful contingent to their fellow tribesmen when the time came for the reconquest.

How long it was that these branches of Ati-Awa remained in their forest homes after their escape from the destructive effects of the Nga-Potiki-taua conquest, cannot be fixed definitely. But as they had "to grow men" it would probably be not less than fifteen to twenty years. As soon, however, as the tribe felt strong enough, the old chiefs felt that the time had come to strike a blow for the recovery of their lost homes. Matters were brought to a head in the following manner: A woman who was a sister or cousin of Whanui's, dreamed that she was back on the coast, fishing at their old fishing place at Whatiwhati, on the beach near Rewa-tapu (just south of Wai-o-ngana mouth). In the morning she told her dream to Koro-tiwha, Whanui and Ranga-tapu, saying that she had heard the rollers breaking on the shore, etc. She was crying and lamenting the loss of her old home, the beaches on which she had played as a child, her companions killed by the enemy; and wound up by asking: "*Ma wai au e kawea ki nga tai e whati mai ra, ki taku hau-kainga?*" "Who will take me back to the breaking seas, to my home?" Koro-tiwha replied, "*Maku koe e kawea ki to kai-nga. Taihoa ka kawea koe e au?*" "I will take you to your home, yet a little while and I will do so."

Old Rangipito, another learned man of Ati-Awa says: At this period a council was held by the people to discuss the possibility of reconquering their old homes. It was decided to make the attempt, but before doing so, the priest was to secure the approval and aid of the war-god Maru (who, I may say, was the god of Taranaki, Whanganui, etc., whilst Ue-nuku was the war-god of Ati-Awa.*) Probably the people felt that Ue-nuku had deserted them in their need, and they hoped by propitiating the enemy's god, to secure his aid. "Maru," says Rangipito, "was a very powerful god, indeed he was like Jehovah. Offerings (*whakahere*) were made to him of *kumara*, *taro*, *aruhe*, birds and fish; and after the offerings the god would communicate with his priest, through the medium if the proper *karakia* had

* Rangipito adds, in reference to the god Maru, "That he was the principal god of Taranaki, indeed of all descendants of those who came in the 'Aotea' canoe, as also of Ati-Awa. This god was brought over by Turi in the 'Aotea,' as a spirit, not an image, and the priests on board were those of Maru. He was an evil god, who was very particular as to the behaviour of his worshippers, who were never to quarrel amongst themselves, and always to be on their good behaviour. He was their god of war, to whom *karakias* were addressed and offerings made. When Titoko-waru abandoned Christianity (about 1868) he called up Maru to be his god,

been recited." The medium in such cases was a small figure of a man, about two feet high, made of wood, with carved head and shoulders, fully tattooed, and with a rod projecting from the lower extremity by which the figure could be stuck into the ground at the *tuāhu*, or sacred place. The body of the image was lashed round with braided cord in a peculiar manner. It was the Maori belief that the recitation of the appropriate *karakia*, and the offerings, would induce the spiritual god to take up his abode in the image for a time, and from there communicate his answers to the priest, who alone could interpret them. It must be clearly understood, the offerings were not to the image, as such, but to the god he represented. The Maoris were in no sense idolaters. The questions asked on such occasions would generally be, as to whether a certain course of action would meet with the desired success. It is clear in this case the answers were favourable. At a certain place between Waitara and Wai-o-ngana, the priest directed, at the will of the god, that a fishing-net was to be made from the flax growing there, and then the net was to be used on the beach at Wai-o-ngana. If the catch was successful, then the Ati-Awa would conquer their enemies. Such was the oracle of the god Maru.

OMARU.

The time had arrived when the tribes could muster a *rau-ma-whitu*, or 340 warriors, so preparations were made for the attempted reconquest of their ancestral homes. They started off seaward, men, women, and children, under the escort of the warriors, travelling by such ways as would render their course invisible to any of the enemy lurking about, until they arrived at the place where fishing-nets were formerly made, as referred to in the oracle. Here the whole party camped, and set to work on making the necessary net. They were very circumspect in all their actions. No fires were lighted until after dark, and then only in hollows where the light would not be seen far off; no one was allowed to wander about, especially on hill tops; no noises were made, for fear that some of the enemy might be in the

and hence his success in the war against the Europeans—1868-1870. The old *karakias* that were still remembered were made use of again."

Rev. Mr. Hammond has a note, "The stone image of the god Maru, which the Patea people formerly possessed, was burnt by Tamati Te Ito, and his *ope whakanoa* (or party who took the old *tapu* off the *pas*, etc., in about 1855. Te Ito is still alive, a very old man, at this date, 1906). The stone broke in pieces when burnt. The distinguishing name of the people who had it in charge was Wai-oture. *Tapo*, of the 'Aotea' canoe was Maru's particular priest, and it remained in charge of his descendants from that time (1350) till burnt."

vicinity. Whilst the majority of the people were engaged in constructing the net, between twenty and thirty young men were sent out in various directions to try and learn if there were any people in the neighbourhood, and especially towards the coast. On their return they reported that they had seen no sign of man, or fires in any part; apparently the country was deserted. Again, whilst the net was making, parties went out to fish, and to dig fern root (*aruhe*), and saw no sign of man anywhere. After a few days at this place, and on the completion of the net, the whole party went to the coast to fish, and as they were successful, they felt that the oracle was about to be fulfilled, and success awaited them.

From this place the whole party returned to Kopua-kanakana, at the junction of the Manga-naha and Wai-o-ngana streams, just where Mr. Little's mill now stands, three-fourths of a mile E.N.E. from Sentry Hill Railway Station. They camped with the same precautions as before, and remained there two days. It was now decided to secure a retreat for the women and children, where they might be safe whilst the warriors worked out the scheme that had been formed. For this purpose the men removed to an old *pa* named Puke-kohatu, situated on the east bank of the Wai-o-ngana, an eighth of a mile inland from the Devon Road, on section 123, Waitara West. This place they completely fortified again, and on its completion, brought over the women and children; but still no fires were lit until after dark for fear of calling the enemy's attention. One can imagine the joy of these exiles as they returned to their old homes, and with what pleasure they would recognise each familiar feature of the landscape, associated as they were with the deeds of their ancestors. How each old man and woman would point out to the young people the various hills and streams, the *pas* and valleys, and tell their names, and the names of the owners of each, and of the deeds that won them in the distant past; how the old people would greet and *tangi* over the sight of well-known burial places, where their forebears lay! We may, in imagination, see some old mother of the tribe standing on the parapet of the *pa*, with outstretched arms and hands, palms downwards, opening and shutting, as she communed with the spirits of her dead ancestors, or crooning some old time *tangi* in which the deeds of the departed were recited.

On the completion of the fortification of Puke-kohatu *pa*, and the settlement of the women and children there, the men all went to look at Omaru, another old *pa*, situated at a bend in the Wai-o-ngana river, three-fourths of a mile seaward of the present main road, on section 51, Waitara West district. Mr. Skinner says, "The rear of Omaru *pa*

rested on the high steep bank of the Wai-o-ngana river, and a stream named Wai-tara-iti. The front lay comparatively open with a gentle slope towards the north-east. The whole country, of course, was covered with a dense growth of flax, fern, and *tutu* with occasional patches of heavy scrub and bush." Finding it suitable to their purpose, they set to work that same night, and gathered together materials for putting it in a state of defence. It was part of their scheme, not to make permanent defences, indeed the palisades were built up of flax, *tutu* and other bushes, just like a temporary breakwind. As soon as all was ready, Koro-tiwha said, "*Me tahu he ahi ki waho, ki te parae!*" "Let a fire be lit outside on the plain." So a big fern fire was made, the smoke ascending up in a great column to the heavens—such a fern fire as would be seen all over the country for miles.

Now the Taranaki, or Nga-Potiki-taua tribe, from their *pas* around the present site of New Plymouth, of course saw this great column of smoke. The alarm was sounded, and a thousand warriors (says Heta) started forth to see who had originated the fire. They came along the beach as far as Puketapu, where the main body rested whilst a reconnoitring party was sent on in the direction of the smoke. These soon returned, and reported that a *pa* had been built and occupied at Omaru. The main body of Nga-Potiki-taua now advanced as far as Te Rewa-tapu (a place on the coast three-quarters of a mile south of Wai-o-ngana mouth) where they divided, one party going straight inland for Omaru, the other coming up the east side of Wai-o-ngana. When the *taua* reached Manga-whero, a stream, they were seen by Ngati-Tawake and the other Ati-Awa in the *pa*, and preparations were accordingly made to give the *taua* a warm welcome. Mr. Skinner says, "The hostile *taua* (*i.e.*, the Rewa-tapu party) crossed the Wai-o-ngana a little below its junction with Manga-o-raka, and (joining the other party) approached Omaru from the north-east side. Apparently they took little precaution to guard against ambuscade, or sudden attack"—and boldly advanced to the assault. As they approached Omaru, the chiefs ordered a man to ascend into the *puwhara*, or tower, of the *pa* to watch and report the approach of the enemy, whilst Koro-tiwha, the old chief in principal command, sat himself on the *tahi*, or summit, of the *pa* in order to direct matters. In Heta's account, as written down in shorthand by me, now follows a number of questions by Koro-tiwha and answers by the sentry in the tower, which need not be given in detail, for they are just such as were often asked in similar cases. The Maoris represent such an advance by a *taua* to attack a *pa*, as a rising tide, and the first answer of the sentry is to the effect that the water is up to his ankles, then his waist, then his neck, and so on. At last he

said, "A! up to my head!" which meant that the *taua* was at the *pa*. Then Koro-tiwha, springing up gave the command, and immediately the temporary defences of the *pa* were thrown down on top of the enemy, and the Ngati-Tawake dashed forth, coming down on top of the others; thus taking them at a disadvantage, and commenced the slaughter.

Nga-Potiki-taua were completely taken by surprise, and in the confusion and hurried rush of two strong parties of Ngati-Tawake on top of them, one hundred were slain on one side, one hundred on the other (says Heta). The *taua* fled, leaving great heaps of slain around the temporary defences of Omaru. Close on the heels of the flying *taua* came Ngati-Tawake, fresh after a long rest, and animated by the lust of revenge, engendered by the teaching of their old chiefs, whilst Nga-Potiki-taua were tired with a long march. The flight took the course to the beach, and as they flew along, their pursuers caught and killed them as they ran. This continued right along the beach to Te Awa-hahae, where a spurt was put on by the pursuers, and a large number of the enemy was killed at that place.

Koro-tiwha now thought that enough was accomplished for the present, so shouted out, "*E aku teina! He kura!*" "My brethren! Enough, we have obtained a valuable equivalent for our losses." But one of the Ati-Awa *hapus*, Ngati-Rangi, thought otherwise; they were, says Heta, conceited with their prowess and the success their arms had met with. So Koro-tiwha let them follow their own course, whilst he and Ngati-Tawake remained to rest after their exertions. Ngati-Rangi dashed after the retreating *taua* along the beach; but they were not nearly so numerous now. Nga-Potiki-taua, seeing that the pursuers were reduced in number, turned and charged back on them, with the result that Ngati-Rangi received a severe repulse, and commenced, in their turn, to retreat. Whanui, directly he saw their own relatives falling, sprung up and shouted out to Ngati-Tawake, who were resting, "*E aku teina! tatou ano tatou, ratou ano ratou.*" "O brethren! we are ourselves, they are theirselves;" or in other words, "blood is thicker than water." Ngati-Tawake arose at the words, and within a very short time Nga-Potiki-taua were again fleeing for very life along the hard beach of the sea-shore, the laggards falling under the *patus* of their pursuers. The pursuit continued up to Puketapu, and beyond. By this time the Nga-Potiki-taua were very much reduced in number, and a long line of dead marked the course of the pursuit along the beach. Night was now coming on as the fight reached the point beyond Puke-tapu, and at that time another desperate struggle took

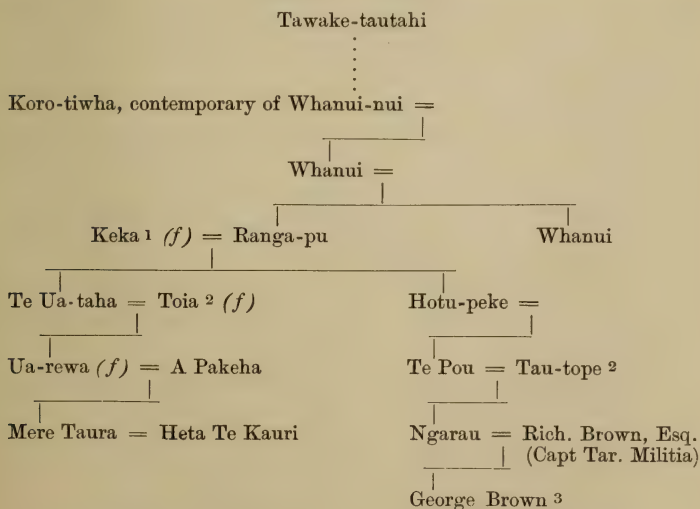
place after the two parties had stopped a while to take breath. Hence this particular incident is called "Ra-ka-taha," the descending Sun.

But the Ati-Awa had not yet had enough; they followed up the enemy, killing as they went until they reached the Wai-whakaiho river, by which time it was quite dark, and, moreover, the tide was nearly high, causing much fatigue in following over the soft sands. So the killing ended there, and the Ati-Awa people returned towards their home, gathering up as they went the spoil in the shape of weapons, ornaments, etc., which were taken home in triumph.

Thus was the first stage in the reconquest of Nga-Motu accomplished. My informant says, "Te Ati-Awa have to thank Ngati-Tawake for enabling them to return to their old homes." From this time onwards they began to come out from their hiding places in the depth of the forest, and occupied the country. For the power of Nga-Potiki-taua had been broken, indeed they were so reduced that the name as that of a powerful *hapu* of Taranaki had ceased in the land. It is said that very few of the one thousand warriors recrossed the Wai-whakaiho river after the fighting along the beach.

In order to assist in fixing the date of the events related above, the following table is quoted. There were many ancestors of the name Tawake, before Whanui-nui the joint conqueror with Koro-tiwha is reached:—

TABLE NO. XLVII.



1. Of Pukehika, a celebrated old *pa* just opposite Hiruharama on the Whanganui river. 2. Toia, and Tau-tope both of the Puke-tapu *pa* and *hapu*. 3. Interpreter to the Supreme Court Auckland (1905).

As Koro-tiwha and Whanui-nui were quite old men, and Ranga-pu young, when the conquest took place, we may fix an approximate date for the event at 1760.

Mr. John White, in his "Lectures," p. 218,* refers to an incident of the struggle: "I have said the priest's word was authoritative where that to which it referred would allow the influence of the gods to be inferred; but the opposite applied if the express wish of the priest, and not an omen of the gods was given in his command. An instance will show this:—The *ariki* and priest of Ngati-Awa, at Taranaki, on the eve of a battle between that tribe and the Taranaki tribe, uttered a contemptuous expression against a *hapu* of his own people, which was, 'Whoever thought that men who fish with a rod could be brave in battle?' This priest, Te Rakino, uttered it to the *hapu* of which Koro-tiwha was chief. When the battle did take place and was raging, Koro-tiwha held up his spear and called out to his *hapu*, 'My sons, the sign of blood!' At which sign they all withdrew from the combat, and Te Rakino and his party were routed by Taranaki. Then Koro-tiwha turned the fortunes of the day by attacking again and securing the victory."

* Published in T. W. Gudgeon's "History and Traditions of the Maori," 1885.

CHAPTER X.

TE ATI-AWA AND NGATI-RUANUI.

(About 1770-1780).

ACCORDING to the Ati-Awa accounts, there have been only three warlike incursions of the Ngati-Ruanui tribe into their territories, even from the most ancient times, notwithstanding that the two tribes had boundaries in common, which boundaries ran through the forest country the whole way, and therefore divided the bird preserves on each side of an undefined line. As a rule the ancient Maoris looked with great jealousy on any encroachments on their forests, which, indeed, were great sources of animal food in the way of rats and birds—and, in modern days, of wild pigs.

TURANGA-TE-HAKA.

The first of these incursions, I have no means of getting the date of, but it was many generations ago. A very large party of Ngati-Ruanui came through the forests by the Whakaahu-rangi track (by Stratford) ostensibly on a visit to Ati-Awa, living then at Tikorangi, on the north bank of Waitara, but really with hostile intentions; which, however, were seen through by the Ati-Awa. The local people, to put Ngati-Ruanui off their guard, received them in the usual hospitable manner by giving them a feast, and in the evening the young people got up some *hakas* to amuse the guests. In the meantime the hosts had sent round to the neighbouring *pas* warning the tribe to assemble. The *hakas* were danced merely to pass away the time until the forces could arrive. As Ngati-Ruanui all sat round in a body looking on at the dances, the Ati-Awa forces arrived, and, by arrangement, gathered in a hollow below the settlement—which was afterwards called Turanga-te-haka. When the time came the signal was given, and then Ati-Awa fell suddenly on the Ngati-Ruanui people, who were unprepared, and a great slaughter took place, in which—says my informant—some three thousand men were killed. This, no doubt, is an exaggeration; but very few of Ngati-Ruanui escaped back to their homes.

MANU-TAHI.

(Circa 1770-80).

The next incursion was probably to obtain revenge for the above massacre, but of this I am not sure. The Ngati-Ruanui, under their celebrated chief, Tu-raukawa, who, besides being a warrior of fame, was one of the best poets the Maori people has produced. This party also came through the great forest by way of Whakaahu-rangi and camped at Matai-tawa (afterwards a military township and site of a block-house in the wars of the sixties). It so happened that just at this time a large party of the Manu-korihi *hapu* of Ati-Awa, under Makere, his grandson Taramoana, and others, made an expedition from their *pa*—Manu-korihi, on the north bank of Waitara, just above the present bridge—to Manu-tahi, a place on the Wai-o-ngana river, now occupied by the village of Lepperton—and where was a redoubt held by the military settlers under Captain Corbet and Lieutenant John Kelly in 1865. This party of Manu-korihi people came for the purpose of collecting *aka*, or forest vines, used for various purposes in old Maori days, such as lashings for the palisades of their *pas*, for making *hinaki*, or fish-baskets, and many other purposes where strength was necessary. From the high ground of Matai-tawa, the Ngati-Ruanui sentries saw this party coming along in the open country by the path which led to Manutahi, and immediately divined where they were going. So they armed and rushed down—the distance is not great—keeping under cover until they reached the path, where the whole party went into ambush and waited until Manu-korihi were well within their toils. Then Ngati-Ruanui arose and commenced the slaughter. But, after all, few fell into their hands for their footsteps had been seen and the alarm quietly given. The great loss to Manu-korihi, however, was the young chief, Tara-moana, who was killed, carried off, and eaten.

Now Ati-Awa—indeed all Maoris—were not the people to let a disaster of this kind remain unavenged. The escapees from Manu-tahi hurried home, where old Makere raised the whole of his people, together with those of Otaraui *pa* (a short distance inland of Manu-korihi), and others living near Waitara, and immediately, that same afternoon, took the war-trail in the footsteps of Ngati-Ruanui. Travelling with speed they overtook the retreating invaders on their homeward way through the forest. A skirmish ensued, in which Ati-Awa secured some *utu* for their losses, but the main party of Ngati-Ruanui escaped back to their own country.

It was at this fight between Ati-Awa and Ngati-Ruanui—says my informant—that for the first time in their history the bodies of people

distantly related were first eaten by their relatives; for up to that time a blood relation, however distant—and the Maoris carried relationship to even tenth or twelfth cousinship or further—were never eaten by these tribes. This fact is referred to in Makere's lament.

On return to their home at Manu-korihū, old Makere composed the following lament for his grandson, Tara-moana, which is a great favourite with Ati-Awa to this day. Makere was also a poet, but was no match for Tu-raukawa, of Ngati-Ruanui, who, as has been said, was one of the best of Maori poets. One of the latter's poems will be found at page 322 of "*Nga Moteatea*," which has never been translated. It is probably the best in the language—that is, from the Maori point of view, for no translation can possibly do it justice, nor probably does any living Maori at the present day understand the references contained in it. Makere and Tu-raukawa were in the habit of carrying on a poetic war, each trying to outdo the other in their efforts. Unfortunately, none of these particular compositions have come down to us.

The following is Makere's lament :—

HE WAIATA TANGI. NA MAKERE.

E Tama ! nga ki e !
 Ka moenga ke koe.
 Ka pau koe te wehewehe
 Ki runga to hautapu—i—¹
 Iri mai koe ki runga to whata-rangi²
 Koe papa totara.³
 Ka pau koe te huirua
 Ki te ata-kahurangi,⁴
 No ro' te whare nui, kei a Hine-a-wai,
 Māna e tuku iho, ko te takapau hora-nui⁵
 Kia kona⁶ ake te kakara
 O nga hine i te ipo Ati-hine.⁷
 Haere ra E Tama !
 I runga i aku korero ka iti,
 Haere ra E koro !
 I runga i aku korero,
 Ka hoki taku tipu—i.

Kaore o te ao nei tangata
 Hei ngaki i to mate.
 Tenei te tangata, ko Taringa-puta-iti⁸
 E kore e whakarongo mai ki te korero—o—i—
 Ka tara ai koe ki te riri.
 Tenei te kahui-po,⁹
 Hei tu mai i nga tu,
 Tena nga hua-tarau a Tane¹⁰
 Hei ngaki i to mate,

Hei kawē i ahau te rae ki Okawa^{1 1}
 Kia naomia mia te ate o te whenua,
 Kia whakako te tangata,
 Me patu marire,
 Mei mahara marire iho,
 Ki roto Wharekura^{1 2}—
 Ko nga whare punanga korero,
 I pu ai te riri—e—i.

E hara ano i te tangata,
 Na huinga mahara ano,
 Na te hikonga rangi ano,
 Nāna korua, ata tohatoha marire iho
 Mo te umu o te hau—e—i.
 He toenga ruakanga^{1 4}—
 He puanga waha mai koe,
 I kuru-tongia^{1 5} iho ai
 Kia kai ake koe.
 Whakarongo reka, huanga tangata iana,
 Ka whakarongo koe ki te reka
 E Hine a Mauri-rangi^{1 6}—e—

Taku kotuku noho awa,
 Taku tumu herenga waka,
 Nana i kumekume
 Te Aka whero o te whenua,
 Ka rangona koe ki Otahu,^{1 7}
 Te wehi o te whenua—e—!
 He kawau e whakateka
 Ki roto o Manga-iti.^{1 8}
 He takapu horo ika,
 Hakahaka koa ra,
 Hikawera^{1 9} e tu mai ra—e—i.
 He mea ka ngaro noa,
 Te Rua-o-Kai-whare.^{2 0}

E Tama ma e !
 Karihitiā mai e koe,
 Ki te wai o te niho.^{2 1}
 E kore e tipu to kawa^{2 2}
 Ki te ao-marama—e—
 E kore e ngaro,
 He puia-taro nui,^{2 3}
 He ngata taniwha rau,
 He aua matawhero,
 He ika moe kopua
 No roto i Wherohia^{2 4}—e—i

Tenei te hoanga
Te takoto i raro nei,
Waiho kia oroia ana
He whati toki nui

Haere ai koe ki te ara titaha,
Haere ai koe ki te ara kohuru
Kupenga-taratara,²⁵ i whakahaua iho—i—
Paenga paraoa ki roto te Hiku-mutu.²⁶

Taku ika topuni
Ka moe ki reira na—i—
Pou o Rakei,²⁷ i whakahaerea iho—e—
Kiri o Rongomai,²⁸ ka pau te whakarato,
Ki te ahi kai rikiriki e—i—
Me kowai ra te atua
Māna o te rangi?
Me ko Uenuku ra,
He atua kai tangata ia na—i.

TRANSLITERATION.

O son ! whose fame all tongues proclaim,
Thou sleepest there apart !
Separated from those that love thee,
By a violent and sudden death.
Thou liest on thy funeral stage,
Like a well-hewn plank of totara.
Thou art gathered to the spirits—
To the shades of our beloved ones—
To the great ones of our house.
Hine-a-wai, thy ancestress wilt thee meet,
And she will spread out the marital couch,
And cause sweet scents to be diffused,
By the maidens in their youth.

Depart thou ! O my son !
With my little meed of praise,
Go, loved one ! with my poor words,
Whilst my growth is stunted at thy loss.

There is no one in this world below,
To avenge thy sudden loss.
'Tis true that some assent, but act not,
Nor listen to the tale
How brave thou wert in war,
'Tis left to the gods of the nether world,
To fulfil their proper functions,
Or the heedless fruits of the forest
To avenge thy sudden death.
Now take me to Okawa's ridge
To snatch the triumph from the foe.

Some men in deep contempt do say,
 "Let stern revenge be taken," but mean it not,
 They think not of famed Whare-kura temple,
 Where great deeds and thoughts arose,
 And wars were oft proclaimed.

It could not be through man alone,
 (This overwhelming loss)
 But rather from the mighty thoughts
 Of high celestial beings, all powerful,
 By whom ye were defeated, and thy parts,
 To the ovens of thy slayers were distributed,
 And thou became like the remnant of a vomit—
 The spewings of the mouth—
 When thou wert basely slain.

(And ye O Ngati-Rua, did eat him),
 Glorying in the taste of a relative's blood.
 Nor felt the offspring of the lady Mauri-rangi
 Any shame at this foul deed.

My handsome crane! river dweller!
 My carved pillar! Canoe fastener!
 'Twas he that to him drew,
 The red roots of the earth (chiefs)
 Thy fame has reached Otahu,
 (In that distant land Hawaiki)
 Thou feared one of the land! thou art,
 Like the cormorant with outstretched neck,
 Seen in the waters of Manga-iti.
 Like the albatross, fish swallower,
 Whose plumes in dance do cause delight
 In the land of Hika-wera.
 Alas! thou art now lost indeed
 In the deep chasm of Kai-whare.

O friends that hear me!
 On thee has been performed
 The returning warriors rite,
 With the waters of the teeth.
 No offspring of thine shall evermore,
 In this world of light appear.
 Nay! but thy race will not be lost;
 Like unto a *taro*-root are they for number—
 Like the offspring of the *taniwha*,
 Like the shoals of red-eyed *aua* (herrings)
 That sleep in the deep and shady pools,
 That fringe the shore near Wherohia.

Thou art like the grindstone there,
 That lies in yonder yard.

By grinding, ever rubbing
An axe becomes as good as new.

Thou disappeared by side paths,
Extinguished by murder's hideous way.
By treacherous schemes thy death occurred.
And now like some great whale
At Hiku-mutu dost thou lie.

My cherished one ! once so near !
Thou liest there in death's repose,
Scion of Rakei ! descendant direct !
Image of Rongo-mai ! now are thy bones dispersed,
And lost in the midst of cannibal ovens.

Who then is the powerful war-god of Heaven ?
Surely it is Ue-nuku, the rainbow god,
The fierce-eyed god of cannibal lust
('Tis he shall avenge thee !)

NOTES.

I am indebted to Te Whetu for the following notes, and, as many of the Maori words are of very rare occurrence, Maori students may be glad of their meaning. 1. *Hautapu*, a violent death ; 2. *Whata-rangi*, the stage on which bodies are placed until after the *hahunga*, or exhumation ; 3. *Papa-totara*, the *totara* box in which bones are kept until buried ; 4. *Ata-kahurangi*, the shades of the departed loved ones ; 5. *Takapu-horanni*, a highly ornamental mat, emblematical of marriage ; 6. *Kona*, diffused as scent, carried by a current of air. In the islands it means intoxicated—i.e., the rising of the fumes to the brain. 7. *Ati-hine*, the young girls of the tribe—*ipo*, a lover ; 8. *Turinga-puta-iti*, one who listens, assents, then fails to act ; 9. *Kahui-po*, the assemblage of gods of the nether-world ; 10. *Hua tarau a Tane*, the wild fruits of the forest ; 11. *Okawa*, the south ascent on the old war-path up to Pukerangiora, where Te Rangitake retreated to during the war of the sixties ; 12. *Whare-kura*, the famed temple in Hawaiki, where all knowledge was accumulated ; 14. *Ruakanga* = *Ruakitanga*, to vomit ; 15. *Kuru-tongia*, killed, battered ; 16. *Mauri-rangi*, an ancestress of W. K. Te Rangi-take, and of Tara-moana and of N-Rua-nui ; 17. *Otahu*, said to be a place in Hawaiki ; 18. *Manga-iti*, a little stream near the Huri-rapa *pa*, Waitara, south bank ; 19. *Hika-wera*, a place near Waitara ; 20. *Rua-o-Kaiwhare*, a famous and very peculiar hole in the beach on Manukau, South Head, the lair of the *taniwha*, Kai-whare ; 21. *Karihitia*, etc., a very peculiar custom applied to warriors returned from war ; 22. *Kawa*, poetical for offspring ; 23. *Puia-taro-nui*, a many-rooted *taro*, a family of many scions ; 24. *Wherohia*, a place near Hurirapa, Waitara ; 25. *Kupenga-taratara*, deep-laid schemes ; 26. *Hikumutu*, an old *pa* near Manu-korihī ; 27. *Rakeiora*, eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Rakei ; 28. *Rongomai*, a remote ancestor.

Tu-raukawa, the poet, warrior and leader of Ngati-Ruanui in the ambushade when Tara-moana was killed, was born about the year 1750.

It is believed that Makere, the composer of the foregoing lament, must have been born long before, and that the ambushade took place when Tu-raukawa was a young man. Makere is known to have lived to an age even exceeding the many known cases of very great age to which some old Maoris lived. Wiremu-Kingi Te Rangi-take, the originator of the war with the Europeans in 1860, was born somewhere about 1785 to 1790, and he had seen Makere as an extremely old man barely able to crawl about when the former was a small child. We may probably fix the date of this event at about 1770-80.

I have mentioned two of the Ngati-Ruanui raids into the Ati-Awa country. The third was when that tribe attacked Ihaia-Te Kiri-kumara at Te Karaka *pa*, Waitara, in 1854, consequent on the death of Katatore at the hands of the former.

TE PARO-O-TUWHERA.

(Circa, 1770.)

TABLE No. XLVII.

Korehe=Kura-poupou



Mokotua=Tu-tonga-paea



Whakawero=Te Tuiti

The Ngati-Rahiri branch of Te Ati-Awa have always lived on the north side of the Waitara river, and between there and the Onaero river; their headquarters being about Waihi stream and Te Taniwha, a prominent *pa* situated on a projecting point on the coast, and which—it may be added—

was the boundary to the north of what is known as Spain's Award, the land awarded to the New Zealand Company under their purchase, the disallowance of which award by Governor Fitzroy was the source of subsequent troubles between the Europeans and Maoris, leading up to the war of the sixties.

Korehe, shown in the table above, lived at Turangi, near Waihi; he had seven brothers and one sister, named Kopiri-taunoa. This family was connected with the Taranaki tribe living at Raoa, but in what manner I do not know. At this period the Nga-Potiki-taua people of Taranaki, after Tu-whakairi-kawa's conquest, as related in Chapter IX., were in occupation of Nga-Motu, or the Sugar-loaf Islands, and the adjacent shores—always a desirable site for residence on account of the abundance of fish there obtainable. In Korehe's time there happened to be an interlude of peace between the Nga-Potiki-taua tribe and Ati-Awa, so Kopiri-taunoa took the occasion to visit some of her connections living at Nga-Motu. In order, no doubt, to satisfy the desire for *utu*, or payment for some death due to Te Ati-Awa, some of the Nga-Motu people killed their young visitor and probably put her to the usual use in such cases by making a meal

of her.* Some of her bones, however, were put to another use, very common in former days, for they were made into fish-hooks. Needless to say, this was a most deadly insult to Ngati-Rahiri; but it appears that many years elapsed before that tribe were able to secure the revenge so dear to the Maori's heart, or even to find out what had become of her.

Kopiri-taunua had a younger brother named Pakau-moumoua, who was quite a child when his sister was killed. After he had grown up to man's estate he visited his relatives at Raoa, and on his way back stayed for a time at Nga-Motu, the place where his sister had been killed, not knowing that these were the people who had committed the deed. Whilst there he was invited to go out fishing with the Nga-Potiki-taua people of Rua-taku *pa* (Sugar-loafs), and when the canoe had reached the fishing-ground off Te Motu-o-Tamatea he heard one of the crew reciting his *karakia* in order to make the fish bite. In this *karakia* his sister's name was mentioned, and when the fisherman ended by saying, "*Piki ake ra e Hine! i te pikitanga i Onuku-tai-pari*"—"Climb up, O Lady! at the ascent at Onuku-tai-pari"—which is the name of the sandy descent to the beach on the south side of Pari-tutu), he knew at once that his sister's bones were being used as fish-hooks in the very canoe in which he was. This was a most disconcerting position for Pakau. At last he came to the conclusion that he must get ashore as soon as possible. To this end he feigned to be ill and asked the fishermen to put him ashore, where he pretended to be very ill indeed—so much so that the people gathered round to hear his last wishes. He then urged them to carry him back to his own home at Turangi, so that he might die amongst his people. Some of the chiefs and people consented and gathered together for that purpose, but when Pakau saw them he said, "*Ehara tenei i te ope rahi, e kore e pau nga kumara o Tonga.*"—"This is not a very large party; they will not be able to consume all the *kumaras* of Tonga.") Now Tonga is a place near Turangi, celebrated for the excellence of the *kumaras* formerly grown there in great profusion. The Maoris believe that the excellent crops there obtained were due to the *māna* of their god Rongo, a stone representation of which Ngati-Rahiri formerly

*Mr. W. H. Skinner has a slightly different version, as follows:—Kopiri-taunua was on her way to Mounu-kahawai, in the Okato District. On the road there, at Waireka Stream, Omata District, she came across a man of the Nga-Potiki-taua people who was engaged sharpening a stone axe in the water. This man insulted her by making indecent overtures, and, on her refusal to concede to his wishes, he killed her and his people made a meal of her, but preserved the bones for fish-hooks.

possessed. Many generations after this time the image was borrowed by the people of Puke-ariki *pa* (New Plymouth Railway Station), who ever afterwards stuck to it and finally hid it there. In the excavations made by Europeans at this old *pa* the stone image was found, and it is now in the Nelson Museum.* The "saying" applied to Tonga was: "*Otonga kai kino*," which may be rendered, Otonga the gluttonous.

But to return to Pakau. After his speech, a much larger number of people assembled in order to carry back the young chief with dignity suited to his rank. Before this, however, Pakau had found means to communicate with his own people and tell them of the fate of Kopiri-taunoa's bones, and to urge them to prepare for revenge when he and the Nga-Potiki-taua party arrived. To this end the Ngati-Rahiri built a large new house, and surrounded its walls with dry *manuka* sticks and other inflammable matter.

So Pakau started away from Nga-Motu, being borne along on an *amo*, or stretcher, for he still pretended he was too ill to walk. The party was a very large one, and on their arrival at Turangi they were received by Ngati-Rahiri in (apparently) the most friendly manner and invited into the new guest-house, whilst food was being prepared for them. All the dogs in the place were now tied up and beaten with sticks to cause them to howl, and this noise made Nga-Potiki-taua think they were being killed to furnish them with a meal. The guests were delighted with the anticipation of a feast of dogs' flesh and the meally *kumaras* of Tonga, and in the meantime amused themselves with *hakas*, dances, etc., within the house. Ngati-Rahiri had gathered round the door of the house all armed with short weapons concealed under their mats, ostensibly to witness the *hakas*, but in reality to fall on any of the guests who should attempt to escape when the time came. All being ready, Korehe gave the signal, and the house was set fire to in dozens of different places. The walls were so densely packed with *manuka* that there was no forcing a way through, and those who attempted to escape by the door were knocked on the head at once by the men who guarded it. Thus—says my informant—the whole of the large party of Nga-Potiki-taua were destroyed and the death of Kopiri-taunoa avenged.

It is said that the foundations of this house—Te Paro-o-tuwhera—may be seen to this day, and that it would hold a thousand people.

Some years after this event Pakau-moumoua, who had originated the above massacre, paid a visit to his wife's relatives who were living

* It is shown in Plate No. 10.

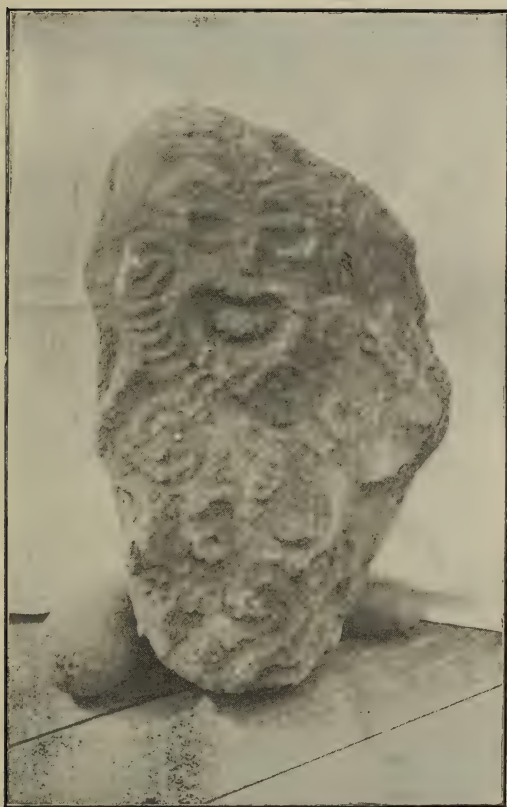


PLATE No. 10.
The *Kumara* god, Rongo.

\mathbb{R}^n
 \mathbb{Q}^n
 \mathbb{Z}^n

at Raoo, on the Taranaki coast, and he there occupied a house with a few other people. The Taranaki people, on hearing of this, thought it a good opportunity to wipe out the loss of their relatives, the Nga-Potiki-taua, who had been burnt, and made preparations to that end by attempting to surprise Pakau in his house at night. As they came up to the attack Pakau shouted out: "*Kāua ahau e taia potia, tuku atu tama a Kura-poupou ki waho!*"—"I don't want to be killed in the dark; let the son of Kura-poupou (see Table 47) go forth!" The attacking party, hearing this, thought Pakau had a party of his own people with him, so withdrew, and thus allowed Pakau to escape in the darkness.*

TAKING OF WAI-MANU.

(1770.)

We have no certain information as to the length of time that elapsed after the defeat of Taranaki (or Nga-Potiki-taua), north of the Wai-whakaiho river, as described in Chapter IX., until the A-i-Awa *hapus* again began to occupy their old territories from Wai-o-ngana to Nga-Motu. But, apparently, it was not very long; and at about the year 1770 we find the Rewarewa *pa* at the mouth of the Wai-whakaiho, north bank, and the Wai-manu or Puke-pupuru *pa* both occupied by Ati-Awa. "The latter *pa*" (says Mr. Skinner) "was situated partly on Town sections 853 and 854 and on Mount McCormick reserve, Town of New Plymouth. It was occupied by the Ngati-Tupari-kino section of Ati-Awa, and they also occupied the valley of Te Henui river and the country between there and Wai-whakaiho, besides portions of the Huatoki valley and the eastern part of the Town of New Plymouth. Some of their *pas* were: Whare-papa (Fort Niger), Te Kawau (at the mouth of the Huatoki, where the railway goods shed now stand); † Pu-rakau, north bank of the Henui river—a little seaward of Devon Street; Puke-wharangi (on Section 20, N.R., east of Te Henui river and between there and the Mangaorei road); Parihamore and Puke-tarata (on Education Reserve Y, inland of the Cemetery, in a bend of Te Henui river, south bank); and Puke-totara, where most of the few remaining members of the *hapu* still reside.

"At this same period Rangī-apiti-rua, of Nga-potiki-taua, was chief of the Puke-ariki *pa* and possibly the builder of it. The outworks of this great fort extended from the junction of Queen and St. Aubyn Streets, Town of New Plymouth, as its north-west corner, to the present

*For part of this story I am indebted to Mr. A. Shand.

†The *Marae*, or plaza of Te Kawau *pa* was where Currie Street now runs, between the *pa* and Devon Street; it was called Kai-arohi.

site of the Borough Council offices as its south-east corner, and seaward to and embracing what is now the passenger platform of the Railway Station; the hill has been entirely cut away for railway and other improvement purposes. Rangi-apiti-rua was what is called a *Kai-whakarua*, or related to both Taranaki and Ati-Awa, and a chief of both tribes. But he was distrusted and disliked by both, and considered a mischievous, plotting, and deceitful man."

"The chiefs of Wai-manu *pa* (Ati-Awa) were two brothers called Wero-manu and Manu-kino, and neither of them were on good terms with the people of Puke-ariki" as was but natural seeing the serious fighting that had taken place not many years ago when Taranaki was so severely handled by Ati-Awa. Mr. Skinner continues:—

"The people of Wai-manu had certain fishing rights in the Hua-toki stream and in the early spring the *piharau* or lamprey fishing time came on, and the usual traps were set in the river, near a large stone called Pai-are, situated immediately at the back of Nathan's stores, in the prolongation of Currie Street. On going one morning to gather in the fish it was seen that the traps had been tampered with and the fish stolen. The same thing occurred three mornings following and it was then decided by the Wai-manu people to set a watch, which was accordingly done; the men hiding and holding up fern fronds in front of their faces so they should not be seen. Just before dawn the watchers saw some men approaching from the southern side of the stream descending the bank through what is now Mr. R. C. Hughes' garden. These men at once began to search for the lampreys, and whilst doing so were surprised by the watchers, who succeeded in killing one of the marauders. They proved to be some of Te Rangi-apiti-rua's people who had been sent by him to rob their neighbour's traps. The body of the slain was taken to Wai-manu and put to the usual purpose."

"Although caught in the act of stealing, and therefore liable in accordance with Maori law to suffer the extreme penalty, this did not render the people of Wai-manu safe from the claims of the law of *utu*; and the more so, as they were numerically much weaker than the people of Puke-ariki. Accordingly, Te Rangi-apiti-rua made preparations to exact revenge for the loss of his man. Early one morning the Wai-manu *pa* was surprised by Te Rangi-apiti-rua and his party, and, fortunately for the inmates, this attack was not entirely unexpected. They had made their *pa* as secure as possible, but the difference in numbers between the attacked and the attackers was so great that they could not expect to hold out very long. In view of this fact one or two messengers were sent off directly the attack commenced to Potaka, the

principal chief of Nga-puke-turua *pa* (near Sentry Hill) to beg him to come to their rescue before it was too late. In the meantime a stubborn defence was made by the inmates of Wai-manu. At last they were driven from the shelter of the *pa*, but keeping together they retreated along about where Gill Street is now, disputing the ground as they passed along towards Te Henui, and showing a brave front to their enemies. Almost exhausted they had reached Kerau (about the junction of Gill and Hobson Streets), when the rescue party of some seventy men under Potaka came on the scene by way of Te Henui beach and up to the retreating Wai-manu people by Tai-rau.* The fighting immediately stopped and Potaka told Te Rangi-apiti-rua he had taken sufficient *utu* and bade him return to Puke-ariki. Taking the Wai-manu people under his protection Potaka returned to his home at Nga-puke-turua."

RANGI-APITI-RUA VISITS POTAKA.

It has been stated that Te Rangi-apiti-rua was a *Kai-whakarua* or related to both tribes—a word that means one who eats on both sides—and it appears from Whatitiri's account that after defeating and slaying many of the people of Wai-manu, he was seized with regret for some of his relatives who had been killed there, and decided, in order to equalize matters, to incite Ati-Awa to attack the Nga-potiki-taua people (of Taranaki), then living at the Sugar-loaves Islands. To forward this end he decided to risk a visit to Potaka at Nga-puke-turua, well knowing, however, that in doing so he carried his life in his hand, for the people there were smarting under the loss of relatives at Wai-manu. He decided, however, to trust Potaka, to whom he was related. So he proceeded to the *pa* and entered it secretly just after dark and sat himself down close to Potaka's house waiting until the latter should come forth, with the idea of calling his attention. Presently Potaka's son came out, and seeing a man sitting there, returned and said to his father, "*He tangata kei te noho mai i waho ; he huru-kuri te kakahu.*"—"There is a man sitting outside there, dressed in a dog-skin mat.") Potaka thought for a bit, then came to the conclusion it must be Te-Rangi-apiti-rua, so said to his son, "That is your *papa* (elder relative), do not say a word to anyone." Potaka then went out and brought the old man into the house, where he was given food, etc. ; but not a hint was given to the rest of the people in the *pa* that a visitor was within its precincts.

In the morning Potaka went outside, and getting on the roof of his

* About town sections 1950, 1954, etc.

house, shouted out, "*Kua horo te pa! Kua horo te pa!*"—"The *pa* has fallen, the *pa* is taken!" This roused all the people, who came rushing into the *marae* to find out what was the matter. On hearing that Te Rangi-apiti-rua was there an immediate outcry was raised that he should be brought forth and killed. Potaka then led forth Te Rangi-apiti-rua and set him down on a mat in front of all the people, and then said, "Who will strike the first blow at your relative?" This silenced the people—not one would undertake the job, and soon one after another came up and rubbed noses with the visitor.

After a time the two chiefs entered into a conversation and a consultation. Te Rangi-apiti-rua said, "Have you got a *koke*?" (canoe) "Yes," said Potaka, "but it is a very small one." When Te Rangi-apiti-rua saw it he found it too small for his purpose, which he had explained to Potaka, and secured the latter's consent to his plan. This plan was to make a naval demonstration against the Nga-potiki-*taua* people living about the Sugar-loaves, and so avenge the deaths of those that fell at Wai-manu. It will be observed that the wily Te Rangi-apiti-rua was willing to sacrifice his friends living beyond his home to secure to his Ati-Awa relatives some *utu* for their losses, but not those who had done the mischief. This was *tikanga-Maori* (Maori-custom). It was to this end he proposed an expedition by water, probably thinking if it went by land his own *pa* might be attacked. Potaka pointed out that an old woman (name forgotten) had a fine large war-canoe at Waitara. So both these schemers started off for that place, and on arrival at Ao-rangi, the *pa* of Miro-ora of Ati-Awa, explained to that chief the proposed plan, to which he agreed. The canoe—a very large one—was now prepared for sea, and then Te Rangi-apiti-rua returned to his home—which Whatitiri says was then at Pukaka (Marsland Hill)—so as not to appear to his people to have had anything to do with the plot. Potaka also returned to Nga-puke-turua to carry out his part of his scheme.

ATTACK ON THE SUGAR-LOAF ISLANDS.

Mr. Skinner adds: "To get the assistance of the Nga-puke-turua and Waitara people, Te Rangi-apiti-rua told them of a sacrilege that had been committed on the remains of their ancestor Rata-nui. Two brothers, members of the tribe living around Nga-motu, had gone on a visit to Puke-aruhe, and while there had stolen the two shin bones of Rata-nui, who had been buried in the south-western corner of the *pa*—at the back of the present school-house. Rata-nui was an ancestor of both Potaka and Te Rangi-apiti-rua and had been a great chief of both Ati-Awa and Taranaki in his day. The bones had been stolen

for the purpose of making fish-hooks—for it was a strong belief of the Maoris that hooks so made were particularly efficacious in catching fish. These stolen bones had been taken away to Te Ngahoro *pa* (called now Major Lloyd's *pa*, Omata District)."

"Immediate revenge was determined on, and one party, under Miro-ora, left the Waitara river in the war-canoe already referred to, the name of which was "Eanga-nui" (the great revenge or compensation). She was a very large canoe, so much so that the whole of the party, numbering two hundred, proceeded by her to attack the Nga-motu islands. The canoe left the Waitara at night, timing its arrival at the islands just before daybreak. As the canoe drew near to Motu-o-Tamatea (the Sugar-loaf just to the north-west of Paritutu, an island at high water), the people in the *pa* there were roused by hearing a canoe song, and on looking down from the summit beheld a large canoe paddled by only a very few men, whilst some others were apparently hauling in fish as fast as they could. The bulk of the two hundred warriors were hidden in the hold of the canoe so that the Nga-potiki-taua people should not guess their number. The gleam of the shining sides of the *Kahawai* fish was seen as they were hauled in. As a matter of fact Miro-ora had brought from Waitara with him a few *Kahawai* to delude the other people into thinking that a great shoal of that fish was near the island. It was the same fish over and over again that were hauled in, together with the white whale-bone *meres*, of the warriors who manned the canoe, which the dim light before daybreak prevented the islanders from recognising. Tai-whaka-pu was chief of that section of Nga-potiki-tau that occupied the island, though his home is said to have been at Tapuae-haruru river; and as the canoe drew near he recognised Miro-ora and called out to him—"E Miro! He whetu te *pa*!"—"O Miro! are you using stars for the hooks!"); implying that the fish could not see the ordinary glistening shell-hook (or *pa*) at that early hour. Miro-ora replied—"There is a great shoal of *Kahawai*. Launch your canoes and help to catch them." The people of the island now rushed down to get ready the canoes, whilst Miro-ora and party slowly passed on beyond the island, still, apparently, hauling in fish as fast as they could, until they got opposite the Omata *pa*. By this time it was daylight, and the people of that and other *pas* about, thus seeing as they thought a great catch of fish in prospect, all put out to sea in their small fishing canoes. In the meantime Miro-ora had manœuvred so as to get inshore of the other canoes, and as soon as this was accomplished he gave the word and immediately two hundred paddles were flashing in the sunshine as the great canoe bore down on the fleet of fishermen.

These canoes were capsized and the occupants killed as the heavier vessel passed over them, and before very long the whole party and their canoes were destroyed. Many men were killed with the paddle, for which purpose it is well suited, being sharp at one end, with a lanceolate blade, and usually made of some heavy wood, such as *manuka*. From two to three hundred people were killed in this naval engagement.

After this second victory over Nga-potiki-tauua, Miro-ora and his party returned to their home at Waitara.

POTAKA TAKES NGA-HORO PA.

It was stated a few pages back that Potaka, after he and Te Rangi-apiti-rua had arranged with Miro-ora the attack on the Sugar-loaf islands, returned to his home at Nga-puke-turua, near Sentry Hill. Here he arranged to second Mira-ora's efforts by an expedition by land to further harass the Nga-potiki-tauua people. Mr. Skinner says: "Potaka came overland by way of the beach (at the same time Miro-ora came by sea) and was lying in ambush in the scrub close to the *pas* (at Nga-Motu). Seeing that the *pas* were deserted by nearly all but the old people, women, and children, he gave the signal and his party rushed the defenceless *pas*, and setting fire to the *whares*, made Mira-ora acquainted with the fact that the shore party had begun their work, which was the signal for him to commence his attack on the canoes. Those who succeeded in reaching the shore were at once cut off by Potaka and his followers, now in occupation of Miko-tahi (the island at the base of the present breakwater) and Te Motu-o-Tamatea. A few canoes only escaped and succeeded in making their way down the coast to Tapuae river."

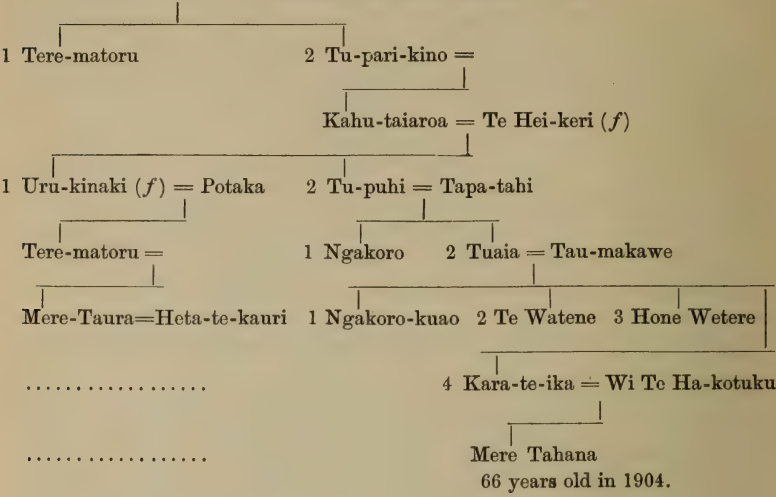
Potaka and his party went on to Nga-horo (Major Lloyd's *pa*, Omata) to carry out the search for the bones of the ancestor Rata-nui, reported by Te Rangi-apiti-rua to Potaka. "The bones were found at that *pa*," says Mr. Skinner, "hanging up in the roof of one of the houses. They were quite intact, nothing having been done with them in the way of making fish-hooks, needles, etc., the Ati-Awa having followed up their loss so quickly. The bones are said to have been discovered in a curious way—curious to us, but quite naturally to the Maoris. As Potaka or some of his family were searching the house, they heard a peculiar sound, a kind of humming noise, as if some one were singing over a tuning fork. Being a blood relation or descendant of Rata-nui's, Potaka at once understood what the noise meant, and advancing discovered the bones concealed in the roof of the house. The Maoris tell me that in olden times this was a common occurrence;

the bones of a relative made their presence known by this singing or humming noise. Certain bones had the power of warning the people of approaching danger, and would also foretell propitious days for fishing." This was not only a Taranaki but a general belief of the Maoris.

PARI-HAMORE PA.

The above named *pa* is situated on property marked on the plans of the Town of New Plymouth as section F, immediately behind the Public Cemetery, and not very far from Te Henui river. It has been a strong place in its time, though not very large. The *maioro* or ramparts are still in fair preservation. The site is a fine one; the views both up and down the Henui valley being very picturesque. Separated from Pari-hamore (the "bare cliff") by a hollow basin and about an eighth of a mile from it to the east is Puke-tarata, another excellent specimen of the fortified *pa*, still in good preservation. These *pas*, besides several others, after the re-conquest of the country by Ati-Awa, were held by the Ngati-Tu-pari-kino *hapu* of that tribe, and at the time of re-occupation the principal chief of Pari-hamore was Whakamoumou-rangi, whose people cultivated the adjacent lands, caught eels in the bright waters of the Henui and fish in the sea about a mile distant from the *pa*. Pari-hamore *pa* at that time possessed two things which rendered it somewhat famous in the discussions that went on when the tribes met at feasts or other gatherings. These were a *titoki* tree, renowned for its abundant crop of berries, from which the sweet-scented oil was made, used in old times on the hair and the body; and also for the possession of a young girl, whose beauty was the pride of the tribe and the subject of admiration of all the young fellows of the district. This lady was Uru-kinaki, daughter of Kahu-taia, a chief of Pari-hamore *pa*. To preserve the descent from her I quote the following table:—

TABLE No. XLVIII.



In the above table, Tu-pari-kino is the eponymous ancestor from whom the *hapu* that owned all the country round the *pa* take their name, and the two Meres (Mary) are both well-known ladies now living.*

The chief Potaka, who, as we have seen, distinguished himself in the taking of Nga-horo (Major Lloyd's) *pa*, was at the time of the incidents about to be described living at Para-iti, a place inland of the Bell Block. The fame of Uru-kinaki had, of course, reached his ears, and he, though probably somewhat advanced in years, became desirous of possessing the famed beauty. Possibly he thought he would not be an acceptable suitor to the young girl, so decided to make sure of a successful issue to his suit by proceeding against Pari-hamore in force. There would not be much difficulty in finding an excuse for this—his “family records” would no doubt disclose some death unavenged, or insult not squared. However this may be, Potaka raised a *taua* of his own people and marched on Pari-hamore, where they encamped in the hollow between the two *pas* already described. But Puke-tarata *pa* was not occupied at that time.

The siege had lasted some time and provisions began to fail within the *pa*. Starvation stared the people in the face. It was therefore decided by Whakamoumou-rangi to attempt negotiations. To this end one of the women of the *pa*, standing on the parapet, called out :

* Mere Tahana died in 1907.

"*E Po' ! Ka kawa te wain !*"—"O Potaka! The milk is bitter!"—meaning that through want of proper food the mothers' milk was bitter and not nourishing the babies.) Potaka now saw his opportunity, so replied: *Tukua a Uru-kinaki kia heke ki raro*"—"Let Uru-kinaki be sent down to the camp.") It was at once understood what this meant; that Uru-kinaki was to be the price of peace. What the lady herself thought is not recorded. But her people dressed her up in the finest mats, adorned her hair with plumes, anointed her with the famous *titoki* oil of Pari-hamore, and sent her down to the enemy's camp, to the great admiration of all beholders. Here Potaka met and claimed her as his wife, and then gave orders to return home with his prize. He shouted out to the people of the *pa*: "*E noho ra i ta koutou pa. E wera taku whare, ka whati te ope*"—"Remain in peace in your *pa*. When my house is set fire to you will know the *ope* has left.") And so Uru-kinaki was taken to the home of Potaka and became his wife, and they have many descendants still living at Puke-totara and other parts.

The above incident is believed to have occurred some years after the re-conquest of the country from Nga-Motu to Wai-o-ngana by Te Ati-Awa.

WHAKAREWA.

(1740.)

The following incident falls within the life-time of Te Rangi-apitirua, but whether before or after the conquest of the Nga-Motu country by Ati-Awa my informants cannot say, but probability seems to indicate that it was before.

I translate from Sir George Grey's "*Nga Mahinga*," p. 182, adding somewhat thereto from information derived from the Taranaki tribe:—"Now a war-party of Ngati-Awa and Ngati-Toa (the latter tribe was not there) was raised to proceed to Taranaki to attack the *pa* of Rangi-ra-runga (Rangi-mohuta, say Taranaki), which was named Whakarewa, a very large *pa* with high ramparts. (It is situated on section 28, block IV., Cape Survey District, three miles west of Okato Township, and, thanks to the Taranaki Scenery Preservation Society, is securely fenced in and protected. The *pa* is in good preservation, and is situated on one of those volcanic hillocks so common to that part of the country. Trees of many species cover the surface.) "Rangi-mohuta possessed a beautiful daughter named Rau-mahora, the fame of whose beauty had reached even to Te Rangi-apitirua at his *pa* of Puke-ariki, Town of New Plymouth. He was a chief of Ati-Awa and had a son named Takarangi, who was a great warrior. The latter had

heard also of the fame and beauty of Rau-mahora and his curiosity was aroused to behold her."

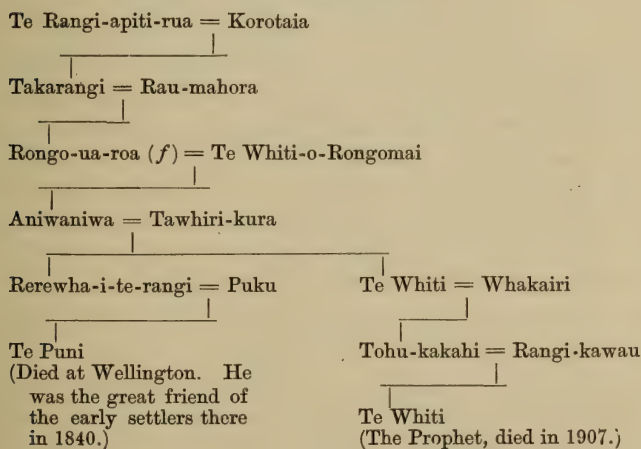
"In those days of old a quarrel arose between Te Rangi-apiti-rua and the father of Rau-mahora, hence the war-party of Ati-Awa proceeded to the latter's *pa* and laid siege to it. This continued for a long time; the place was invested very closely day and night, but the besiegers could not take it. The latter were very anxious to fight with the inmates of the *pa*, but they would not come outside. The time came when the food and water supply in the *pa* fell short, and starvation stared them in the face. Rangi-mohuta, the chief of the *pa*, could no longer bear to witness the sufferings of his daughter Rau-mahora for want of water; so he stood forth on the parapet of the *pa* and called out to the besiegers: "*E te taua nei! Homai he wai moku; ma te rangatirā e tiki.*"—"War-party ahoy! Give me some water. Let the chief fetch it!") This was consented to and one of the war-party went to fetch some water, but another man seeing this smashed the calabash in the other's hand, and so the old man was disappointed. This was done several times, and then the chief of the *pa*, standing on the parapet, saw one of the chiefs of the besiegers passing who had a distinguishing mark on his head, an ivory comb and heron's plume, which is the sign of a chief. The word of the chief of the *pa* now came forth: "Who art thou?" The other returned, "It is I, Takarangi!" Then said the chief of the *pa* to him, "*E horo rānei i a koe te tau o Orongo-mai-takupe?*"—"Can you swallow (or cause to fall) the reef at Orongo-mai-takupe?"—the meaning of which is: Could the young chief overcome or rule his men.) Takarangi replied, "*E horo! Taku ringa tē ngaua e te kuri!*"—"I can! Not a dog will bite my hand!") Takarangi said this, knowing that it was the father of the beautiful Rau-mahora, and he was troubled at the thought that she was suffering from thirst. And so he forthwith arose and proceeded to fetch some water for the girl and her father. He dipped from the spring Oringi, which bubbled up from the ground (the spring is about one hundred yards to the east of the *pa*). The people of the war-party did nothing, because the waves of ocean became calm for fear of this man—that is his anger. So Takarangi took the water to the *pa* and gave it to the chief, saying to him, "Behold, I said to you, this hand of mine would not be bitten by a dog. See then! here is water for thee and the girl." Whilst they both were satisfying their thirst, Takarangi was looking at the girl, and she at him, and thus they remained for some time. The old man, after drinking, said, "*Ka horo nga tai o Motu-takupu*"—"The seas are breaking on Motu-takupu," or, in other words, his throat was

wet, *i.e.*, satisfied with the water). And when the men of the war-party looked, behold! Takarangi was standing by the side of the girl, and they said to one another, "Friends! much greater is Takarangi's desire for Rau-mahora than for fighting."

"Seeing the state of affairs the father of Rau-mahora began to think; and then said to her, 'O Lady! would you like this man as a husband?' She replied, 'It is well!' And so the father gave his consent that his daughter should marry Takarangi. The young woman then proceeded to the stream to wash, and put on her finest garments, with an ivory comb in her hair, and then went forth from the *pa* and joined Takarangi; thenceforth becoming his wife. Hence ended the fighting, and the *taua* returned to their homes at Puke-ariki and Pu-kaka (Marsland hill), and never returned again in anger; for a permanent peace was thus made by the union of Rau-mahora and Takarangi."

"The descendants of that woman are those now here—Te Puni and his family and their children; thus—"

TABLE NO. XLIX.



After the reconquest of Nga-Motu by Ati-Awa, peace was made (for a time) between that tribe and Taranaki, and in order that no further troubles should arise, two chiefs were appointed "Wardens of the Marches," Te Whare-pouri on behalf of Ati-Awa, and Rua-turi-whati on the Taranaki side. It was their business to see that "*Kia kaua e pikitia a Nuku-tai-pari*."—"Nuku-tai-pari should not be crossed

by a hostile party")—that place being the boundary determined on; it is the sandy gully leading down to the beach immediately to the south of Pari-tutu, the main Sugar-loaf.

It seems probable that the marriage of Takarangi and Rau-mahora took place somewhere about 1740, and, as an old man, Takarangi was taken prisoner at the fall of the Rewarewa *pa* in 1805—see *infra*.

HINGA-KAKA.

TE TIPI AND INU-WAI'S INCURSION.

(1780.)

We now come to a very great defeat suffered by the Taranaki-coast tribes. But first let us relate the cause of it.

TABLE No. L.	For reasons unknown, but probably from the
7 Tipi	love of <i>patu-tangata</i> (man-killing) that had grown
Inu-wai	from generation to generation in ever increasing
5 Puahue	proportions, a war-party of Ngati-Haua, of the
Ngapake	Thames Valley, and Waikato under the chiefs Te
Tuhua	Tipi and Inu-wai, made an incursion into Taranaki.
.....	These two men were priests, and also warriors, pro-
.....	fessions that did not clash in Maoridom. They

started from their home at Te Aitu on the upper Piako river, one hundred strong (*i.e.* 200) all picked men. They came by way of Mokau, Waitara, Taranaki, Ngati-Ruanui, Whanganui and Rangitikei; then turning to the East they crossed the Ruahine range by Te Ahu-o-Turanga track, and made their way to Ahuriri, from whence they returned home by way of the Titi-o-kura saddle and Taupo to Maunga-tautari, near Cambridge, where, after a time, the party took part in the defeat of the West Coast tribes at Hinga-kākā.*

Such is the Waikato account of this lengthy expedition, but I have never heard any local confirmation of it, that is, of details as to what this party accomplished on their way through Taranaki, though it is said that it was in revenge for the injuries inflicted on the Coast tribes at that time, that they combined to proceed to Waikato, when Hinga-kākā battle was fought and lost.

In order to fix the date and preserve the record, I quote the following portion of a Ngati-Toa genealogy—supplied by Mr. A. Shand. It may be added that through inter-marriages these people are as much Ati-Awa as Ngati-Toa :—

* This account is abbreviated from J. White's "Ancient History of the Maori."

TABLE No. LI.

8	Hine-wairoa = Turanga-peke			
7	1 Kahui-taiki = Te Maunu	2 Turanga-peke =		
6	Te Kahi-rangi = 1 Pikau-te-rangi <i>a</i>	2 Wai-taoro	4 Maui <i>a</i> =	Te Maunu-kua <i>a</i> = Te Urunga-pingao
5	1 Toitoi	5 Hape	Apitia	Tatua
4	Te Pehi * Matenga-te-rapa		Apitia (of Chatham Islands)	Hanuera Koteriki (of Chatham Islands)
3		Biria	.....	.....
2			.....	.....
1			.....	.....
	* Probably Pehi Kupe.			Those marked <i>a</i> all killed at Hinga-kakā.

The above table is part of a long one, tracing a Ngati-Toa descent from the aboriginal inhabitants of New Zealand.

TABLE NO. LII.		The marginal table is from Ngati-Mata-kore, one of the <i>hapus</i> of Ngati-Mania-poto that took part in the battle of Hinga-kākā, and Huahua was their leader there. It results from these tables that Inu-wai and Huahua (of Waikato) and four others of Ati-Awa were all born six generations ago, or about 1750, and as they must have probably been thirty years old when the battle took place, we may fix an approximate date at 1780. Colonel Gudgeon, to whom I am indebted for Table 52, says, "Tautara was not alive when Tangi-mania was fought in 1818, nor Huahua when Huri-moana was fought in 1810."
13	Rere-ahu	
	Mata-kore	
	Mania	
10	Tu-heiao	
	Manu	
	Tara-hui	
	Rangi-tiariari	
	Huahua	
5	Tautara	
	Te Pako	
	Nga mo	
	Nga-pawa	
	

The Taranaki war-party that went to Waikato to avenge the injuries inflicted by Tipi, Inuwai, and others as related last page, was composed principally of Ati-Awa, Taranaki, Ngati-Ruanui, and probably others, and was a very large party. They were very successful at first, carrying everything before them until they came to Nga-roto, near Te Awa-mutu, on the Auckland-Wellington railway line one hundred miles south of Auckland. Every *pa* they besieged was taken and in every skirmish they engaged in they conquered. But we have no detail of these transactions. As the war-party came up to Nga-roto—which was an open country with several little lakes (hence the name) and patches of tall *manuka* scrub, still existing in 1863—the Waikato assembled to meet them, and with them were the travel-stained veterans of Tipi and Inuwai. Ngati-Apa-kura, of Waikato (afterwards of Kawhia), were there, and Colonel Gudgeon says, before the battle took place, Huahua, of Ngati-Mata-kore, said to Tiriwa, of Ngati-Apa-kura, "*Mau te titi, maku te whewhera*"—"Be you the wedge, I will open up the hole.") But Tiriwa answered, "*Mau ano te titi, maku ano taku whewhera*."—"You be the wedge, I will open up my own hole.") The Ati-Awa at first were carrying all before them until they were met by Ngati-Apa-kura, who attacked them fiercely and stopped their progress, and eventually reversed the order of things, causing Ati-Awa to retreat. But they were followed up with such success that they were nearly all exterminated. "*Kaore i hoki mai teteahi morehu*"—"Not one survivor came back") says old Rangi-pito of Ati-Awa.

When Waikato had defeated the Ati-Awa, they were greatly rejoiced, because up to that time Ati-Awa had been most successful. The Waikato jumped on the dead bodies in their rage, shouting, "*To puku! horo tangata, horo whenua!*"—"Thy belly! O man eater, O land eater!")

A great many of the Taranaki chiefs and leaders were killed in this decisive battle, amongst whom were Pikau-te-rangi (an ancestor of Tungia), Maui, Te Maunu-kuao, Te Ra-ka-herea, Tahua-roa, etc., but I cannot tell whether Rangi-pito is correct in saying every soul of the war-party perished. This defeat appears never to have been avenged, at any rate by active operations in the enemies' (Waikato) country.

Te Maunu-kuao, one of those killed, had a second name, Te Kaka-kura, so called because of the redness of his face, a point which was much admired. A "saying" about him was, "*Te ra i whanau ai a Te Maunu*"—"The day that Te Maunu was born"—or, perhaps, "Te Maunu was born of the sun."*

In Sir George Grey's "Maori Proverbs" will be found the following reference to Hingakaka :—" *No nawhea taku katanga; no Hingakaka ano. Ko te rua tenei, koia tenei.*"—"This is the first time I have laughed for a long time: this is the second time I have laughed since the battle of Hingakaka"—a battle fought near Otawhao, where the Ngati-Awa were defeated by the Waikato tribes with immense loss). *Hingakaka*, they fell into their enemies' hands as fish hauled up in the kind of net called *kākā*, hence the name of the battle. Te Mangao is the name of the place where the battle of Hingakaka was fought; it is about a mile and a-half from Otawhao."

*From Mr. A. Shand.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DOINGS OF NGATI-TAMA

On the Northern Frontier.

IT has frequently been mentioned in former pages that the brave little tribe of Ngati-Tama that occupied the country from the White Cliffs to Mohakatino river, were constantly at loggerheads with their northern neighbours of Mokau, where dwelt the southernmost *hapus* of the great Ngati-Mania-poto tribe—Ngati-Rakei, Ngati-wai-korora, Ngati-Mihi, Ngati-Ihia, and others—which have been referred to under the name of the “Tainui” tribes, for it was in that canoe their ancestors crossed “The great ocean of Kiwa” in 1350 when they first settled in New Zealand.

By their numerous strongholds situated along the coast, the Ngati-Tama for many generations held back the power and might of the Tainui tribes, and in nearly all instances were able to inflict defeat on the northern invaders. The first instance we have record of is when the great chief of Waikato, Runga-te-rangi, a grandson of Mania-poto, who lived twelve generations ago, was killed by Ngati-Tama at, or near, the Kawau *pā* when leading a hostile expedition against the latter tribe. This man, according to Maori ideas, was of supreme rank, for he was of the *Kawai-ariki* or agnate line of descent from Hotu-roa, captain of the “Tainui,” and therefore combined in himself all the powers of chieftainship, together with those of a sacerdotal character pertaining to the *ariki* of a great tribe. His death occurred somewhere about 1625 to 1630—as near as can be made out. The father of Runga-te-rangi was Te Kawa-iri-rangi, and he was killed in some expedition to Tamaki (Auckland Isthmus). After his son’s death at Te Kawau *pā*, a “saying” became common among the Waikato tribes:—“*Pou-tama ki runga ; Tamaki ki raro*,” the meaning of which is, there is always war at Pou-tama in the south, or Tamaki in the north. This death led to many expeditions against Ngati-Tama in order to wipe out the sense of defeat felt by the Tainui tribes ; but the plucky little tribe (of Nga-Tama) held their own and invariably beat off their opponents, until the early years of the

nineteenth century, when, as we shall see, they had to succumb to superior force and to muskets. Many a noted Waikato or Ngati-Maniapoto chief fell under the *taiahas* of Ngati-Tama during this period, amongst whom were Maunga-tautari, Hanu, Tai-porutu, Pehi, Ahiweka, Whiti, etc. Few particulars of these obstinate fights have been preserved, at any rate with sufficient detail to enable us to place them in their proper sequence. The following notes, however, have been secured by Mr. W. H. Skinner and myself in reference thereto; and the localities will be seen on Map No. 3 :—

Mr. Skinner says : “ The Ngati-Tama tribe possessed all the lands along the coast from the Mokau river to Titoki, a place two miles south of Puke-aruhe *pa*, at the southern end of the White Cliffs. Strictly speaking, the Mohaka-tino river was their northern boundary, for the strip of country between there and Mokau was never occupied permanently by Ngati-Tama; it was a neutral or debatable ground between them and Ngati-Maniapoto. To the ancient Maori this country of the Ngati-Tama was an ideal one—a land to be desired and fought for. It offered numerous sites to the old warriors, perfect in their way, for their *pas* or fortified villages; positions of such great natural strength and the advantages surrounding them that it was scarce conceivable to improve upon them. The narrow strip of level or undulating land—about half a mile wide—between the sea and the foot of the wooded ranges, was rich and easily worked, and more than ample for all their wants in the growth of *kumara*, *taro*, and other vegetables. Two fine streams, the Tongaporutu and Mohaka-tino, besides numerous smaller ones, abounded with eels, whilst the forest ranges offered good returns to the bird-snarer. At their feet the ocean literally teemed with life.

“ Owing to the attraction offered by the numerous mussel reefs along this part of the coast, together with the sea itself, a plentiful harvest was always provided to the fishing fleets that issued from the rivers and sandy coves in proximity to the *pas*, during the proper season and favourable weather.

“ For a period of two hundred and fifty years or more warfare had existed between Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Maniapoto.”

THE DEATH OF WHITI.

“ Whiti was the name of a Ngati-Maniapoto chief who was killed at Te Horo, the northern end of Pari-ninihi cliff, where the old path left the beach and ascended the cliff to avoid the Taniwha point—a place which is identical with the tunnel that now pierces the cliff, running up at a steep grade from the beach below to a gully at the back of the cliff. Whiti was returning with his party from a raid into the enemies’

country—unsuccessful apparently, for he was closely followed by the Ngati-Tama people of Puke-aruhe and Otu-matua *pas*—and they were making a running fight of it. The northern *taua* was brought up by the cliff at the foot of Te Horo; there was no escape, except by the steep path that ran sheer up the cliff. At intervals stakes were driven into the ground, to which were attached supplejack ropes, without the aid of which it was scarcely possible to reach the top. Once on the summit, they were safe for the time being.

“One by one Whiti’s men ascended the cliff, until at last only their brave leader was left below. And now having nobly covered their retreat, he stood, a true warrior at bay, facing his swarming enemies. Not one of his opponents dare attack him. Watching his opportunity he turned suddenly and made a spring up the smooth worn surface of the bare cliff; once past this he was safe, but the fates were against him. Exhausted no doubt by the exertions of his defence, he failed in the attempt and partially slipped back, or hung for a while on the lower edge, and before he could recover himself his enemies below caught him by the ankles and dragged him back to the beach, where he was killed before the eyes of his own people on the cliff above, who were unable to render him any aid.

“This event took place some six or eight generations ago.”

It is somewhat difficult to understand how Whiti and his party managed to pass the Ngati-Tama fortresses that existed between the scene of his death and Mokau. Possibly Ngati-Tama were away at the time.

WAIANA’ CAVE.

Just inside the mouth of the Mohaka-tino river, on the south bank, inside a little island, there formerly existed a cave in the cliffs called Waiana, which has now disappeared owing to the erosion of the cliffs by the sea and the river.

“Many years ago, but sometime after the death of Whiti, a party of Ngati-Mania-poto came across the debatable land between there and Mokau and camped in this cave. It was a time of peace—if it were possible for such a thing to exist—between the two tribes. But Ngati-Tama at once decided to entrap and kill the party in order to equalize some of the *utu* owing. Accordingly, a great show of friendship was made and preparations undertaken for a feast of *pipis* and other Maori delicacies. The Ngati-Tama, whilst the food was preparing, and apparently unarmed, approached and intermingled with the visitors. But they had concealed weapons about them. A *tangi* was now held, and mutual good wishes and satisfaction expressed at the state of peace which now obtained. All this time Ngati-Tama had been gradually

encircling and mixing up with Ngati-Mania-poto according to a prearranged plan. At a given signal they fell among the visitors and killed nearly the whole of the party, including an important chief named Niwha. This man was an ancestor of Niwha who now (1894) lives at Te Kauri village, Mokau Heads."

DEATH OF TAI-PORUTU.

(1780.)

The amount of fighting between Ngati-Tama and the Tai-nui tribes to the north has been so constant, and the events so numerous, that it is impossible to describe them all, or even to place them in the proper sequence until the opening years of the nineteenth century. But the death of Tai-porutu rests on somewhat surer *data* than usual. Tai-porutu was the principal chief of the Ngati-Haua* tribe of Matamata, Upper Thames Valley; his son was Te Waharoa, whose son was Wiremu Tamihana Tarapipipi, the so-called "King Maker." Mr. J. A. Wilson, in his interesting "Story of Te Waharoa," says Te Waharoa was upwards of sixty years of age when he died in 1839, and that he was born just at the time Tai-porutu was killed. This takes us back to the year 1780, and it seems probable to me that it was during the expedition of Tipi and Inuwai already described that Tai-porutu's death occurred, for it was Ngati-Haua who formed the bulk of that war-party.

Whether it was in retaliation for the Wai-ana massacre described above, or to settle some other account with Ngati-Tama, a party of Ngati-Haua and Ngati-Mania-poto came down the coast and got as far as the Kawau *pa*, the great stronghold of Ngati-Tama, a description of which will be found in Chapter I. Mr. Skinner adds, "On the hard sandy beach below and to the north of Te Kawau, called Rangi-kaiwaka, was fought many a pitched battle, and here has been heard times beyond measure the thundering chorus of the *ngeri* or war-dance, the forerunner of a coming fight. A quarter of a mile to the north of Te Kawau, a rocky ledge ran from the base of the cliff seaward, separating the Rangi-kaiwaka beach from that of Pou-tama, which latter ran unbroken to the Mohaka-tino river two miles distant. Many of the battles fought here centred around this ledge of rocks; the first party to gain the advantage of its slippery summit bade defiance to their less successful foes below."

It was during one of the battles fought on the beach just described that the *taua* above referred to were defeated by Ngati-Tama, and

* Not to be confused with Ngati-Hāua of Upper Whanganui, for the two last syllables (*haua*) are pronounced quite differently in the latter tribe's name, like *ha-ua*, not *hāua*.

Tai-porutu killed or wounded. His body was then taken up to the Kawau *pa* and suspended head downwards in the main gateway or *waha-roa* of the *pa*; he was crucified, in fact. Hence comes the name Waha-roa, of the Ngati-Haua family, which was given to Te Waharoa by his mother soon after his birth, when the news of Tai-porutu's death reached her.

Colonel Gudgeon says that the Whanganui tribe Ngati-Hau were assisting Ngati-Tama at the time that Tai-porutu was killed, which is confirmed by W. Te Awa-i-taia's account in "Ancient History of the Maori," Vol. 6, p. 1.

DEATH OF PEHI-TAHANGA.

Mr. Skinner continues, "During one of the periodical raids of Ngati-Mania-poto into the Ngati-Tama country, a night attack or surprise was attempted on Te Kawau *pa*. The following is the Ngati-Mania-poto account as told by Toiroa, of Mokau Heads: 'A *taua* of our tribe had come to Pou-tama to obtain revenge for the death of one of our chiefs, and they nearly succeeded in taking the *pa*. The only approach to this stronghold was by means of steps cut into the sandstone rock on the landward face, up which only one man could go at a time' (or was it not rather by ladders which could be drawn up into the *pa*.—W. H. S.) 'It was night, or early dawn, and part of the *taua* had gained the summit of the island *pa*, where they were discovered by Ngati-Tama within, and the *taua* was quickly driven over the cliff or back by the way they came. As it was only possible for one man at a time to get down, the *taua* was caught in a trap, and a chief of very high rank in the Ngati-Mania-poto tribe, named Pehi-tahanga, in trying to escape, fell over the precipice into the gut (see Plate No. 2) that runs between the island *pa* and the main land, a height of one hundred feet or more. Falling on to the rocky ledge below, he was killed, or so injured that he fell an easy prey to Ngati-Tama. His body was cut up and eaten with great ceremony at the feast called *Te ohu*, at the planting of the *kumara*. His son, in consequence, afterwards took this as a name, Te Ohu. Pehi-Tahanga was an uncle (?) or near relative of Wahanui's.'"

The following is the *haka*, or *ngeri*, sung by one of the Waikato parties that came to avenge the death of Pehi-Tahanga—see "Nga Moteatea," p. 209:—

Rokohanga mai taku ipo,
O, e atawhaitia ana,
A, ka riro i te ko muhumuhu,
U, ka riro i te korerorero,
O, ka tu ra ka haere,

When evil counsel to my lover came
In the midst of those that loved him,
'Twas whispers of fame to come,
And strong persuasion together
That induced him to arise and join

E, ki te tiki ra i Te Kawanu,	In the vain hope, Te Kawanu to take,
U, kia riro mai Tu-poki,	With Tu-poki its chief to slay
I, kia riro mai Raparapa	And his valiant brother Raparapa
A, kia riro mai to kai	'Twas there thy food would be
Ngohe ngohe te riri.	And war be easily ended.

The first line of this *ngerī* is sung by one voice, all the rest by the whole of the war-party, excepting the first letter of each line, carried over from the last of the previous line, which is sung by the fagle-man.

DEATH OF AHIWEKA.—RAPARAPA, AND TU-POKI.

It was at the end of the eighteenth and the first twenty years of the nineteenth century that flourished the Ngati-Tama hero, Raparapa and his almost equally famous elder brother Tu-poki, both mentioned in the *ngerī* above. Their home was Te Kawanu *pa*. They were the leading chiefs of Ngati-Tama in those days, and their war-like deeds are sung of to this day. Rangi-pito, whom I shall have very frequently to quote in what follows, says of Raparapa, "He was a comparatively small, spare man, but very active, and strong in the limb, with small muscular calves; he was a great *toa* or brave, who, with his valiant brother Tu-poki and their tribe, had often hurled back the *élite* of the northern tribes from their rock-bound home at Pou-tama." Another account of the same man obtained from Wi Ari by Mr. W. H. Skinner is, "He was a man below the medium height, not heavily built, but his joints were of phenomenal size (? double jointed). He was possessed of enormous muscular strength and great activity, and above all was a *toa* (warrior)."

Mr. Skinner adds, "As showing Raparapa's great strength and activity, he, on one occasion, rushed down from the Kawanu *pa* and dashing into the rear of a retreating *taua* of the enemy on the beach below, seized a full-grown warrior" (named Ahi-weka) "by the *tatua* or belt, and throwing him over his shoulder, ran back with him to the base of the cliff, and then unaided bore his prisoner up the steep face by the way that has been described to the summit of the *pa*, where he was despatched at leisure." This was a feat of no ordinary strength. I have no means of fixing the exact date of this event, but it was about the year 1800. Wiremu Nero Te Awaiaia* says the tribes that formed this large war-party were Waikato, Ngati-Haua, Ngati-Mania-poto, even some of Ngati-Paoa and Ngati-Maru of the Thames Gulf, and a few of Nga-Puhi from the north. They mustered a thousand warriors and were met by an equal number of Ngati-Tama (and, as Te Awa-i-taia

* "Ancient History of the Maori," Vol. 6, p. 2.

says, some of Ngati-Hāua of Whanganui). A battle was fought on the Pou-tama beach and the allies defeated, who then returned to their homes without much satisfaction for the death of Tai-porutu, which was the object of this great *taua*. Te Awa-i-taia says the Whanganui chief Tangi was killed in this battle.

The same Maori writer says that, "There was the great expedition of Te Waharoa, Pohepohe, Tu-te-rangi-pouri, and all Ngati-Mania-poto when Poroaki and his party were slain at Pou-tama by Ngati-Awa"—which preceded the above; but I am unable to place it—probably it was either in the same or preceding year as that in which Ahiweka was captured (*i.e.*, in 1800). It was in one of these expeditions that Maunga-tautari, a great chief of Ngati-Haua, was slain.

Mr. Skinner says, "Tu-poki, the younger brother of Raparapa, is described as a man of great size and strength, but slower in his actions than his brother." We shall come across these two men again in the course of this narrative.

THE CAPTURE OF THE REWAREWA PA BY A *TAUA* OF THE
TARANAKI TRIBE.
1805-10.

The next event in the history of this coast was the capture of the Rewarewa *pa*, which Mr. W. H. Skinner thus describes:—

"The Rewarewa *pa* stands at the mouth of the Waiwakaiho river, which falls into the sea about two miles north of New Plymouth. The *pa* was situated on the north bank of the river, between a bend immediately inside the mouth and the sea, and at the time of this story—early in this century or about 1805-10—was occupied by the Ngati-Tawirikura, a subdivision of the Nga-Motu *hapu* of the great Ati-Awa tribe.*

Before relating the storming of this stronghold, it will be necessary to give a short account of the action that led up to this event, and which was the direct cause of the terrible revenge measured out to the inhabitants of the Rewarewa *pa*.

The people of Rewarewa, combined with those of the great Puke-tapu *pa*—the chief stronghold of the powerful Puke-tapu *hapu* of the same Ati-Awa tribe—in all from eight hundred to one thousand warriors—had some time previously made a raid on the Taranaki tribe, attacking and capturing the then celebrated fighting *pa* of Koru. This *pa* probably takes its name from *koru*, a bend or fold, as it is built on a deep bend of the Oakura river, just below the present township of

* See locality plan, opposite page.

Koru, which is named after the *pa*. It is situated about nine miles south of New Plymouth, and is a favourite resort for picnics at the present time. The old fort is approached by crossing a most picturesque suspension bridge, which spans the rocky bed of the Oakura beneath the wooded slopes of the now deserted stronghold. The whole of the *pa* and its outworks are now covered with a dense growth of *karaka*, *rewarewa*, *ngaio*, and other native shrubs, and on my last visit was in an almost perfect state of preservation, excepting, of course, the palisading, which has decayed. Koru is unique amongst old Maori strongholds in the Taranaki district, in the kind of protective works adopted; some of the walls are built up with rubble work, the stones for which were obtained from the bed of the Oakura, which flows immediately beneath. These stone walls—or rather walls faced with stone—run up in some places to a height of fifteen feet, and all the minor outworks are faced with stone in the same manner. Tu-makuru and Mona were chiefs of the Koru *pa* at this time. In this affair the former is said to have killed two Ati-Awas with one thrust of his *tao*, or double-pointed spear, or by a right-and-left thrust. Tu-makuru made good his escape, but Mona was killed in a hand-to-hand fight by the *taiaha* of one of the Ati-Awas.

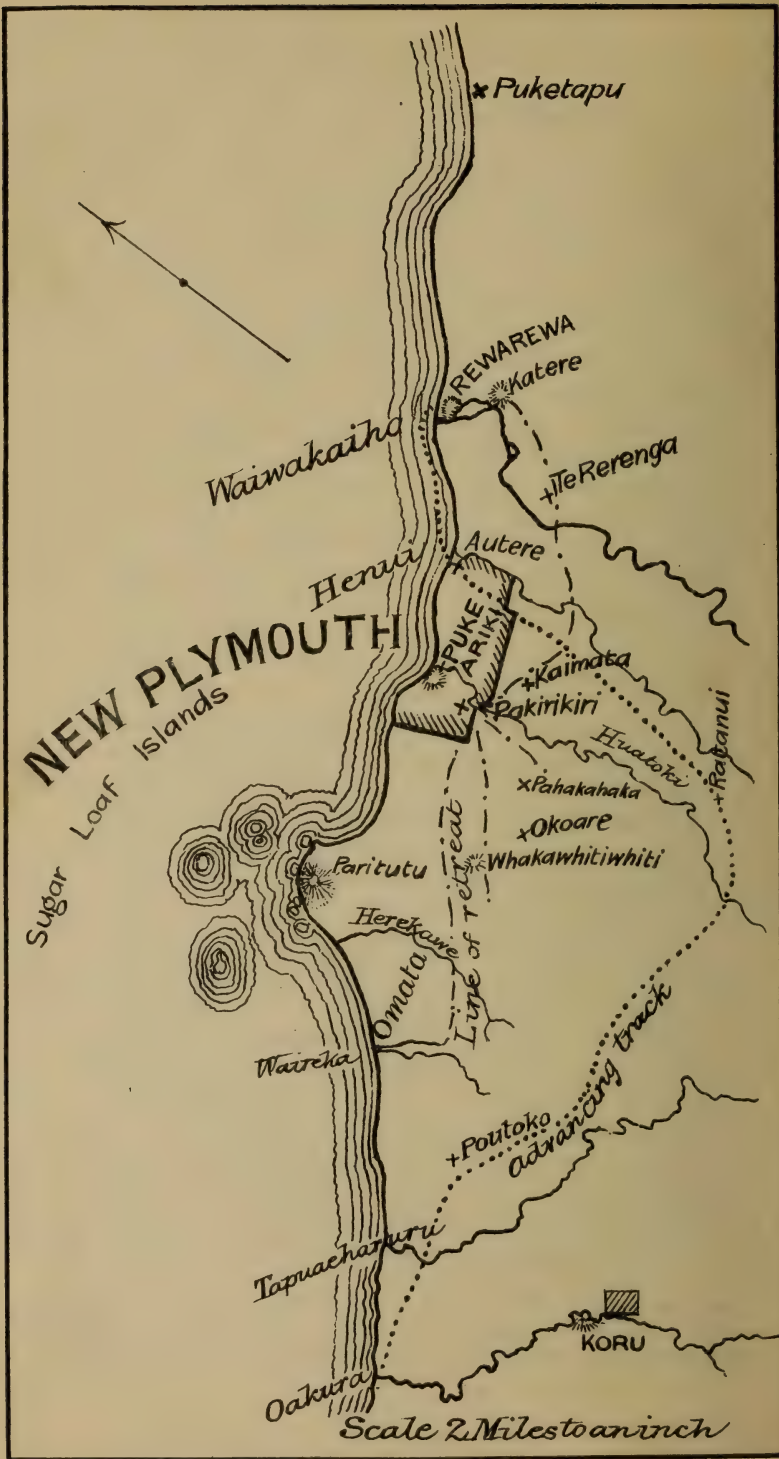
After the capture of this *pa* by Te Ati-Awa, and when all the fighting was over, feasting and the recounting of deeds of valour and daring as a matter of course followed; then it was that a great dispute took place between the two *hapus*. It so happened that the contingent from Rewarewa consisted almost exclusively of chiefs, and several of these were men of high rank in the Ati-Awa tribe. The Puke-tapu men, on the other hand, though outnumbering their friends by two to one, contained few men of high rank among them. The aristocratic contingent from Rewarewa taunted their friends of low degree from Puke-tapu with only playing a secondary part in the affair of Koru; they intimated that they were there picking the bones of an enemy who, had it not been for the particular prowess of the Rewarewa people, would have been eating them—the lowly men of Puke-tapu, instead—in fact they took all the credit to themselves, leaving none for the brave fellows of Puke-tapu. The Puke-tapu men withdrew to their homes—the country round about what is now known as the Bell Block—very *pouri*, to bide their time for taking *utu* for the insulting swagger of their Rewarewa kin. An opportunity was not long wanting.

At this time the country in and around the present site of New Plymouth was constantly being overrun by war-parties of the Taranaki and Ati-Awa. Originally the boundary between these two tribes was the Manga-o-raka river—six or seven miles to the north of New

Plymouth—but in course of years the Ati-Awa had driven their neighbours further and further to the south, and at the time of this story the line of demarcation between these two hostile tribes was fixed about the base of Paritutu, the highest of the Sugar-loaves, about two miles to the south of New Plymouth—see Chapter IX. Evidence of the Taranaki occupation of this debatable strip of country is to be seen on every hand; a few of their principal strongholds may be mentioned: Pu-kaka, immediately at the back of St. Mary's Church, New Plymouth, and now known as Marsland Hill; the top of this great *pa* was afterwards levelled off for military purposes, and during the Maori wars of 1860-5 was the headquarters of the Imperial forces in this part of New Zealand; Pu-kiekie, just to the south of the last-named *pa*, in Victoria Park; Wharepapa, or Fort Niger; Mataitonga, or Fort Murray, both in the town of New Plymouth, and both used during the Maori war in 1860-5 as military stations; Puke-he, now known as the Mission Hill, near the Breakwater; Okoare, just at the back of Mr. F. Watson's farm-house, Westown; Whakawhitiwhiti, in the same neighbourhood; besides a number of others.

The Taranaki tribe, smarting under the slaughter at Koru, determined to have *utu* for their fallen chiefs, and soon after an incident occurred which determined Taranaki to proceed forthwith to satisfy their craving for revenge. A certain man of Taranaki, whose name is forgotten, visited Kairoa *pa*, situated behind Matai-tawa. He was not a chief or man of much importance, but was related to both Ati-Awa and Taranaki. Some of the Kairoa Ati-Awa, finding this man outside the *pa*, set upon him and tried to kill him; indeed, thought they had done so, for the poor fellow was terribly knocked about the head—so much so that he became unconscious. His jaw was also smashed by a blow. After a time the man came to, and finding his foes still about, feigned death, until he got a chance to creep away into the bush, from whence he made his way with great difficulty to his home. Arrived there, and on beholding the pitiable state in which he was in, he was asked, "*Na wai koe?*"—"Who maltreated you?" "*Ku—u—ku—u—kai——roa,*" said he, not being able to speak distinctly on account of his fractured jaw. This incident was the "last straw." It was at once decided to send forth a party to obtain revenge. This *taua*, numbering about two thousand in all, struck into the bush about the Tapuae or Poutoko,¹ and kept along inland so as to avoid

1. Tapuae, a small river which falls into the sea about seven miles south of New Plymouth. Poutoko, on the high ground above the valley of Tapuae, towards New Plymouth, the *pa* formerly occupied by Tamati Wiremu Te Ngahuru before the war.



observance by the Ati-Awa in the Pahakahaka¹ Fort, and stragglers from Pukeariki.² They seem to have turned down towards the beach near Ratanui,³ passing through the upper end of what is now called "Brooklands," on to the present line of the Avenue road, striking the beach at Autere—Major Brown's former residence at the mouth of the Henui River. They must have kept under cover near here for a day—they certainly would have been seen and the alarm given had they ventured on to the beach in the daylight. But it is clear the people of Rewarewa expected an attack, though not knowing the precise moment when it would occur. Rakei-roa, one of the chiefs of the *pa*, said, "*E kore e tata mai i te arainga o nga toka a Tarai.*"—"They will not come near us owing to the obstruction of the rocks of Tarai"—rocks of Tarai being used for the chiefs of the *pa*.) The following is the *mata*, or *ngeri*, used by Taranaki at the attack :—

I a matiti, e kai ana au	In the days of summer, I shall be eating
I te aitanga matua	The senior line of descent,
O Tuhoto-ariki.	From Tuhotu-ariki.

At this time the country was covered with a dense growth of *karaka*, *ngaio*, fern trees, and such like scrub, affording splendid cover for marauding parties of natives. The story goes that they came on to the beach before dawn and hurried along, crossing the Henui river, and reached the mouth of the Waiwhakaiho river just before daybreak. They crossed the river and crept stealthily towards the *pa*; the doomed inmates, all unconscious of the vicinity of their old foes, slept on. A halt was called, and Koroheahea,⁴ a chief of high rank in the Taranaki tribe, advanced alone in the grey dawn to spy out the strength of the

1. Pahakahaka: this *pa* is near "Woodleigh," and is cut through by the Frankley Road.

2. Pukeariki, Mount Eliot, formerly the Signal Station for the Port of New Plymouth, now cut away to make room for the Railway Station and other improvements.

3. Ratanui, formerly Major Brown's farm on the Carrington Road. [? Is this a *bonâ fide* Maori name; was it not so named by Major Brown from the great *rata* growing on the hill there?]

4. Koroheahea was the *tupuna*, or grandfather of Te Kahui, the well-known late chief of Rahotu, near Opunake, and also a near relative of Wiremu Kingi Matakatea, one of the principal chiefs of the Taranaki tribe, whose old *pa*—successfully defended by him against the Waikato tribes—was Te Namu, Opunake. Wiremu Kingi, in 1834, saved Mrs. Guard and her two children from being murdered when the "Harriett" was wrecked at the mouth of the Okahu river, a few miles south of Cape Egmont; and again in August, 1862, protected and brought safely through the enemy's country the passengers and crew of the "Lord Worsley," when that steamer was wrecked in Te Namu Bay, Opunake. W. Kingi died in February, 1893, at a very advanced age.

enemy's fortifications. He had almost made the circuit of the *pa*, in vain searching for a weak spot, for the works were in good order and the palisading of the best and strongest workmanship. Presently he came to the gateway, and cautiously approaching, he saw that the watchman was not at his post, so quietly and deftly undoing the fastenings he slid back the heavy piece of wood in the gateway and then, shouting his war-cry (see p. 261), he gave the signal for the onslaught; but before his companions reached him he had to defend his life in a fierce hand-to-hand fight with the inmates of the Rewarewa *pa*, who were now making frantic efforts to regain the gateway. Koroheahea stood his ground bravely, and killed three chiefs with his own good spear before he was killed himself with a blow from a *mere*. A desperate hand-to-hand fight ensued, but the Taranaki *taua* outnumbered the Ati-Awa at all points, and a dreadful slaughter followed.¹ The Rewarewa people were caught in a trap; the attack had been made along the sea and eastern fronts, and the inmates of the *pa* were driven back on to the cliff overhanging the Waiwhakaiho river; there the dead lay literally in heaps. Two of the principal chiefs, Te Puni and Rawa-ki-tua,² made a bold stroke for liberty, plunging headlong from the cliff into the river below, and rising safely to the surface, they struck out for the far side of the stream, which having reached, they ran across the sand-hills and came on to the beach between the Henui and Waiwhakaiho rivers. Running for bare life, they soon reached Pukeariki; here they told their sad story and called on friends and relatives to avenge their loss. It was at once decided to carry out the request—if possible. Messengers were sent off to Puketapu, appointing the following morning as the time for the combined attack on their enemies, now in occupation of the Rewarewa *pa*. Other messengers were sent to the Ngati-Tama in the north—the great fighting *hapu* of the Ati-Awa tribe, asking immediate help. Meantime, things were brisk in the captured *pa*. Between two and three hundred bodies lay stretched out in the *marae* of the fort; the place was one

1. There were three chiefs of very high rank in the Ati-Awa tribe killed here—Rerewha-i-te-rangi, the father of Te Puni, was one of them.

2. Te Puni and Rawa-ki-tua. These chiefs afterwards led their *hapu* in the migration south, occupying what is now the site of the City of Wellington.—See *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, Vol. I., p. 88. Te Puni, at this time, was a young man of from twenty-five to thirty years of age. When the Europeans first came to Wellington in 1840, Te Puni's age was estimated at sixty years; this would make the date of the capture of the Rewarewa somewhere between the years 1805-10. Other information is to the effect that this event occurred many years prior to the sailing of Te Pehi for England in a whaler in 1826.—See *New Zealanders*, p. 317.

great shamble. In the words of my informant—Heta Te Kauri of Puke-totara—“they were piled up in great heaps like dead sheep,” whilst active preparations were being made for the feast that was to follow.

A few of the Ati-Awa that had escaped the general slaughter made their way to Puketapu. Upon hearing the tidings the great war trumpet was sounded, and the whole *hapu* were soon gathered into the *pa*, and everything made ready to repel an attack. Later on in the day the emissaries from Puke-ariki reached Puketapu, with their scheme for a combined attack as mentioned before. A council of the whole of the inmates of the *pa* was called, and it was then decided that no help should be given, or revenge taken—at least for the present—for the capture and slaughter at the Rewarewa *pa*; for said they, “are not these the boasters who said we were of no account, common fellows, not *toas* (warriors) like them; where is the bravery they boasted about when we stormed Koru? that bravery which they said belonged only to them, the *rangatiras* of the Rewarewa. This is our *utu* for their insults.” So they remained quietly in their *pa*, whilst the feasting of their hereditary enemy on the bodies of their own tribesmen went merrily on. In this way did the men of Puketapu get *utu* for the insults heaped on them by the Rewarewa chiefs, after the capture of Koru.

As mentioned before, the Rewarewa *pa* was stormed just before dawn, and later on in the day the Taranaki *taua* moved inland and took up a position at Wanangananga, now called Katere-ki-te-moana—the rise seaward of Devon road, at the top of what is now called Mangaone Hill. The change of names was made at the time of the purchase of the Hua and Wai-whakaiho block, about 1844 or 1845; the owners refused to sell this portion of the block. The word denotes “let it float away to sea,” or “float it out to sea,” hence the name “Katere-moana.” There a great cannibal feast was held, lasting some days, at the end of which time all that remained of their victims was carefully baked, and then packed away in *calabashes* after the manner of what we call “potted meat.” Certain bones also of the higher chiefs were—after being carefully picked and scraped—packed away in their *pikaus* and taken with them for future domestic use, such as combs, flutes, fish-hooks, ornaments, etc. They were so elated with their late victory that it was decided to surprise Puke-ariki on their homeward march.

Everything being in readiness, they left Katere soon after midnight, timing themselves to reach Puke-ariki just before dawn—the favourite time for Maori attacks. Keeping the Wai-whakaiho Flat on their

right, this great *taua*, now increased in numbers by the captives from Rewarewa, passed on through Te Rerenga, or what is now the Glenarvon Estate, keeping on the high ground just at the back of the homestead, thence down into the Wai-whakaiho valley, crossing the river just below the deep pool used for swimming matches at picnic times, then up to the western slope, and on to Puke-o-tipua, now known as Shuttleworth's Hill. Crossing the Mangaorei road—Hospital road—just seaward of Mr. Campbell's residence, they passed on through Mrs. Randolph Smith's farm and over the Henui stream just above Puke-tarata, into Sole Brothers' farm, over the present line of the Avenue road, passing through Hawehawe, close in front of Mr. C. W. Govett's residence into the Kaimata¹ clearing, now the site of the homestead on Brooklands. From here they went down across the Pukekura² stream, about the upper end of the Recreation Grounds, passing through Tarakete, or Gilbert's farm, and coming on to the Carrington road at its junction with the Mill road, thence down the spur on which the Mill road now runs towards the Huatoki river. A halt was called on the brow of the hill, and after a short *korero* (talk), four or five hundred men were sent on as an advance guard to break a track through the dense fern and scrub, and make good the crossing of the Huatoki; this party consisted of common men only—privates, as my informant put it—the chiefs remained with the main body on the hill.

We will now leave the advancing *taua* for a short time, to see how things are going on at Puke-ariki and its neighbourhood. When it became known that the enemy had captured the Rewarewa *pa*, all the outlying forts were abandoned and the *hapu* concentrated within Puke-ariki *pa*. Within these lines, what remained of the *hapu* had gathered. On the refusal of the Puketapu *hapu* to assist in a combined attack on the Taranaki people, fears were expressed that the enemy would attack Puke-ariki, the inmates of which were numerically much weaker than the *taua*. Accordingly an appeal for help was sent off immediately to the Ngati-Tama, another *hapu* or subdivision of the Ati-Awa tribe, and who were renowned throughout the land as great *toas*.

The Ngati-Tamas decided at once to send help to their tribesmen; three hundred *toas*, or warriors, were quickly assembled in the vicinity

1. Kaimata, now Brooklands, once the residence of the late Captain Henry King, R.N., now occupied by Mr. Newton King.

2. Pukekura, name of the stream running through the Puke-kura Park (late Recreation Grounds), which joins the Huatoki river at Pitawa, just above Carrington road railway bridge.

of the Tonga-porutu river, and this war-party is said to have covered the distance between there and Puke-ariki—about forty miles—in five hours. It was a night march, made so that the enemy should not know of the reinforcements coming into Puke-ariki, and so timed that the flowing tide would, before daybreak, effectually wash out all traces of a large body of men having passed along the beaches to the southward.

We will now turn our attention to the advancing Taranaki *tau*, whom we left breaking a track through the dense growth down into the Huatoki Valley. As mentioned before, the main body stayed on the brow of the hill overlooking the valley, waiting until the track should be opened out down to the river. It was now getting on towards day-dawn—"the time of the calling of the birds," as the Maoris poetically term it—and the chiefs, fearing the daylight would be upon them before they could reach Puke-ariki, and becoming impatient of delay, one of them unguardedly called out to the advance party, now well down the hill, to push on. In the stillness of the early morn this was heard by one of the Ati-Awa scouts on Pukaka, who immediately gave the alarm to the inmates of Puke-ariki. Prompt action was at once taken, and a plan arranged to surprise the approaching *tau*. About four hundred of the best fighting men filed out quietly, and passed along what is now Brougham street (New Plymouth) up the spur between the Huatoki river and the Mahoe stream.¹ At a spot called Mawera—junction of Powderham and Brougham streets—they turned slightly to their right, passing through Puta-*tau*, the present site of St. Mary's Parsonage garden, and took up a position on the seaward face of the rise upon which the residence of Mr. W. D. Webster now stands. Here they decided to await their foes, as from this vantage ground they could overlook the slope down to the River Huatoki, and watch every movement of the Taranakis, who could now be plainly heard approaching straight for the rise, behind which they were concealed. The Ati-Awa of Puke-ariki, seeing their opportunity, divided their party into two, forming a well-laid ambuscade, a practice in which the Maoris were acknowledged masters. The advance party of the Taranakis was now almost in their midst; the wily Ati-Awa lay crouched in the fern at either hand, awaiting the pre-arranged signal for the onslaught. Their foes were now well into the net, but still the signal was delayed,

1. Pukaka: Marsland Hill. Huatoki: small river running through New Plymouth and crossing main street of town alongside the railway line. Mahoe: a small stream, one of the branches of which took its rise near the junction of Brougham and Powderham streets; this stream joined the Mangaotuku, just about where the Criterion Hotel now stands.

and it was not until the head of the Taranaki column had passed through and beyond the ambushade that their leader thought fit to give the signal. And now with a blood-curdling yell Koronerea¹ sprang into the air, and *mere* in hand, gave vent to the truly awful notes of the war-dance. As one man his four hundred followers answered back his cry, and then fell on their enemies from both sides at once, who, completely taken by surprise, had no time to rally and form up in the narrow track, and were struck down as they stood. Those in the rear, seeing what had happened to the advance guard, and thinking the Ati-Awa were far more numerous than really was the case, were seized with a panic, and broke and fled down the slope at the back of where the Windsor Castle Hotel² once stood, and by Mr. Andrew Morton's garden to the river. Meeting on their way the advance of the main body, a dreadful scene ensued; the river with its steep banks cut off all hope of a hasty retreat along the way they had come, and the under-growth around was so dense that they could not escape in any numbers to the right or left. The panic-stricken advance party, pressed back by sheer weight of numbers those who had reached the seaward bank of the stream, and who were climbing up the steep bank of the river; the Taranakis struggled for a moment on the brink, and then with a dull groan of despair, reeled backward into the bed of the Huatoki river a heaving mass of humanity, forming a slippery causeway of the dead and dying, over which their tribesmen essayed to pass to the further side, the causeway ever rising higher until—as my informant said—‘the Huatoki was choked with the dead of Taranaki.’ The Ati-Awa crossed over the river on the bodies of their routed enemies, and pursued the broken *taua* but a short distance up the spur, having already in their opinion taken sufficient *utu* for the slaughter at the Rewarewa *pa*. The main body of the Taranakis fled up what is now known as the Carrington road, through Broadmoor's farm, across the back of Woodleigh, and thence by Okoare, Ararepe, Ratapihipihi, and Tapuae-haruru³ into their own country. Small bodies of the fugitives escaped up the western slope of the Huatoki valley, and

1. Koronerea died about twenty-five years ago at a very advanced age, and was buried at Puketotara. The head chief of Puke-ariki was Rangi-apiti-rua. Koronerea was the fighting chief of this sub-division of the *hapu*.

2. The Hotel stood in Bulteel street, on section 785, town of New Plymouth; it is now removed.

3. Okoare, the old *pa* behind Mr. F. Watson's homestead. Ararepe, and Ratapihipihi around Rotokare lake, between Elliot and Barrett roads. Tapuae-haruru, the river just beyond Omata.

by Otumaikuku and Pipiko,¹ others by way of the Waimea² stream, coming together again in the neighbourhood of Tukapa,³ and joining the main body towards the Herekawe⁴ stream. In this affair only two men of rank were killed, most of the Taranaki chiefs being in the rear holding themselves in reserve for the actual assault on Puke-ariki.

This slaughter, called 'Pakirikiri'⁵ took place near the site of the old mill (now demolished) known as 'White's,' that used to stand on the Huatoki immediately below the Gaol, and just down the stream from the small bridge that spans the river on the Mill road. The Ati-Awa ambuscade was laid in what is now Mr. W. D. Webster's garden, between Fulford and Bulteel streets, New Plymouth.

This is the story as told to me by Heta Te Kauri, of Puketotara, a member of the Ngati-Te-Whiti *hapu* of the Ati-Awa tribe. The capture of Rewarewa *pa*, according to the Taranaki version, was given me by Te Kahui—see Koroheahea—and all the main points verified by Piripi Ngahuku of the Ngati-Te-Whiti *hapu* (Moturoa) of the Ati-Awa tribe."

It would appear from the following that Takarangi, whose marriage with Rau-mahora has already been described in connection with the siege of Te Whakarewa (*circa* 1740) was in the Rewarewa *pa* at the time of its fall, and there taken prisoner by Taranaki. The following from "Te Waka Maori" Newspaper, 1877, p. 47, alludes to this event, and it is inserted here to preserve it in more permanent form:—

"Nikorima Te Rangi-noho-iho who died 27th July, 1876, at Taranaki was—says his son Tamati-Kaweora—the last of the ancient chiefs of the tribes of Taranaki. He lived before the coming of Capt. Cook, and we are of opinion he must have been nearly two hundred years old (*sic*) for he was a grown up man when the first ships were seen off this coast, which ships the Maoris called 'Te Tere-a-tupaenga-roa,' (the fleet of the horizon). Nikorima was a chief of

1. Otumaikuku and Pipiko. The locality around the site of New Plymouth Hospital; this building stands on part of the Pipiko reserve

2. Waimea, the name of stream that crosses the Frankley road, and flows into the Huatoki at the tannery, about a quarter-of-a-mile inland of the Hospital gates.

3. Tukapa, this locality is still known by its old name.

4. Herekawe, the name of a stream that crosses the Main South road, about three miles from New Plymouth, in the Omata District.

5. Pakirikiri, a name given to this battle in derision, on account of the large number of common people—*tangata-ware*—that were killed. Pakirikiri is the name of the fish called "Rock-cod."

high birth, and a great warrior of Ngati-Haumia and Nga-Ruahine hapus of Taranaki tribe. He was a descendant of Ao-nui, '*nana i karihi te niho o Taranaki*' (who pricked the teeth of Taranaki, see *ante*, Chap. IX.), also of Tu-te-pupu-rangi, and Rua-korero, (see Table III.), and of those later chiefs Tu-haka-raro, Te Rangi-i-runga, Tu-te-raina and Rangi-manihi. The first war-like expedition in which he took part was that under Te Rangi-i-runga, at Patu-pohue, where he himself killed two men. The next in which he joined was also under Te Rangi-i-runga to Te Aho-roa, Waipa, (? Hinga-kaka, see *supra*) and there three men fell by his hand. He was also at the battle of Rewarewa (see *supra*) where he took Takarangi, a chief of Nga-Motu, prisoner, besides a woman. Nikorima had a narrow escape at the battle of Tawhiri-ketetahi where he received two spear thrusts, one by Whakataka, the other by Tihau. The spear was armed with the spines of the sting-ray (*he tete tara whai*) and was plumed with red feathers (*puihi ki te kura*). A thrust from behind penetrated his back and came out at his belly. A large party of Ngati-Rua-nui once invested his *pa*, Puke-kohatu; all but some boys were absent. He blocked up one of the entrances to the *pa*, and the ladder of the other he threw over the cliff so that there was no way by which the war-party could enter. His arms on this occasion was a spear named 'Nawenawea,' and a *tipua*, *ara*, *he karakia*, (an incantation) named 'Rua-hoata.' His plumes were made of hawk's feathers, and he proved his valour here, for the enemy did not take the *pa*."*

PUKE-TAPU PA AND THE EPIDEMICS NAMED TE REWHAREWHA AND
TE ARIKI.

More than one reference has been already made to the sacred character of the old *pa*, named Puke-tapu (or sacred hill), situated on the coast five and a-half miles north of New Plymouth, just to the north of the Bell Block. It held this character from very ancient days, because in its neighbourhood was a renowned burial ground where the chiefs of many parts found a final resting place, and, moreover, it is said to have been one of the earliest settlements on this coast. At the present time much of the old *pa* has been blown away by the winds, and parts are covered by sands from the beach, which is immediately below it. The old palisading of the *pa* could be seen as

* Knowing the very great age to which the Maoris lived, it is not impossible Nikorima might have been born about the time of Captain Cook's last voyage in 1777; and that the Taranaki natives may have seen his ship pass. This would only make Nikorima about 100 years old, not an uncommon age for a Maori. The "first ship" to visit the coast came about 1825.

late as the early fifties, but there is scarcely a vestige left of any occupation beyond the shell heaps, now to be seen, that formed the refuse places of the *pa*.

The place has been depopulated on several occasions. The first time was about the year 1790-95, when that scourge known as Te Rewharewha—an epidemic of some kind—caused the death of most of the inhabitants. This scourge was not confined to this place for it ran very generally through the North Island, and, according to the accounts of the old Maoris, it carried off many thousands of people. Here, at Puke-tapu, it was contagious. It is said that if one affected person touched another the disease was communicated, and the victims died within a few days. It raged with such violence at Puke-tapu that there were barely enough people left alive to bury the dead, and that it was only by abandoning the *pa* that any of its inhabitants were saved alive.*

The above, however, was not the only occasion on which these people suffered very heavily from a similar cause, as did those of the surrounding districts. This was the epidemic known as Te Ariki, which spread through the country from Coromandel in 1820, and which has already been described. Puke-tapu suffered with the other *pas* of the neighbourhood.

LOSS OF THE PUKE-TAPU FISHING FLEET.

But a more serious loss to Puke-tapu *pa* occurred, as nearly as it can be placed, quite early in the nineteenth century, and therefore between the two epidemics described above. The following is the story as told to me by Heta-Te-Kauri: One very fine morning when every sign seemed propitious, and on one of the lucky days for fishing according to the Maori "Almanac," † and it was decided by the chiefs that all the able-bodied men should proceed to sea in their fleet of canoes to catch *hapuku*, or groper, which is only found at a considerable distance out in deep water and on banks well known to the people. The name of the particular bank, or *hapuku* ground, belonging to the Puke-tapu people, was Wai-tawhetawheta, which is so far out that the canoes whilst there cannot be seen from the shore-line. The position of this fishing-bank is determined by the fact that Cape

* See Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIV., p. 21, for another instance of a large *pa* losing most of its people through this epidemic.

† Every one of the days of the month had its proper name and each was known as propitious, or otherwise, for fishing. No Maori would venture out to sea on an unpropitious day.

Egmont, or the point to the north of it, is clearly visible in line with the outer Sugar-loaf islands, which means that it is about ten miles off shore. The number of men who went out on this fishing excursion was somewhat over two hundred in twenty or more canoes, "for this," says Heta, "was in the days when men were plentiful." Before starting, as the canoes laid on the beach at the edge of the water all ready to put to sea, and each man was choosing his seat and placing there his paddle, tackle, etc., old Moke-uhi, the priest of Puke-tapu *pa* came down and placed his hooks, lines, etc. at the *taumanu*, or seat, third from the stern, and then went back to the *pa* for something forgotten. Shortly after another man came with his tackle, who wanted that particular seat. "Whose things are these?" said he, and without waiting for an answer, threw them over into the water. When Moke-uhi returned and saw what had happened he was very angry and refused to join the party. He returned to the *pa* consumed with rage at the insult offered him.

Determined on revenge, he waited until the fleet had reached Wai-tawhetawheta—the fishing ground—and were busy at their work, and then he went to a high hill near Puke-tapu named Matakītaki (there is no hill higher than Puke-tapu now—it has probably been blown away), from whence he could just see some of the canoes on the horizon. Here the old man commenced his *karakias* to his gods; first calling on the south-west wind to arise in storm, but without result. Then in turn he addressed the north, the west, and the east with like want of success. At last he turned to the south and such were the powers of his *karakia* that very shortly after a furious *tonga* set in and blew with such force that the air, even at Puke-tapu, was thick with leaves and small branches, though a long way from the forest over which the wind came. This south wind was dead ahead for the canoes out at sea when they wanted to return.

By this time some of the canoes had finished their fishing and were returning, and thus met the gale. Others were still out on the fishing ground. The seas rose, and the strength of the wind so much increased that the canoes could not face it, and very soon many of them commenced to swamp and their crews to drown, for no man could swim against such furious blasts. Other canoes held on and tried to make the shore further north, but very soon, in one after another, the crews sank with exhaustion; the canoes filled and their occupants were drowned. One only of the fleet that turned to the north managed to escape and landed at Ure-nui with only one man alive in her, whose name was Kawe-nui.

Of the others, the only one that escaped was blown right out to sea, but her crew managed to keep her afloat by hard paddling and

bailing—they kept the wind on the quarter and made a south-westerly course. As night came on they made a meal of their raw fish, and, apparently, the wind must have shifted to the east and north, as it often does after a south-easter. All that night, all the next day, the next night and day and part of the following one they kept up as best they could continuing their strenuous exertions at bailing, etc. At last one after another succumbed to cold, hunger, and fatigue, and died. Three people died, but the fourth, named Te Kohitā, finally drifted ashore at a place named Te Kawau, which Heta says is near Motu-pipi, in Tasman Bay, South Island. A young woman, going down to the beach for shellfish, discovered the man's body lying apparently dead on the beach. She rushed back to the village, which was not far off, and called out, "I have found a man on the beach. I don't know if he is dead or not." The chief of the village said, "We will all go and see," so several people went down and there found that the man was still alive, but insensible. They carried him up to the village, and by degrees brought him back to life.

These people were, says Heta, Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri. Kohitā eventually married the woman who first discovered him.

The following confirmation of the above story was told me by Mr. James Mackay—at one time Native Commissioner for the Nelson District: Some time before the year 1859, when Mr. Mackay lived at Taitapu (or Massacre Bay—Tasman Bay), he heard from a slave of Tama-i-hengia's (of Ngati-Toa), who was a member of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe, that his grandfather was with others blown away from the Taranaki coast whilst out fishing during a gale. The canoe, with ten bodies in it (Heta says four), was found drifted ashore on the north head of West Whanganui Harbour at Mikonui, his grandfather alone being alive. He was found by a Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri woman, who took him to a fire and by her efforts brought the man back to life, as it were. The other bodies were eaten by the tribe. The woman took this man as a husband, and Mr. Mackay's informant was their grandson. It is more likely that West Whanganui is the place where the canoe drifted ashore, rather than near Motu-pipi, as Heta says.

It is probable that the above incident occurred subsequent to the fall of the Rewarewa *pa*, but it is uncertain.

EARLY NORTHERN EXPEDITIONS TO TARANAKI.

(*Circa* 1810.)

So far as can be learnt from Native histories—communicated by word of mouth to myself and others during these many years past—it was not until the early years of the nineteenth century that the

tribes living north of the isthmus of Auckland began to extend their warlike enterprises to the southern parts of the North Island.

With regard to the immediate causes that led to many of these expeditions we are often left in the dark. Those which followed the west coast of the North Island are generally stated to have originated in the desire to acquire the fine flax garments made from the superior kinds of Phormium, for which the Taranaki coast is celebrated. No doubt the mere desire of man-slaying actuated those parties of warriors who joined in the forays to a considerable extent; and later, the acquisition of "heads" for sale to the ships visiting the north, together with the desire to possess slaves to prepare flax to barter for muskets, was an important factor.

MURU-PAENGA'S FIRST EXPEDITION.

1810.

The earliest of these northern expeditions that can be traced relates to the first expedition of the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Kaipara under their distinguished warrior chieftain, Muru-paenga. From a consideration of the circumstances this foray must be placed at about the year 1810. We know few particulars of Muru-paenga's doings on this occasion, though in the early sixties I had the opportunity and did hear much about him from the Kaipara people, but not then recognising their value, failed to record them. Enquiries made of late years have failed to do more than establish the fact of the expeditions having taken place—the old men who knew the particulars of them are long since dead.

The expedition came down the coast, but whether the members of it were treated as enemies or friends in the northern part of the district is not known. We first hear of it at Manu-korihi *pa*, on the north bank of Waitara, where the *hapu* of the same name lives, and who, as has been shown, were related to the Ngati-Rongo *hapu* of Ngati-Whatua, through Te Raraku of that tribe, as has been explained. Consequently the party were welcomed by the local people and stayed there some time. Muru-paenga himself was also connected with Ngati-Rongo, and so we may suppose was all the more welcome. From Manu-korihi the party continued their journey into the territories of the Taranaki tribe, where, says Mr. Skinner, "Muru-paenga was so delighted with the country and its fertility, its stores of food, the beauty and variety of the flax growing so luxuriantly in all parts, the quality of the mats, or *Kaitaka* cloaks—the finest and best in all New Zealand it is said, that he broke forth into song and composed a *waiata*, which is still sung by the people of Taranaki, in which he chanted the praises of

the land he had come to desolate." It is said that *Tatara-i-maka pa* was attacked in this expedition; it may be so, but probably his doings in his second foray have been confused with this. But beyond this, no details have come down—unless, indeed, some of the incidents to be described in the next raid really belong to that of *Muru-paenga's*. The northern invaders, in this raid, had no guns, but were armed with their Maori weapons.

It was this expedition that gave rise to the following song:—

Na *Muru-paenga* ra, tana kawenga mai,
I kite ai au i nga moana nei,
Kowai ka matau ki to tau e awhi ai.
Tera ano ia nga mahi i ako ai,
Kei nga hurihanga ki *Okehu* ra-i-a.

Thro' *Muru*' was I hither brought,
And then first saw these seas so strange,
Who knows if some other lover
Within thine arms has been embraced?
Yonder my affections are bestowed
At the bends and turns at *Okehu*.

The above was composed and sung by a young woman of good birth, who had been taken prisoner by *Muru-paenga's* party and carried to the north. She had left behind at *Tarakihi*, near *Warea*, her lover *Puia-tu-awa*; but was solicited to become the wife of one of the *taua*—hence her song.

TAU-KAWAU'S EXPEDITION.

1816-17.

The next northern expedition was that under *Tau-kawau* of *Nga-Puhi*, and the only means of fixing the date of this is, "that it was one or two years before that of *Tu-whare* and others"—which latter there is little reason to doubt was in 1818. This party fought its way through the *Ati-Awa* and *Taranaki* territories as far as *Puara-te-rangi*, a *pa* situated near *Pu-nehu*, not far from the present village of *Pihama*. Of the adventures of this expedition on the road we have little information, except a few notes to be found in the Maori account of the *Tu-whare*—*Te Rau-paraha* raid of 1819-20, and these notes are very wanting in detail. But for the fact that this is always alluded to by the *Taranaki* people as a *Nga-Puhi* foray, and the known presence of *Rewa*, a high chief of the Bay of Islands, with the party, we should scarcely know from which part it came.

The following is from the account referred to: "Some of our expedition wished to go a different route from the main body to

purchase native garments (*Kaitakas*); there were twice fifty of us of this mind. The reason of this was, the Taranaki people had great knowledge of weaving *Kaitakas*, and their *muka* (prepared flax) called *Tihore*, or *Takiri-kau* was very superior. When we went to purchase these garments in exchange for Native weapons we quarrelled amongst ourselves and eventually got to fighting. The reason of that strife was, some of our party desired to secure all the best garments; and because of that strife we again divided, fifty of us going one way, fifty another. One company went with Pangari (of Lower Hokianga), and that man decided to do such works as would cause his name to be heard of by the many of the land. As the party of Pangari travelled along they met an old woman who was gathering *tutu* berries to make wine; her they killed, then cooked and ate her. Whilst they were cooking her, and when the people put "the fish" into the oven, the fire blazed up; this was said to be an omen for them that they should soon see another *pa*, and if they assaulted it they would take it. The flame of the oven represented the courage of the old woman welling up and leaving the body, and hence it was believed the courage of the tribe of the old woman had evaporated. This old woman was a *tohunga*, and therefore the courage of her tribe would cease when they stood up in battle. The oven had been covered in and the "fish" was cooked and being uncovered by the fifty men when the spies returned, who had been sent out to look for the people of the country. The spies said, "The people to whom the old woman belonged have heard of the murder, and the *taua hikutoto*, or avenging party, has arisen to attack us."

"Then the fifty men seized their belts, girded themselves and fell into line for the fight. The enemy appeared and occupied the summit of a hillock. They were very numerous and soon the party retreated, in fact they fled. Whilst retreating, Pangari was wounded in the leg with a *kotaha* (or sling-spear) which had been thrown by the enemy. Nga-Puhi continued to retreat until they got a long distance away, when they laid in hiding in a swamp, selecting a hard place in the bog; here they arranged themselves in rank in three parties. One party went to search for food, because they had left the body of the old woman behind in the oven, and this party met the old woman's tribe. They took some reeds and bound them together (to stand on) and fought the enemy at the side of the swamp, and the tribe of Taranaki was defeated, the bodies of the dead becoming food for Nga-Puhi. Pangari declared that hunger, thirst, and fear had deprived his tongue of saliva.

"After this the fifty men returned to the main body of Nga-Puhi and travelled altogether, abandoning their journey to collect *Kaitakas*.

"When we got to the *pa* at Waimate, and after three nights there we found a woman, whom we cooked and ate. Just afterwards one of the Taranaki people appeared and called out, "To-morrow our *taua* will appear to chastise you for your murder." At daylight we occupied an old *pa*, and later on in the day the Taranaki *taua* appeared coming up a valley at the foot of the *pa* occupied by Nga-Puhi. That *pa* was situated at the end of a point which jutted out into a chasm and was surrounded with perpendicular cliffs, excepting one part where it joined on to the mainland. (This description fits the Orangi-tuapeka *pa* close to Waimate and three miles south-east from the town of Manaia.) Nga-Puhi heard the encouraging words of the chief of the Taranaki tribe urging his men to assault the *pa*. The words of the chief to his people were like this, "*Au! Au! ki toa!*" which in the Nga-Puhi dialect would be, "*Ana! Ana! kia toa!*"—"Ha! Ha! be brave!") Then their shouts of defiance were heard, "*Au! Au! ki ka'a ki ka'a,*" which is in Nga-Puhi, "*Ana! Ana! kia kaha!*"—"Ha! Ha! be strong!")

"The Taranaki tribe then assaulted the Nga-Puhi *pa*. The army of that people was one thousand once told strong. They scaled the sides of the gulley, and then the one hundred and fifty of Nga-Puhi fled, followed by the Taranaki *taua*, who killed six of the Nga-Puhi chiefs as they fled. So Nga-Puhi retreated to a distance; their dead were left to the enemy, as also some in the *pa* they retreated from. Finding that Taranaki did not follow quickly, Nga-Puhi halted and then divided into four parties to await the oncoming of Taranaki; they waited on the path. Presently Taranaki were seen on a ridge across a depression from the hillock occupied by Nga-Puhi. Between the two parties ran a small stream, whilst in the rear of Nga-Puhi was the forest which they could fly to if defeated by Taranaki. It was now evening, and Taranaki made no sign of attacking Nga-Puhi, but instead proceeded to entrench themselves; the inner wall of their *maioro*, or rampart, was made of fern and *korokiu* (veronica), and tree-fern stems were used to strengthen the *ahuriri*, or trench.

"Then Nga-Puhi sent their *tohunga*, or priest, to the stream to "uplift" his incantations so that Nga-Puhi might be brave and strong to smite their enemies. Whilst the *tohunga* was engaged in his incantations, Nga-Puhi assembled to discuss such measures as they could devise to put in force when the battle commenced, for the reason that Nga-Puhi were without *take*, or cause, in this fight—nothing but a desire to acquire *Kaitakas*.

"Now the Taranaki people were very numerous and far exceeded Nga-Puhi in number. Hence it was decided before the rays of the sun appeared to send one of our divisions against the defences of Taranaki, there to assault them by making a dash and spear as many as they could with their long spears; whilst another party went along by the edge of the forest, so that when the first party assaulted the others should take Taranaki in the rear. Other three divisions were to assault the place in different directions so that Taranaki should be confused at the number of points of attack. The divisions of Nga-Puhi that remained were to guard the camp, lest it should be taken.

"All these various plans were carried out and the result was that a great many of Taranaki were killed, among them fourteen chiefs, who were all eaten by Nga-Puhi, and their heads preserved to be taken back to the Nga-Puhi homes to be jeered at by the people."

Such is the account given by Pangari to the unknown writer of the account of Tu-whare's expedition of 1819-20, with which, apparently, Pangari went to Taranaki.

It was after this that Nga-Puhi attacked Puara-te-rangi *pa*, near Punehu, when in the fight Tamaroa of Taranaki, with his weapon, a *pou-whenua* made of *maire*, struck a blow at Tau-kawau's legs, both of which he broke. This caused the *taua* to turn in their tracks, and then make their way homeward.

Mr. Skinner adds, "The Ngati-Mahanga people of Taranaki had fled into the forest around the base of Mount Egmont. Some of them, however, with the southern part of Taranaki, under Nga-Tai-rakau-nui, retired to Puara-te-rangi *pa*, situated on the sea coast a little under half a mile north of the mouth of the Punehu river. This expedition killed a Taranaki chief named Mokowera, who is said to have been a son of Tu-poki of Ngati-Tama by a Taranaki woman. Tau-kawau's *mere* was found sometime afterwards partly covered with sand close to this spot, and, after passing through several hands, is now in the possession of Tohu,* Maori prophet of Parihaka." Tau-kawau's body was taken back by his people as far as Manu-korihi, where he was buried at Rohutu, on the north bank of Waitara.

The Taranaki people say that Tau-kawau had been specially invited to come on this *taua* by Ati-Awa, in order that he might assist that tribe in fighting Taranaki in order to square some of their tribal quarrels. A great many Ati-Awa from Waitara joined in this expedition. On the arrival of Tau-kawau at Manu-korihi, the Ati-Awa people presented him with a *taiaha* as a *rakau-whakarawe*.

*Tohu died 5th February, 1907.

There is a *tangi*, or lament, for Mokowera, the Taranaki chief killed by Tau-kawau, which will be found at p. 29, "Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes in the Nineteenth Century."

In this expedition Nga-Puhi had three muskets, a fact which is referred to in the above lament, when, it is said, Rewa, of the Bay of Islands, shot Mokowera.

I have fixed the date of Tau-kawau's expedition at 1816-17 because all my numerous enquiries show that it was about that date, and my informants are consistent in their statements about it. But the following quotations from Marsden's "Journal" (in possession of Dr. Hocken) seems to contradict it, though I think it probable from Marsden's unfamiliarity with the Maori language he has mixed up two expeditions in the one statement. ". . . . Another party connected with Hongi was carrying on war on the west side of the island at Taranaki; said to be very populous, with two hundred men from the Bay of Islands. A man of high rank, named Tau-kawau has been killed in this expedition, but his head was severed and brought back with them. They also cut off all the flesh from his bones and burnt it, but brought back the bones which they carried a very long way overland. They arrived to-day—29th September, 1823."

MOTU-TAWA AT MOKAU.

1812.

Again the scene of our story shifts to the northern frontier, where events were happening that had far-reaching results.

After the great expedition of Ngati-Haua and other tribes, which came to Pou-tama to seek revenge for the death of Tai-porutu (see page 255, Chap. XI.) had been hurled back by the bravery of Ngati-Tama, there was apparently a transient peace or truce between the latter tribe and their northern neighbours at Mokau for some ten or twelve years. At any rate, no incident has come to my knowledge marking that period, though, no doubt, the enmity in which these tribes had lived for so many generations would not allow of any available chance of striking a blow to be passed over. But there were no great expeditions, and both sides would, no doubt, be glad of a few years' rest in order that the boys should grow to maturity and be trained as warriors.

But about the year 1812 (so far as can be ascertained) hostilities set in again through an act of brutality on the part of Ngati-Tama whilst on a visit to Motu-tawa. Motu-tawa is a pretty little island

situated in a deep bay in the Mokau river, about three-quarters of a mile within the heads on the northern shore, now covered with bushes and small trees. It is about half an acre in extent, with cliffs nearly all round, rising up from the waters to about fifty or sixty feet, but not equally steep on all sides. At low water the bay is dry, but as the tide rises it surrounds the island to a depth of perhaps four to six feet of water. On the flat top of this island in former days was built a strong palisaded and embanked *pa*, the refuge and stronghold of the Mokau people. On one side is a convenient spring of fresh water.

Ngati-Tama were apparently on such terms with the Mokau people about this time that they were admitted into the *pa* and were hospitably feasted, but at the same time my informant (old Rihari of Mokau) says that they were on a *taua*. What the exact circumstances were are not of much consequence. But during the feast two boys of the *pa*, named Pitonga and Nga-whakarewa-kauri, helped themselves to the food provided and set apart for Ngati-Tama. They were reprovod for this, but again repeated the offence. This roused the wrath of Ngati-Tama, who—probably in seeking a *take*, or cause, against the *pa*, saw here their chance—knocked the unfortunate boys on the head. There was an immediate rush to arms and a desperate fight commenced between the two parties. But it was not of long duration; Ngati-Tama drove their hosts pell mell out of the *pa* and took possession of it. The parents of the boys, together with the whole of Ngati-Rakei of those parts, fled with the utmost expedition to the forest, which even to this day lines the shores of the little bay in which Motu-tawa is situated, and gradually made their way through the country to Otorohanga in the Waipa valley—now a Station on the Main Trunk railway—to join some of their relatives there. Here the people settled down for some three years, not daring to return to their own country at Mokau, which was in occasional occupation of Ngati-Tama and some of the Ati-Awa tribes.

The exiles dwelt amongst their friends at Otorohanga, as has been said, for about three years, cultivating on the lands of others as *manene*, or strangers, and feeling generally uncomfortable through this fact. When the strong westerly winds used to blow from the coast the old people would listen to the far-distant sound of the breakers dashing on the shore—which they could hear from the ranges not far from Otorohanga—and sniff the salt-laden breezes of their old home. Then the people would greet and lament over the misfortunes which had taken them so far from their beloved homes. This feeling became so strong at last that the chiefs consulted together and determined to attempt the reconquest of their lands and homes.

NGA-TAI-PARI-RUA.

1815.

Te Wharau-roa,* who at that time was the leader of Ngati-Rakei, Ngati-Hia, and other Mokau *hapus* raised a war party from those tribes and started from Otorohanga on their long and risky journey. They came up the Mangapapa valley and by Te Ana-uriuri on the Waipa-Mokau water-parting, and thence to the head of the Mokau and down that river by canoes to Te Mahoe, a bend in the river some two miles from the mouth. Here the party went into camp, carefully concealing all signs of smoke, etc., whilst spies were sent out to see where the Ngati-Tama were. They returned and reported that the enemy was all over the country at the mouth of the river, and along the coast southward, but that the principal number were gathered at a village they had built about half way between Mokau and Mohaka-tino. A council was then held to consider how the war-party might reach this village without being seen, and finally a plan was adopted. Starting at dawn one morning they crossed the river and concealed their canoes in the little creeks just opposite Te Mahoe, and from there climbed the steep forest range which leads up to the high hill named Tawariki, on which there is now a Trig Station. From here they followed the ridges that run parallel to the coast until they came out at the Mohaka-tino river, about a mile from its mouth. The party was now between Ngati-Tama and any succour they might receive from their own people to the south. Arrived at the sea-beach, Wharau-roa instructed all his party to trail their spears and other arms along the sands, with one end fastened to their ankles by a flax string. The party now advanced along the beach in careless order, some shouting, some singing, some skidding flat stones along the wet sands, all of which was done to make Ngati-Tama think it was a party of their friends from the south coming to visit them.

The war-party was one hundred and forty *topu* (i.e., 280) strong, whilst the Ngati-Tama and Ati-Awa were said to be more numerous. As they drew near the village many of the women, children, and some of the men came down to the beach to meet the visitors. When Wharau-roa saw the time was come he gave the signal, and in an instant the spears were seized and a charge made into the unsuspecting Ngati-Tama, all of whom were killed. The rest of Ngati-Tama in the village, seeing what was going on, armed and rushed down to the beach to meet the foe. Here, on the beach, these ancient enemies fought it out, it is said, during two flood tides—hence the name of the battle,

* Grandfather of my informant.

Nga-tai-pari-rua (the twice-flowing tide). No doubt there is some truth in the story, or the name would not have been given. The end of the fight saw Ngati-Rakei and their allies victorious for once over Ngati-Tama, who, after losing a large number of men, were obliged to retreat. They fell back on their impregnable stronghold, Te Kawanu, where they were safe. The Mokau people went on and occupied their old homes on the river, greatly to their delight, says my informant, and he adds, "The Mokau people have to thank my grandfather Te Wharau-roa for saving their country for them."

The above battle seems to have been the beginning of the end, so far as Ngati-Tama were concerned, although it was not yet. Hitherto this brave little tribe, never very numerous, seems always to have got the best of their enemies as we have seen. But the constant fights that had occurred during the previous two hundred years must have weakened them considerably. However much they suffered in numbers, their spirit was not broken. They still had with them the two gallant brothers, Raparapa and Tupoki, as leaders, and they were not men to sit down and accept a beating quietly.

MURDER OF RANGI-HAPAINGA.

(? 1816.)

Of the next event which is known to have occurred I have no notes from my Maori friends, and therefore quote from Judge Gudgeon's "Mohaka-tino—Parininihi Judgment" of 1893. "Kingi Te Rerenga (see Table 51) in his evidence asserts that the Ngati-Tama, disheartened by their non-success, now grew food in order to give a feast, under cover of which they might murder their guests. When the feast was ready, Te Kawa-iri-rangi (of Ngati-Tama) invited Niwha and the Ngati-Rakei, with other Mokau *hapus*, to attend and make a lasting peace. These people responded, but when they reached the Mohaka-tino river their hearts failed them, but finally the chiefs Niwha, Ponga, and Ingoa, with about twenty followers, crossed the river, and were there nearly all slain.

"After this an attempt was made to obtain revenge, but the Ngati-Rakei were defeated and were then glad to make peace with the redoubtable Ngati-Tama.

"For some time after this the hostile tribes remained quiet watching each other, until, in an evil moment, Te Rangi-pu-ahoaho, a chief of Ngati-Mutunga (Ngati-Tama's neighbours on the south, and their relatives), sent a message to ask Rangi-hapainga, wife of Hari, to visit him at Te Whakarewa *pa* (three miles south of the White Cliffs). Hari consented, and his wife, with about a dozen attendants, started on

their fatal journey" (which ended in the murder of Rangi-hapainga by Ngati-Tama; she was killed by Te Kawa-iri-rangi of Te Kawau *pa*, of that tribe).

"Hari's behaviour, when informed of the murder of his wife, was characteristic and very Maori, for he called on his tribe (Ngati-Urunumia) and marched, not against the murderers, but against the Ngati-Rakei (of Mokau) and killed Hine-rangi, Te Ahi, and Peru. Unfortunately, Hine-rangi was related to Ngati-Rora (of Upper Mokau), and when the news reached Tao-nui-Hikaka (see Table 51) he said, '*Mau te po, maku te awatea!*'—'what you do by stealth I will do openly'—and straightway attacked the Ngati-Kinohaku *hapu* (of Ngati-Mania-poto), killing Kahu-totara and Te Rari. After this interchange of compliments there was but one method of avoiding civil war (all three *hapus* are nearly related and are branches of Ngati-Mania-poto) and that was for all the injured tribes to combine and wipe out their injuries by defeating Ngati-Tama, which was done at Tihi-manuka." . . . We shall come to Tihi-manuka later on, but in the meantime must relate the doings of Ngati-Rahiri, a branch of Te Ati-Awa, as the events fall in here.

NGATI-RAHIRI GO TO KAWHIA.

1816-17.

For what follows I am indebted to a MS. written by Te Watene Taunga-tara, of Waitara, which was the outcome of a visit paid him by Mr. W. H. Skinner and myself in 1897, when we persuaded the old man—who was then about eighty or ninety—to write the history of the doings of Ati-Awa in the nineteenth century.

So far as can be made out it was about the year 1816 that Whare-mawhai, a sister of Huri-whenua of Ngati-Rahiri—whose home was, and is still, at Waihi and that neighbourhood, four or five miles north of Waitara—was married to Nohorua, a leading chief of Ngati-Toa, of Kawhia. A great feast was given in consequence of this marriage—in fact, several, as we shall see—and according to Maori custom a return feast (or *kai-whainga*) was prepared under the direction of the celebrated Te Rau-paraha, who now first comes into our narrative.* This feast was called "Pou-hangu," according to the

* Col. Wakefield, writing in 1839, says—"Te Rau-paraha is at least 60 years old. When a young man he acquired a reputation for strength and courage, founded on his skill in native warfare, which his wiliness and success in all his undertakings have preserved for him in his old age. In all his negotiations he is considered skilful—he possesses some points of character worthy of a chief among savages. He is full of resource in emergencies, hardy in his enterprises and indefatigable in the execution of them."

Maori custom of giving a name to any noticeable event in their history. It consisted principally of dried fish and other foods, and was brought by Te Rau-paraha himself and a considerable party in canoes from Kawhia. At this time Huri-whenua was the principal chief of Ngati-Rahiri, and lived in Te Taniwha *pa* at Turangi, which *pa* is situated on a bold bluff on the sea-coast four miles north of Waitara, the remains of which are plainly to be seen at this day, its terraced ramparts showing out well from the main road a mile or so inland. After a stay of some time, Te Rau-paraha and his party departed for his home at Kawhia, with the understanding that the Ngati-Rahiri would pay a return visit the following year.

After the departure of the visitors the three *hapus* of Ngati-Rahiri set to work to plant *kumaras* and *taros* for the projected visit to Kawhia. This part of the country is celebrated for the excellence of these tubers, about which there is a "saying" already quoted, and which, as the Maoris think, was due to the powers of their particular god Rongo. After the harvest, and the *kumaras* had been converted into *kao* by drying, a large party started under Huri-whenua in four large war-canoes named "Te Rongo-o-te-raku," "Te Pae-ki-tawhiti," "Te Paki-o-matiti," and "Nga-titi-o-pango." The party started at early dawn, and with a fair wind, by aid of their triangular sails, which carried them to the north at such a rate that evening found them off Harihari, ten miles south of Kawhia and sixty miles from Te Taniwha, their starting point. Here they landed and made a camp. In the morning Te Rau-paraha and Rau-hihi arrived to see the visitors, coming from their cultivations, which at that time were at or near Taharoa lake, about three miles from Harihari. After the usual amount of talk Te Rau-paraha invited the Ngati-Rahiri to go on round by sea into

Ward, writing about the same time, says—"In person Te Rau-paraha is not conspicuous amongst his country men, his height being rather under the average. . . . His countenance expresses keenness and vivacity, whilst a receding forehead and deep eyelids, in raising which his eyebrows are elevated into the furrows of his brows, gives a resemblance to the ape in the upper part of the face. He was slow and dignified in his movements, and except for his wandering and watchful looks, perfectly easy in his address."

Dr. Deffenbach, writing in 1839, also says—"He is between 50 and 60 years of age, with remarkably Jewish features, aquiline nose, and a cunning physiognomy. . . . Individuals are occasionally met with who have six or more toes or fingers. Rau-paraha is distinguished by this peculiarity." (From Fourteenth Report, Directors N.Z. Company, p. 132.)

A portrait of Te Rau-paraha and his celebrated nephew Te Rangi-haeata will be found in Dr. Shortland's "Southern Districts of New Zealand."

Te Rau-paraha died at Otaki, 27th November, 1849, aged about 75.

Kawhia harbour, which was agreed to, whilst Te Rau-paraha started overland to warn the people to prepare for their visitors. In the meantime the sea had got up very much, and in launching the canoes they capsized in the surf and many of the crew were nearly drowned. Huri-whenua was very much disturbed and angry at the narrow escape they had had, and the loss of the food for the feast—so much so that he adopted a very Maori-like procedure to assuage his angry feelings. He started off immediately with a party, and overtaking Te Rau-paraha and his friend, attacked them, and succeeded in killing Rau-hihi, whilst Te Rau-paraha made his escape.

Ngati-Rahiri at once concluded that prompt measures were necessary if they were to escape the just anger of the Ngati-Toa tribe for killing one of their chiefs. So they put to sea at once and made their way home. On their arrival, knowing that Te Rau-paraha was not the kind of man to pass over an injury, they immediately set to work to strengthen the fortifications of Te Taniwha *pa*. This place is situated at the mouth of the Waihi stream, which runs along under one side of the *pa*. In order to strengthen the defences the people set to work and dammed up the stream, so as to make a lake on one side of the *pa*. At this time there were over three hundred and fifty warriors in the *pa*, besides women and children, and the principal chiefs were Huri-whenua, his brother Huri-waka, Manu-kino, and Whiro-kino. None of the Maori tribes possessed fire-arms at this period excepting Nga-Puhi.

SIEGE OF TE TANIWHA.

TU-WHARE AND TE RAU-PARAHĀ'S FIRST EXPEDITION,
1818.

After Ngati-Rahiri had completed their defences, they waited quietly, well knowing that it would not be long before they were attacked. Nor was it long. The news soon came that Te Rau-paraha, at the head of his tribe, Ngati-Toa, and a contingent of Nga-Puhi under Tu-whare, were approaching. This was Tu-whare's first expedition into Taranaki. He was the son of Taoho, principal chief of the Roroa section of the Ngati-Whatua tribe of Kaipara—a section which is very closely connected with Nga-Puhi of Hokianga. Tu-whare was a great warrior, whom we shall frequently come across in this narrative. He was bound on a warlike expedition (probably to Taranaki) when he arrived at Kawhia, at which place he would find relatives in the Ngati-Toa tribe—relatives that is, in the Maori sense, for there had been intermarriages some ten or twelve generations previously, between Nga-Puhi and Ngati-Toa tribes. Tu-whare's party was not a large one—two hundred warriors only; but they brought with them the

means of terrifying their enemies, in the shape of two muskets, which weapon was now for the first time to be introduced to the West Coast tribes, afterwards to be so fatal to them. With Nga-Puhi (so called) was also the fighting chief of Ngati-Whatua of Kaipara, Muru-paenga, and some of his people. This was his second expedition to Taranaki for which see *ante*. The Taranaki account of this expedition makes Muru-paenga to have been the leading chief of this Northern party, though Watene does not mention him, but it is quite clear both accounts refer to the same incidents. Muru-paenga had, in 1807, defeated Nga-Puhi in the battle of Te Kai-a-te-karoro, on the beach at Moremo-nui—for which see “The Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes in the Nineteenth Century,” p. 12.

On the arrival of Nga-Puhi at Kawhia, Te Rau-paraha thought it would be an excellent plan to secure their aid in an attack on Ngati-Rahiri. Tu-whare was nothing loath, indeed he came from his northern home especially to fight, and the chance of securing some of the fine mats for which Taranaki was celebrated, was an additional inducement. So the two tribes came south—I do not know whether by land or water—and arrived at Te Taniwha *pa*, and sat down to besiege it. The siege went on for a long time, but without any appreciable result. At last proposals of peace were made which emanated from Ngati-Toa; the origin of this peace was the fact that Huri-whenua's sister was married to Nohorua of Ngati-Toa, and the latter's sister it was who suggested the peace, and eventually effected it, by visiting Te Taniwha *pa*, and consulting with the garrison.

Again comes in an illustration of Maori ideas—Te Rau-paraha felt he must have some satisfaction for the death of Te Rau-hihi at the hands of Ngati-Rahiri, so he made it a condition of peace that the dam, that had prevented his party attacking the *pa* from that side, should be demolished. This was agreed to and the dam destroyed, and then Nga-Puhi fired off their guns in token of victory (over the dam). “Then,” says Watene, “this ignorant people of these parts heard for the first time the noise of that weapon, the gun.”

After this the war-party stayed some time at Te Taniwha at peace with its inhabitants. The news of this new weapon spread all over the district, even amongst the Taranaki tribe, some of the women of which composed the following *ngeri*, or war-song, in reference thereto, which is derisive of its powers:—

I rangona atu nga pu
Kei Te Taniwha—
Kei a Huri-whenua
I tangi ki taku hawenga i raro—e—

Keua e ana pu,
 Ka whano mangu—o—
 Kei oku tapa, papatoa
 He pu-notinoti nga tapa
 He kuru tumata tai haruru,
 E! ka ngenengene,
 He mata aha, he koi pu,
 Ka tu ki runga ha.
 E! ka roa ko te tapa,
 Ka moho ki te whenua,
 E! ka ngenengene.

TATARA-I-MAKA.

1818.

After the northern war-party had stayed some time at Te Taniwha, Te Puoho* of Ngati-Tama came to see them, indeed it is possible he may have been at the siege of Te Taniwha, for the relations between his tribe and Ngati-Toa were friendly through intermarriages, and it was through this relationship, no doubt, that the *taua* had been allowed to pass the "gates of Taranaki" without interference from the redoubtable warriors of Ngati-Tama, under their chiefs Raparapa and Tupoki. Now Te Puoho, of the latter tribe, had a grievance against the Taranaki tribe, for his sister (or perhaps cousin) Te Kiri-kakara had been killed by Puke-toretore of Taranaki, and he saw in the presence of these northern tribes a fine opportunity for paying off this score if he could secure their assistance. This was not difficult of accomplishment; Tu-whare, Muru-paenga, and Te Rau-paraha were not the men to hold back when there were any hard knocks to be given, and moreover an attack on the Taranaki tribe would result in the acquisition of more fine mats, heads, and slaves. At this time the two latter articles were becoming of much value; the first to barter with the whalers frequenting the Bay of Islands, the latter to prepare flax to exchange for muskets.

The *taua*, now reinforced by some of the Ati-Awa people, started on their march for the Taranaki country, passing on their way several of the Ati-Awa *pas*, and soon arrived at Tatarai-maka ("the garment cast away," pronounced Tatarai-maka). This place was, and is still, a very strong *pa*, situated on the sea-coast eleven miles south-west of New Plymouth, and between the mouths of the Kati-kara and Pito-one streams, and which gives its name to the block of land purchased by the Government from the Taranaki tribe, 11th May, 1847. Its high

*Te Puoho and many others were subsequently killed by the Ngai-Tahu tribe near Gore, in the South Island, in 1835-6; see Chapter XX.

ramparts and deep ditches that defended it on the land side are still in good preservation, and it is to be hoped will remain so, for the *pa* has been acquired and preserved by the Government under "The Scenery Preservation Act, 1903." The *taua* marched on to the attack of this strong place and were met outside by the Taranaki people, and a fight took place, in which the latter people were defeated, and then took shelter in the *pa*. Mr. W. H. Skinner says: ". . . "Tatara-i-maka was the great fighting *pa* of these parts, and into it all the inhabitants of the smaller *pas* in the vicinity had gathered. . . . The possession of a few firearms by the invaders caused them to treat this affair as a pleasant outing, for they felt sure of victory—a hunting excursion, in fact, in search of game, on which they subsisted, together with the immense supply of vegetable food (in the shape of *kumara*, *taro*, etc.) found in the neighbouring *pas* scattered over this thickly-peopled district. Tatara-i-maka was stormed with great slaughter, and amongst the slain was Kahu-roro, the chief of the *pa*, and great numbers were taken prisoners, amongst them Pori-kapa, the afterwards well-known chief of the Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of Taranaki, who, in later years, dwelt at Kai-hihi. He was then a lad and managed to escape shortly after capture. The prisoners were bound together in couples by flax ropes round their necks, notwithstanding which, during the night, many of them made their escape." Watene adds these names to the chiefs killed: Wetenga-pito, Parehē, Para-tu-te-rangi, and Tiotio, and further says, "Here was seen the work of the guns of Nga-Puhi. The Maori mode of warfare formerly was hand to hand in close proximity. But here the Nga-Puhi chiefs asked their Ati-Awa allies to point out the chiefs when attacking the *pa*, and then the guns did their work, shooting the men whose names have been mentioned. And then the *pa* was stormed."

The people who suffered in this affair were the Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of Taranaki (and probably other *hapus*). This *hapu* takes its name from two brothers, Moeahu (hence Ngati-Moeahu) and Tai-hawea, who were twins, which is the meaning of the *hapu* name.

Tai-hawea = Rongo-mai-hape.

1. Turi-pari-aha	2. Rakei-hotu-rua	3. Rakei-tamara	4. Rahiri-whakaruru
			5. Mahana-nui-a-tai.

These people dwelt at the Matai-whetu *pa* not far from Tatari-i-maka, Tai-hawea being seventh in descent from Te Ha-tauira, of the Kura-hau-po canoe, and consequently flourished about the middle of the

sixteenth century. He and his sons were great warriors in their day, and about them has come down the following saying: "*E Turi' a Tai! E Hotu' a Tai! E Mara a Tai! Te toka i tauria e te kukupara, araio mimingo. Ka tu matou ko aku tama, he whetu kau;*" which refers to their courage and likens them to the mussels that adhered to the rocks, for they could not be removed from their *pa* by their enemies.

The following lament appears to have been composed by one of the Taranaki people for those who fell at Tatara-i-maka. It will be found (in Maori) at page 242 of "*Nga Moteatea.*"

E paki ra te paki o Au-tahi,
Hei roto au, hei toku whare,
Koki atu ai, ki te iwi ka kopa,
Ki te ana o Rangi-totohu,
E whanake ana kia takitaki
E Uru, e wehi ana.

Ka tu te whakapipi
Ki te puke ki Tatara-i-maka,
Kei te karanga ake aku huinga
I te whatitoka
Hei tomokanga mo Muru-paenga
Whakatere ope, nana
Te tipu ki te pikitanga
I Tuhi-mata
I maroke kau atu ai au i konei.

Sweet is the Spring, the September month,
When brilliant Canopus stands aloft,
As I lay within my solitary home,
Dazed with sad thoughts for my people
Departed in death like a flash.
To the cave of Rangi-totohu—
Emblem of sad disaster.
They are gone by the leadership
Of Uru, of the fearsome name.
'Twas there, at the hill of Tatara-i-maka
The foe advanced in wedge-like form,
Whilst our gathered people bid defiance
At the entrance of the *pa*,
Where Muru-paenga forced his way—
The army raiser; the leader—
His was the fatal blow delivered,
At the ascent of Tuhi-mata;
Hence am I dried up here in sorrow.

TAPUI-NIKAU.

1818.

But the Northern *taua* was not satisfied with the taking of Tatarai-maka. They proceeded to attack other Taranaki *pas*. Mr. Skinner says—"From here the invaders moved on and invested Mounu-kahawai, a very large *pa* at the mouth of the Kaihiki stream, three miles southwest of Tatarai-maka, on the south bank just inland of the coast road. This *pa* was of great size, with a large population, but was not a strong position, being built on comparatively flat ground. The invaders fired the dry raupo growing in the swamps (named Totoaro) around the *pa*, and under cover of the smoke and consequent confusion stormed the place, with great slaughter. Tara-tuha, one of the principal chiefs of Nga-Mahanga, was killed here. After the taking of this *pa* and the usual feasting, the *taua* moved on to attack Tapui-nikau." I am not certain whether it was before or after the siege of Tapui-nikau, that a *pa*, situated about one and a-half miles S.S.E. of the former named Kekeua, was taken with the usual accompaniment of slaughter. Tapui-nikau is situated on the Te Ika-parua stream, about two miles south-east of the modern township of Warea, and five miles from the coast. Mr. Skinner says of Tapui-nikau—"This was another great stronghold of the Taranaki tribe, and was defended by the people of the various *hapus* (of Nga-Mahanga, Ngati-Moeahu, etc., etc.) who had gathered into this powerful *pa* to do battle with the invaders. Great preparations had been made and every precaution taken in accordance with the old Maori ideas of defence. Great stores of stones were gathered up into the fighting towers, and on stages erected on trees commanding the trenches and approaches to the *pa*."

Watene says, there were a great many chiefs in the *pa* at the time of attack, Kukutai, Te Ra-tu-tonu, Mounga-tu-kau and others. At the first attack the *taua* was repulsed by the Taranaki people "under (says Mr. Skinner) Ruakiri, and in this affair Rarauhe of the Nga-Mahanga killed two men of rank of the attacking party. After the first attack, the invaders prepared to make a regular siege of the place, with the idea of starving out the garrison," whilst the young men of the *taua* ranged the country in search of food and plunder.

Now comes in one of those instances of Maori custom which is peculiar and strange to us. During the first attack, the allies had seen and admired the splendid courage of Te Ra-tu-tonu, who was otherwise a fine handsome man in the prime of life. His deeds were the talk of the camp, and it appears that one of the women had also beheld his valour, and on that account desired to have him as her husband.

This woman who—Te Watene says—was very beautiful, was Rangi-Topeora, the sister of the celebrated Te Rangi-haeata, and daughter of Te Rau-paraha's sister Waitohi. Topeora is perhaps more famed than any other Maori lady for the number of her poetical effusions, which generally take the form of *kai-oraora*, or cursing songs, in which she expresses the utmost hatred of her enemies, and consigns them to all kinds of horrible deaths and desecrations so much indulged in by the Maori. At the same time her songs are full of historical allusions. She was also of the best blood of Ngati-Toa, and, therefore, with a good deal of influence in the tribe. Te Ra-tu-tonu was known to Topeora before this event, for he had formerly visited Kawhia. One child was the fruit of this union, who died young.

At Topeora's instigation, Te Rau-paraha arranged that Te Ra-tu-tonu should be "called," *i.e.*: some one would approach the beleaguered *pa*, and call him to come to the enemies' camp under a guarantee of safety. This was done, and Te Ra-tu-tonu descended from the *pa* to the camp, where, after speeches, etc., he was married to Topeora. Mr. Skinner adds to the above (which is Watene's account)—"When Te Ra-tu-tonu was leaving the *pa* to meet Topeora and Neke-papa (who also had taken a fancy to this handsome warrior) the question arose as to which of the two should have him. But Topeora, being fleet of foot ran to meet the advancing chief and cast her *topuni* (dog-skin) mat over his shoulders and thus claimed him as her husband. This being in accordance with Maori custom Te Ra-tu-tonu* became the husband of Topeora."

Now this other lady, Neke-papa, who belonged to the Ati-Awa tribe, was also a poetess of some fame in her time. It is somewhat remarkable that this warrior chief should have thus been sought after by two well-known poetesses. There was no doubt a hope in the Taranaki people, that this marriage would bring about a peace, and the retirement of the *taua*, for there are many historical instances of a similar result, as indeed in the case already quoted, in their own tribe when Rau-mahora was given in marriage to Taka-rangi, at the siege of Te Rewarewa *pa* (see page 245, Chap. X.). But Watene says, the *taua* had no such intention and continued the siege as closely as before. The probability is that the Northern element amongst the besiegers was determined to have revenge for the loss of some of their people. And hence, says Watene, was this chief-woman Topeora belittled by the *taua*. The great bravery of Te Ra-tu-tonu had been

* Te Ra-tu-tonu was subsequently killed by the Nga-Rauru tribe at Wai-totara during Te Rau-paraha's migration to Kapiti.

exhibited in the assault on the *pa*, when a great many of the *taua* fell, notwithstanding that they possessed guns, whilst the defenders had only their *rakau-maori*, or native weapons. Few of the besieged fell on this occasion.

Amongst the *taua* were some of the chiefs and people of Te Ati-Awa (of Waitara, etc.). One of these, an old man named Pahau, was desirous that the Taranaki people should be saved, and for that purpose he proceeded to the ground below the *pa* by himself and there stood, awaiting a chance to communicate with the besieged. Mounga-tu-kau of the *pa* saw him, and from the palisades called out, "Who is that man?" The old man replied, "It is I, Pahau!" The other then said, "Do you not remember your grandfather Rakei-tahanga, who was saved alive by us when we took the Awa-te-take *pa*.* (This *pa* is situated behind Tikorangi on the high cliffs that overlook the Waitara river on the east side of the great bend, about a mile and a-half from Puke-rangiora, and had been taken by Taranaki in former times.) So Pahau returned to the camp, and repeated to the chiefs of his *hapu*, Otaraua of Ati-Awa, the conversation that had taken place. These

* I have no particulars as to what led up to this attack on Awa-te-take *pa*, nor as to its date, but apparently it was not very many years prior to the utterance of Mounga-tu-kau's speech above. But as there are some "sayings" about it that illustrate some peculiarities in the Maori language I introduce them here. Te Tuiti-moeroa was the chief of Awa-te-take *pa*, and he had apparently been threatened by some one of the Taranaki chiefs whose residence was in the forest. On this threat being made known to Te Tuiti, he said, "*E kore au e mate i te tangata takahi mouku.*"—"I shall not be killed by a man who is a *mouku*-treader;" *mouku* being the Maori name for the common forest fern named *Asplenium bulbiferum*; or, in other words, by a forest-dweller.) Nevertheless, his *pa* was attacked by Taranaki in the night, he and his son alone being there, when the "fern-treader" called out to Te Tuiti in his house, "*Ka mate koe i te waewae takahi mouku!*"—"Now will you die by the *mouku*-treader!") Te Tuiti shouted out in reply, "*Mei i whaka-te-aotea mai koe, ka kite koe i a Te Tuiti; ko tenei, ka whaka-te-potia mai e koe, e kore koe e kite i a Te Tuiti.*"—"Had you come by daylight you might have seen Te Tuiti; but as for this, you have come by night, and will not see Te Tuiti.") Saying this, Te Tuiti got out at the back of the house and made his escape. But the *taua* followed as soon as daylight came and chased Te Tuiti down to the sea-coast, where they caught and killed him. Then Ati-Awa raised a *taua* to pursue Taranaki (or, as another account says, Ngati-Ruanui) and came up with them, at, or near Pekatu, inland of Puke-rangiora, Waitara river, where they caught and killed them all, and hence was this place ever after called Te Whakarau-ika (heap of dead bodies). Te Tuiti married Whakaweru, a daughter of Moko-tuatua, of Ngati-Ruanui; he himself was half Taranaki.

chiefs were Te Tupe-o-tu* and Hau-te-horo,† who after further consultation agreed that the besieged Taranaki should be allowed to escape from the *pa* by night.

Now within the *pa* was a young chief named Rongo-nui-a-rangi, who was the son of Hau-te-horo's sister by a Taranaki chief to whom she was married. So Hau-te-horo went to the front and called out for the young chief. He came down out of the *pa* and there had a talk with his uncle. Hau-te-horo's final words to his nephew were, "Listen to my words. Evacuate the *pa* this very night, all of you go to Te Kohatu *pa*"—which was situated on Te Iringa mountain (Patuha Range), and was a stronghold of Kukutai's, the principal chief of Taranaki. The young man returned to the *pa* and communicated the subject of Hau-te-horo's advice to them, which was finally agreed to, for provisions were beginning to fail, and it was evident the *taua*, having all the country at their command, was determined to reduce the *pa* by starvation. That same night, with secrecy and despatch, the garrison passed out of the *pa* with the connivance of the Ati-Awa sentries, and made good their escape to Te Kohatu.

In the morning, the *taua* was surprised at seeing no smoke or hearing no voices in the *pa*, for Hau-te-horo had managed the thing so well that no one but his immediate friends and followers knew of the arrangements made. Great wonder was expressed as to how the besieged had got away.

During the siege, Tawhai (afterwards Mohi Tawhai), of the Mahurehure *hapu* of Nga-Puhi—who live at Waima, Hokianga—and father of the late Hone Mohi Tawhai, M.H.R., who was with the northern contingent of the *taua* in the attack already described, was close under one of the towers of the *pa*, when one of the defenders cast a big stone at him, which split open his head (as his son told me). But by careful doctoring he recovered—careful doctoring according to Maori ideas; they poured hot oil into the wound, then sewed it up!

Mr. Skinner has a story illustrating the instruction given to a Taranaki slave in the use of firearms: "One of these slaves was anxious to know how the musket was used. A Nga-Puhi man explained the procedure, then told the other to look down the muzzle of the gun. The Nga-Puhi then pulled the trigger and the unfortunate slave's head was shattered, much to the amusement of the surrounding crowd."

* Afterwards shot by Puke-rua at Pahiko, Otaki, about 1834.

† Killed at the battle of Hao-whenua, near Otaki, in 1833-4. See Chapter XIX.

After the escape of the garrison of Tapui-nikau and the plunder of the *pa*, the whole *taua* returned to their respective homes; Ati-Awa to Waitara, Ngati-Tama to Poutama, Ngati-Toa to Kawhia, Ngati-Whatua to Kaipara, Nga-Puhi to Hokianga; taking with them numbers of slaves* and other booty in the shape of mats and dried heads. It was at this time, when passing through Kawhia, that Tu-whare arranged with Te Rau-paraha another and more extended raid into the Taranaki country. The great Ngati-Whatua chief Muru-paenga did not return again to the south. It is probable he and his *taua* reached their Kaipara homes early in 1819, and in the next year he met the celebrated Nga-Puhi chief Tareha, in several fights at Kaipara itself. In August, 1820, the Rev. Samuel Marsden met him at the former's home in Kaipara. In 1823, he and many of his tribe are found assisting Hongi-Hika at the taking of Mokoia island, Rotorua, and finally this great warrior was killed by a party of Nga-Puhi in 1826. Muru-paenga was certainly a great warrior and leader, who set all the strength of Nga-Puhi at defiance and constantly defeated them, until the overwhelming number of muskets they had acquired enabled Hongi-Hika to inflict a crushing defeat on Muru-paenga's tribe, Ngati-Whatua, at Ika-a-ranga-nui in February, 1826.

Te Taoho, father of Tu-whare, Muru-paenga's companion in the campaign against Tapui-Nikau, thus refers to Muru-paenga in a *tangi*, or lament, given at p. 349 of "Nga-Moteatea":

Tenei nga patu-e-
Kei o matua,
Kei a Muru-paenga-e-
Hei here i te waka,
Hei korero tu-e-
Hei whakaaro i te riri
He atua rere rangi-e-
Ki runga o Taranaki
Ka rangona te panga-e-
He waka utanga nui.

Of all the weapons renowned
Those of thy parent—
Of Muru-paenga are most famous.
He it was with restraining hand
Could hold the people in.
Or with his warlike eloquence,
In military command,
His people make obey.
Like a god in heaven flying
Was his descent on Taranaki,
Where his charges are still famed.
He was like a richly-laden vessel
With all knowledge and great courage.

* We shall see in Chapter XVII. the revenge these Taranaki slaves took on Te Ati-Awa at Puke-rangiora.

TIHI-MANUKA.

DEFEAT OF NGATI-TAMA.

1820.

We must again change the scene of our story to the north. It will be remembered that Te Kawa-iri-rangi, chief of Ngati-Tama, had basely murdered Te Rangi-hapainga, wife of Hari of Ngati-Urunumia, and the steps taken by several of the *hapus* of Ngati-Mania-poto immediately after that event.

A combination of Ngati-Urunumia, Ngati-Rakei, Ngati-Rora, and Ngati-Kino-haku—all “Tainui” tribes—now assembled for the purpose of punishing Ngati-Tama for their evil deed. We know few particulars of this affair, but the date is tolerably certain. Mr. Skinner says, “The people of Pa-tangata—a *pa* on a little island at the mouth of the Tonga-porutu (see Plate 1), south side, now nearly all washed away—knowing the high rank of Te Rangi-hapainga, the murdered woman, became uneasy after the deed was done;” (and with the people of the Kawau *pa*) “retired to a point overlooking the coast on the ranges near the Wai-kiekie stream. Here they built a strong *pa* at a place named Tihi-manuka. So says Toiroa of Mokau, but it is believed the *pa* was built long ere the invasion, and was used as a place of refuge like others similarly situated along the coast. From this *pa* started one of the great Maori highways leading from the west coast into the interior of the North Island, and known as the Taumata-mahoe track. In case of defeat the inmates had a chance of escape by this back entrance, and at the same time the *pa* served the purpose of checking any marauding parties coming from the interior. Here Ngati-Tama awaited the attack of the combined tribes. In due time it came; the stronghold was taken,” and a great many of its defenders slain, among them Te Kawa-iri-rangi, who instigated the murder. The leading chiefs of the combined *hapus* were Hari, Tawhana, Te Rangi-tua-tea, Taonui, Tariki, Hauauru, and others. Judge Gudgeon, in his “Judgment, Mohakatino-Pari-ninihi Block,” says, in reference to Tihi-manuka, “There is every reason to believe that a long series of defeats and the deaths of many great chiefs, including Runga-te-rangi, Kahui-Tangaroa, Whiti, Ihu, Hanu, Pehi, and Maunga-tautari were unavenged until Ngati-Mania-poto won this battle.”

This, however, is the second defeat we have had to chronicle suffered by Ngati-Tama, the other being Nga-tai-pari-rua, fought on the beach between Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Rakei and others. The importance of this battle of Tihi-manuka is that, dependant on it as the first episode, was the loss of the Pou-tama country to Ngati-Tama, for when their title came to be inquired into in the nineties of last century, they

received but a few hundred acres out of all the tens of thousands of acres they held at the time of Tihi-manuka.

Though no doubt the defeat was a serious one, it did not exterminate the fighting spirit of the tribe, and that a great many people survived is proved by the fact that Ngati-Tama of Katikati-aka *pa*, a mile or so to the south of Tihi-Manuka, under the chiefs Tupoki and Te Puoho, followed up Ngati-Mania-poto as they retired along the coast from Tihi-manuka, "and another battle would have been fought had not Taonui and Tariki objected to fight so far from the shelter of a *pa* on which they might rally if defeated." (Judgment, *loc. cit.*)

We shall see what steps Ngati-Tama took to avenge their losses at Tihi-manuka later on; in the meantime must describe some further doings of Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha, which fall in here.

CHAPTER XII.

TU-WHARE AND TE RAU-PARAHA'S EXPEDITION,
1819-1820.

WHEN the Roroa chief, Tu-whare, parted from Te Rau-paraha at Kawhia in 1818, it was arranged between them that they should join forces and undertake a more extensive journey to the south than that in which Tatara-i-maka and Tapui-nikau fell. We have the means of ascertaining the date of this expedition with much more precision than previous ones, owing to the fact that the first Missionaries had settled at the Bay of Islands in 1814, and their journals and letters become available to help us. From these we know that Tu-whare and the northern part of this *taua* left Hokianga in November, 1819—and returned home about October, 1820. Mr. Travers in his “Life of Te Rau-paraha” states that this expedition took place in 1817, but that is clearly wrong; the Missionary Records cannot be mistaken on this point.

But, judging from evidence given before the Native Land Court in 1886, there was another cause for this expedition also. It so happened that just about this time Ngati-Tama had a grievance against the Whanganui tribes which arose as follows: Te Puoho, one of the principal chiefs of Ngati-Tama, then living at Puke-aruhe near the White Cliffs, married his daughter to a son of Takarangi of Whanganui. On one occasion in an assemblage of men, the husband said that when he embraced his wife, her skin felt like that of a potato. When the wife heard of this she felt deeply insulted, and leaving her husband returned to her father at Puke-aruhe, and laid her grievance before him. Te Puoho looked on this as a *kanga*, or curse, and determined to have revenge for the insult. He sent messengers to Kawhia and right along the coast to Te Akau, south of Waikato Heads, to rouse the people to come and help him. The evidence then says that Te Ao-o-te-rangi of Waikato sent word to Hongi Hika in reference to this matter, and that he came to Kawhia with some Nga-Puhi. This, I think, however, is a mistake, for Hongi very shortly afterwards sailed for England. Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Koata and some of Ngati-Mania-poto then joined in this *taua*. The incident is known as “Te Kiri-parareka,” or “Potato-peel.”

Te Rau-paraha visited the Kaipara district not long after the return of Tu-whare to his home, where further arrangements were made. He appears to have tried to enlist the old chief Awa-rua in the undertaking. But he had other views in regard to an expedition of his own that occurred not long after this time, and which is known as "Amio-whenua," the proceedings of which will be found later on.

This hostile incursion is one of the most noticeable of all that have occurred, on account of the devastation created, and its far reaching results. For the first time firearms were used in considerable numbers, obtained from the Bay of Islands, where the whale ships were by this time constantly resorting for refreshments. Muskets were the chief article of barter, in exchange for pigs, flax, heads, potatoes, etc.

In "Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes," an account of this expedition has been given from a document written by some unknown Northern native, which is very deficient in the names of places, people, etc. The following is mainly from the other side—from those who suffered so cruelly from the barbarities practised by the invaders.

The northern contingent, numbering two hundred men, were under Patu-one, Waka-nene, Whare-papa, Moetara, Te Kekeao, Tawhai, Te Pou-roto and others of Nga-Puhi. They assembled at Lower Hokianga, and from thence proceeded by the West Coast to Kaipara, picking up on the way the Roroa chiefs Tu-whare, his brother Taoho, Te Karu, Rori and Tu-whare's nephew Tiopera Kinaki, all of whom lived along the coast from Wai-paoa River to Kaihu on the Northern Wai-roa. These Ngati-Whatua people furnished a contingent of four hundred men, some of them from Southern Kaipara and other parts of that district, whilst many were veterans who had already fought in the Taranaki wars under Muru-paenga. They came on to Wai-te-mata, the Auckland Harbour, where they had several skirmishes with Waikato, as for instance, in the present Auckland Domain, at St. George's and Judge's Bays, Onehunga, etc. Here they met Hongi-Hika and a party from the Bay of Islands, but these latter returned home after the skirmishing. The *taua* sent down to the Kawau Island in the vain attempt to borrow some canoes from the Ngati-Rongo branch of Ngati-Whatua that dwelt in that neighbourhood, with the view of proceeding up the Waikato river in them. Failing canoes the *taua* proceeded overland by way of the Waikato mouth and Whaingaroa to Kawhia, where they were joined by four hundred men of Ngati-Toa, under the leadership of Te Rau-paraha, Te Rangi-haeata, Tungia, Te Rako, Te Kakakura, Hiroa, Nohorua, Puaha, Tama-i-hengia, and others, thus making up their number to one thousand men, several of

whom were armed with muskets. The native account says, after leaving Wai-te-mata, "We had no reason for further man-killing," (after avenging the death of some Nga-Puhi killed at Wai-te-mata) "nothing but the pleasure of so doing. This is why we did not attack the tribes that dwelt on the road we followed. It was only those who menaced us (*ko ratou e wheuaua ana ki a matou*) and obstructed our way whom we killed. This was the reason we quickly reached the country of the south, Taranaki, having no difficulties on our way."

It has already been pointed out that Ngati-Toa were related to Ngati-Tama, and, therefore, the *taua* would be allowed to pass through the territories of the latter without obstruction—at any rate there is no record of anything of the kind having taken place. Moreover, Ngati-Tama were at this time rather under a cloud after the affair at Tihi-manuka, and also had sent to the northern tribes for help. It was the same with Ngati-Rahiri; the marriage of one of their chieftainesses with Noho-rua of Ngati-Toa has been described a few pages back.* So the *taua* came on without any fighting to Manu-korihi *pa* on the north bank of Waitara—the chief at that time being Taka-ratai†—where the Ngati-Whatua section would find relatives in the descendants of Te Raraku. "But"—says Mr. John White‡—"it was known to Ati-Awa that Te Rau-paraha and Tu-whare were on their way to Taranaki to attack Tapui-nikau. The Ati-Awa met in force to stop the invaders and prevent them passing over their lands. When the party was stopped by the ancestor of Te Teira (who by selling land at Waitara in 1860, caused the war with the Maoris of the sixties) Te Rauparaha paid the tribute of ownership by asking leave to pass through, and this was granted. . . . The Manu-korihi *hapu*, as such, was not in existence at that time, nor were the ancestors of W. Kingi, of any note then. After this (the victory over Nga-Potiki-taua, already shown) the Ati-Awa gradually gained in strength, and the arrival of the northern *taua* was deemed a fitting opportunity to show it, and for this purpose they preferred a request to be allowed to pass." Te Rangi-tāke, of Manu-korihi, was also related to Te Rangi-haeata, and Patu-one of Nga-Puhi was related to Ngatata, father of Wi Tako of Ati-Awa. At Manu-korihi they dwelt for a time, discussing future plans, etc. It appears that at this period there was a

* One account I have, says the *taua* came from Kawhia to Waitara by sea, but I doubt it.

† Taka-ra-tai was killed at the battle of Motu-nui early in 1822.

‡ "Taranaki Herald," June 16th, 1860, where Mr. White (although his name is not attached, it is, nevertheless, certain that he was the author) gives a full account of matters leading up to the wars of the sixties.

feud in existence between the Manu-korihi and the Puke-rangiora people—the latter *pa*, so celebrated in after years, is situated about four miles up the Waitara river—which the *taua* were not slow to take advantage of.

Mr. Skinner states, “Great excitement prevailed among the Waitara and surrounding *hapus* over the arrival of this northern expedition, for they possessed the new weapon, the dreaded *pu*, or musket. Its wonderful powers no doubt were dwelt on, and exaggerated by the fortunate owners, until the excitement and desire to witness their deadly effects, led them to seek a way to satisfy the dangerous inquisitiveness of the local people without much danger to themselves. They had not far to seek for a scape-goat—the bad terms existing between Manu-korihi and Puke-rangiora offered the opportunity. The Nga-Puhi party were only too glad of the chance to prove their muskets.”

TE KERIKERINGA.

“At the last moment, however, their plans were changed. Arrived before Puke-rangiora, its inmates presented such a bold face and the defences were so strong and well constructed that the allies thought better of the project, and decided to pass that *pa* and attack the unsuspecting people of Ngati-Maru, living in the neighbourhood of what is now Te Tarata village.” In no accounts of this expedition is any mention made of the part that Ati-Awa of Manu-korihi took in assisting the northern *taua*. There were certainly many of them with the party and, guided by Taka-ra-tai of Manu-korihi, the *taua* went by the Rimu-tauteka track.

Mr. Skinner continues: “The Ngati-Maru are the people that made the great clearings and built the numerous *pas* in the forest east of the present town of Stratford, in Manga-o-tuku and Poho-kura blocks, as also the cultivations along the Upper Waitara and in the Tara-mouku, Manga-moe-hau, Makino, and other valleys leading into Waitara, and now known as the Ngati-Maru country.”

I gather from a native document sent me by Mr. Best, and written by Te Amo of Ngati-Maru, that the old chief of the tribe, at this time named Tutahanga, had already been engaged against Nga-Puhi in one of their incursions and that he had defeated both that tribe and on another occasion the Waikato. But no localities are mentioned. It is, however, likely enough that Tutahanga had joined Taranaki or Ngati-Ruanui in defeating some of Tau-kawau's people.

“On their way up, the *taua* attacked and took a small *pa* belonging to Ngati-Maru, named Puke-kaka-maru, situated not far from Puke-rangiora on the Waitara river, about seven hundred yards down stream

from the present bridge on the Junction road, village of Te Tarata. Here Ngati-Maru had gathered for safety and to offer battle to the invaders, under their head chiefs Patu-wairua and Tutahanga."

Evidently Tutahanga must have been a very old man at this time. His brother Patu-wairua and he were in command of the operations against the northern *taua*. I now quote from Te Amo: It was Tutahanga that had defeated both Nga-Puhi and Waikato formerly; but in the second war he was killed, with many of Ngati-Maru-whara-nui. The *pa* in which he fought was Te Kerikeringa, and it was there he was shot, and from this cause do Ngati-Maru crow over Nga-Puhi, Waikato, and Taranaki (*i.e.*, because they made an able defence with their native weapons against the muskets). When the chief of Nga-Puhi heard of his death (apparently this scene took place during the siege) he said, "*He awhiowhio i te rangi, e kore e mau i ahau. Tena he pata ua e tuku iho ki te kapu o taku ringa, e mau i a ahau.*"—"A whirlwind in the heavens I cannot secure. But a drop of rain in the hollow of my hand I can catch;" probably intending to infer that had Tutahanga fought outside in his native forests he might have been successful in a sudden attack. But being caught in his *pa* these Nga-Puhi were equal to catching him. When Tutahanga's son heard this, he replied to Nga-Puhi, "*Haere mai te rau-kura ki te piki-kotuku kia pipiri raua ki a Uenuku*"—"Come on, the Tropic-bird's* plume, and join in strife with the white heron plume before Uenuku" (the Taranaki god of war).

Now when Kere-tawha (? one of the northern *taua*) heard this defiance of Haere-ao, Tutahanga's son, he shouted out, "*Tena au te haere atu na, penai ake te tupuna a wai, tutu ana te puehu i aku waewae.*"—"Very shortly will I be with you! As if your ancestor was anyone of consequence! You shall see the dust of my feet fly directly!"

Patu-wairua, who was Haere-ao's son, heard this defiance from Kere-tawha, and perhaps thinking it would be well not to irritate Nga-Puhi, said to his father, "*Kia marie hoki te kura taiaha!*"—(Softly with the red-feathered *taiaha!*") Evidently Patu-wairua would have welcomed a peace; but Haere-ao would not listen or be persuaded; and then Patu-wairua felt that the end of his people was near, and so he sung a lament for the tribe:—

*The Tropic-bird (Amokura) is occasionally, but not often, found at the North Cape.

Ra Meremere tahokai ana,
 Te tara ki Tau-mata,
 Kia mihi atu au,
 Ka ngaro ra e,
 Taku pokai kura,
 Te matangi awhe uta
 Ki te whaititanga
 Me uta koutou,
 Ki te ihu o te waka
 Kia koha 'tu mai,
 Ki raro Waikato.
 E Nga-Puhi ra e!
 Kia ata whiu mai
 I te kara o te whiu,
 Kia tahuri ai au—e—.

Whilst the evening star bestrides
 The lonely peak at Tau-mata,
 Let me in sorrow here lament
 The calamity about to fall
 On my loved and cherished people.
 By the all-embracing wind,
 (By our enemies there encamped)
 Within this narrow space.
 Better had ye been safely placed
 In the bows of our own canoe,
 Where some kindly feeling still
 By Waikato had been shown us.
 O Nga-Puhi! there below,
 In mercy hold thy hand
 And gently use the weapon,
 A! then let me turn aside.

Whatever Patu-wairua may have wished, he did not fail to do his full share of fighting when the time came. Mr. Skinner says, "The first assault by Nga-Puhi was repulsed, Patu-wairua, with his own weapon, killing two of the enemy who attempted to enter the *pa* by the narrow neck that connects it with the Puketapu peninsula. After the attack had failed the *taua* camped down along the slopes to the west and south-west of the *pa* and commenced a regular siege. These slopes—named Tau-maha—commanded the *pa*, and the inmates were constantly annoyed and sometimes killed by the muskets used by the *taua*. Ngati-Maru, of course, had no firearms, and as this was their first introduction to this new method of warfare they were naturally terrified at the loud reports and fatal effects that sometimes followed, and became much dispirited in consequence."

Tu-tanuku of Ngati-Maru says that before the northern *taua* had reached Te Kerikeringa, enquiries had been made of the local people as to the personal appearance of Tutahanga, and the reply was, "*E hoa! he whetu!*"—"He is a star;" implying that he would easily be recognised from his great size and valiant bearing.) So when the first attack was made, which occurred at the entrance to the *pa*, Tutahanga and Patu-wairua stood in the forefront. The former disposed of four of his enemies before the northern people got a chance to shoot him, which they did on recognising the description already given.

It was no doubt during this period that the chiefs of the two parties—the red plumes and the white plumes—hurled defiance at one another as already related.

"The depression had its effect when the final assault took place, for the inmates of the *pa* had not the spirit to defend themselves with

their accustomed courage. Their brave leaders, Tutahanga and Patu-wairua, had been killed, together with a large number of the inmates of the *pa*. The remainder succeeded in making their escape across the Waitara river to the eastward along the Tara-mouku valley, and thence into the numerous clearings throughout the great forest that extends inland for very many miles."

"After the usual cannibal feast, Nga-Puhi and Manu-korihi returned to the coast, some of their number being waylaid and cut off by the Puke-rangiora people. Whatitiri, the present (1893) chief of Puke-rangiora has in his possession two old Maori fish hooks, the bone points of which were made from one of the Nga-Puhi there killed. One of these hooks " (is accredited with) "the faculty of foretelling a good day for fishing, and also of warning its owner of approaching danger."

"Among those who escaped was Tu-ihu, then an infant; another Wirihana Hihi-mua so well known to the early settlers of Te Tarata; he was a very small boy at the time. He told me one story of the siege that has been related of other sieges in Maori-land " (for instance Pohatu-roa, Te Ati-amuri) "when in similar straits. When Ngati-Maru were very closely pressed at the end of the siege, they sent all the young women of the *pa* to the camp of the *taua*, so that they might by this means induce their foes to relax their vigilance, whilst the men in the meantime made their escape."

Watene says that amongst the slain was Tua-rua, a chief of the Puke-rangiora *hapu*, and that his people composed the following lament for him :—

Tera hoki koia te pae tonga
Te tau mai ra kei Whare-o-Tu,
He po mihinga atu
Nahaku ki a Tua-rua,
Ka mahue atu ki taku, E Hine
Ka tauwehe.
Kia whakarongo nga tai e paku,
Ki waho Wao-kena ra, tu mai ai,
E ki ana ra Te Ati-Awa,
Te pūru o Tainui ka maunu!
Taku whakatere papa
Ka tahuri i a Ranga-whenua,
I Turanga ra,
Noho maru kore nei hoki au.

There away towards the south
Evil rests on the house of Tu
(The house of war and death)

This night do I lament
 Thy loss, O Tua-rua !
 Left there thou art, and from my love
 Separated for ever, O Lady !
 Listen then to the sounding waves
 Outside at Wao-kena, when they arise
 ('Tis the omen of death)
 As all Ati-Awa say.
 The plug of Tainui is withdrawn¹
 (That keeps back the flood of death)
 My beloved canoe is overturned
 By the waves of Ranga-whenua,²
 That are seen at Turanga ;
 Hence am I now shelterless.

It is stated above that the northern *taua* returned to the coast after the fall of Te Kerikeringa, but Watene, who was a very good authority, confirmed by Tu-tanuka, says, on the contrary, that they proceeded along the old forest track which leads by way of Whakaahu-rangi (the present site of Stratford), and so out of the forest into the open country near Kete-marae (near present site of Normanby). It is tolerably clear from the absence of any detail as to their doings as they passed onward through the territories of Ngati-Ruanui and Nga-Rauru, that these tribes had retired to their fastnesses in the rough forest country. Probably the news of the fall of Te Kerikeringa and the destructive effects of the muskets had quickly spread and alarmed the two tribes mentioned. One account, however, says the *taua* attacked and took the Otihoi *pa* at Waitotara, belonging to Nga-Rauru.

At any rate, the next we hear of the *taua* is at Whanganui, where they found the local people gathered in strength at Purua *pa*, believed to be on the east bank of the river, a little above the town. Here Ngati-Hau had gathered under Te Anaua and his brother. The northern *taua* here met with an unexpected difficulty, however, in reaching the Whanga-nui people in the *pa*. The river is large and deep and cannot be crossed without the aid of canoes, and all these the local people had carefully withdrawn from the north side and sent away up the river. But Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha were not the men to be deterred by an obstacle of that nature. They sent every man to the little lake named Koko-huia, near the mouth of the river, where

NOTES.—1. The plug of "Tainui" (or some other of the great canoes of the fleet) is an expression often used, as meaning that the restraining hand is withdrawn and the flood of evil drowns the canoe (the tribe).

2. The waves of Ranga-whenua are the immense rollers that occasionally break on the coasts of the Bay of Plenty, generally in fine weather and without apparent cause. They are believed to be the effect of Arctic storms at the end of the northern winter. These waves can be traced right across the Pacific, travelling south.

abundance of *raupo* grew on its sedgy banks, and there they built *mokihi*, or rafts, which were then taken to the river, and by this means the force was enabled to cross. It is said that the work occupied a month. The *taua* then crossed and attacked and took the Purua *pa*, and then passed on to Whangaehu and Rangi-tikei, having some skirmishes with the Ngati-Apa tribe of those parts, who mostly, however, fled to the forests as the *taua* approached, for the fame of their muskets had preceded them.

PUKE-RUA.

So they passed on till they came to Pae-kakariki, where the railway line leaves the coast and turns inland to Porirua. Here the *taua* found their way obstructed by a fortified *pa* named Puke-rua, situated a little to the west of the Railway Station, also called Puke-rua, twenty-two miles from Wellington. Mr. Elsdon Best, who gathered a large number of notes about Te Rau-paraha's doings, says that "the name of the Mua-upoko *pa* at Puke-rua was Wai-mapihi, so named after a little stream there coming down from the hills. After the massacre, those who survived fled up this stream to the forest ranges, pursued by Ngati-Toa, who overtook and killed many of them. The remains of the ramparts at Wai-mapihi are still to be seen, as also a few heavy stumps of the *totara* palisading, some native ovens, kitchen-middens, etc. The stream runs down past Whare-roa Railway Station, and the *pa* was near the mouth of the stream. Tungia and Takarae were two of the Ngati-Toa chiefs engaged in the capture of the *pa*. The name of the old Maori track from Taupo (Plimmerton) across the ranges and to the beach at Wai-mapihi was called Taua-tapu. This *pa* was held by the Ngati-Rangi *hapu* of the Mua-upoko tribe, and probably some members of the Ngati-Ira tribe of Porirua and Port Nicholson. The inmates offered so good a defence that the *taua* was repulsed, though, of course, the local people had nothing but their native arms as against the invaders' muskets. Watene says that Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha now held council as to how this *pa* was to be taken, and it was finally settled, on the latter's suggestion, that peace should be offered to the local people with the intention of deceiving them. So a message was sent to the *pa*, "*He maunga-rongo ta maua ki tenei pa.*"—"We desire to make peace with the *pa*." The chiefs of the *pa* were thus deceived and agreed to make peace, thinking it was a *bona fide* one. When the *taua* had been allowed to enter the *pa*, they suddenly fell on the unsuspecting inmates and massacred nearly the whole of them. The Nga-Puhi account of this and other treacherous doings of the *taua* says that they were all instigated by Te Rau-paraha.

From what is known of his character, it is not difficult to believe it; but at the same time his allies would be quite ready to fall in with his views.

PORT NICHOLSON.

Watene says that near Puke-rua and its neighbourhood—probably including Porirua harbour—the *taua* found so many fine canoes that they decided to continue their journey by water. So they put to sea on the stormy waters of Cook's Straits, and when they arrived at Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head) some of the canoes proceeded by the outside route, beyond the reefs, where the fierce currents of Cook's Straits raises a heavy sea. These canoes capsized and over a hundred men were drowned. The rest of the party took the inside passage and thus reached Te Whanganui-a-Tara (Port Nicholson) in safety, landing at a place Watene calls Pa-ranga-hau, which I do not recognise.

On arrival of the *taua* at Pa-ranga-hau, they found some of the local tribe, the Ngati-Ira, there, and immediately attacked them, killing a great number of the unfortunate people by aid of their muskets, which, of course, were quite new to the Ngati-Ira—no ships having visited Port Nicholson at that time, so far as can be ascertained. "But," says Watene, "Nga-Puhi did not escape scatheless; Ngati-Ira charged them in the face of the flames from the muskets, and with their native weapons killed many Nga-Puhi. One night, not long after the Nga-Puhi had been camped at Te Aro (in the present city of Wellington), Ngati-Ira attacked Nga-Puhi in force during the night and succeeded in killing two hundred (?) of the latter tribe, including a high chief, Te Karu" (who belonged, I believe, to the Roroa *hapu* of Ngati-Whatua).

For the rest of the Nga-Puhi doings at Port Nicholson, readers must be referred to "Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes," where they will be found in considerable detail as told by one of the actors, and most of which is corroborated by Watene.

WAIRARAPA.

Subsequently, the *taua* went on by sea to Wai-rarapa, where they took the Tau-whare-nikau *pa*,* killing, says Watene, over four hundred people of the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tribe, but the principal chiefs escaped to the forests and made their way north to Poranga-hau. A *pa* named Mawhitiwhiti, belonging to Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, was also taken at this

* It is also said that Hakikino *pa* was taken at this time, but I think this is a mistake. It was taken in the next expedition, the "Amio-whenua."

time, the chief of which was named Te Papahinga. Another account says this *pa* belonged to Ngati-Ira and was at Poranga-hau, possibly the Pa-ranga-hau mentioned by Te Watene, which was at Port Nicholson, and thus agrees with the statement that the *pa* belonged to Ngati-Ira, which tribe owned Port Nicholson. Here Nga-Puhi met a repulse, the fight taking place in the water of a lake or stream, until Ngati-Toa came up, when the local people were beaten. After remaining in this district some time, the chiefs of the *taua* assembled in council decided it would be better to return on their tracks, for there were signs that the powerful tribe of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were assembling with their thousands of warriors to chastise the invaders. So with hundreds of prisoners the *taua* embarked on board their canoes on Wai-rarapa lake, and thence came down the river connecting that lake with the sea, to the ocean, and so back to Port Nicholson, there to find an empty land, save for a few fugitives of Ngati-Ira, who were scattered in the recesses of the Tararua mountains, with here and there a few families on the western side of the harbour, eking out a bare subsistence on the roots and fruits of the forest, for the *taua*, on its late visit, had destroyed all cultivations, together with the villages. It is evident from the great scarcity of old *pas* round about Wellington, that the tribes formerly dwelling in the district were not *pa* builders. The rocky nature of the soil has had much to do with this. There are a few *pas* still extant, but they are miserable specimens compared with those of Taranaki and some other parts.

TE POU-ROTO IS DROWNED.

After staying a short time at Port Nicholson, the *taua* again put to sea and rounded Cape Te Ra-whiti, putting into Ohariu Bay, where Tamai-rangi was captured, as related later on. Whilst here, Te Pou-roto, one of the Nga-Puhi chiefs, determined to cross the Straits against the wishes of the others, and continue their man-killing operations in the South Island. So he started off in one or more canoes, manned by eighty men, but a sudden storm coming on in the rough and dangerous crossing, Te Pou-roto and all his party were drowned, whilst their companions looked on, helpless, from the bluff at Omere, just to the south of Ohariu. This bluff was the place the people always visited to see if the Straits were calm enough to cross—hence the reference in the old song:—

Ka rou Omere ki waho
He maunga tuteinga aio.

Where Omere projects outside,
The look-out mount for calms.

It was whilst the *taua* were staying at Omere that a ship was seen

to pass through the Straits, but without communicating with the shore. The northern chiefs, Patuone, Waka-nene, and others, called Te Rau-paraha's attention to it, pointing out that this part of the coast would be a favourable one for him to remove to from Kawhia (where for years his tribe, the Ngati-Toa, had been embroiled with Waikato) in order that by trading with the white people he might acquire as many muskets as he wished. Te Rau-paraha was favourably impressed with this advice, and, as we shall see, finally adopted it.

Passing onwards towards their homes, the *taua* came into collision with the Ngati-Apa tribe at Rangi-tikei, and, in a skirmish here, Te Rangi-haeata captured Pikinga, a woman of high rank, whom he made his wife.

DEATH OF TU-WHARE.

Eventually, the party reached the Whanganui river, coming all the way, and indeed up to Patea, in the canoes they had captured. Here they stayed some time, and then a division in the councils of the leaders appears to have taken place, for Ngati-Toa and Nga-Puhi remained in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the Whanganui, whilst Tu-whare and the Roroa people decided to go up the river. For what follows I am indebted to Mr. Best and Mr. Downes, and to particulars learnt from Aitua Te Rakai-waho of Upper Whanganui.

Mr. Best says: "The people of Puke-namu (Rutland Stockade, town of Whanganui), Patupo and Taumaha-ute (on top of Shakespeare's Cliff, Whanganui), and all the other *pas* in the neighbourhood of the mouth of the river, fled inland as soon as the northern *taua* appeared, taking in their canoes all the property they could manage, for the recollection of the previous visit of the invaders a few months before, and the devastation they then caused, were fresh in their minds. As Tu-whare and his party advanced up the river, they were harassed by the people occupying the numerous *pas* belonging to Ngati-Hau and other tribes on either side of the river. (At Te Arero-o-uru, a *pa* between one and two miles below the modern village of Koroniti (Corinth) they caught and killed a chief named Pakura and captured a woman named Waitoki, who was carried by the *taua* as far as the Ngati-Ruanui country, when she escaped and got back to Wai-totara, where she met a worse fate, for she was killed by the Nga-Rauru people. Thus death was subsequently avenged by Koroheke and Rangi-whakahaua of Whanganui, who slew a great many of Nga-Rauru.—From Mr. T. W. Downes.) Many parties closed in on the rear of the invaders, thus attempting to cut off their retreat. 'But what was that to Tu-whare?' says my informant, 'He cleared a path for his party by the terror of his guns. When we heard the sounds of

those guns we thought they were *pu-tatara* (the old Maori trumpet), and our old men said, 'Does this man think to conquer the Ati-Hau with his *pu-tatara*? Are the descendants of Ao-kehu and Tama-whiro, of Hau-pipi and Pae-rangi* flying from a sound?' So said our warriors; but when we saw our men falling dead around us, struck from afar off by an invisible missile, then the knowledge came to us that this was the new weapon of which we had heard, and we saw that our *rakau-maori*, or native weapons, were of little avail against the *pu-matā*, or muskets. Still we resisted the advance of Nga-Puhi and attacked them wherever opportunity offered† all the way up the river, and those in the rear followed them up in their canoes. Far up Te Awa-nui-a-Rua (a name for Whanganui river) did Tu-whare fight his way, until he reached Te Ana-o-Tararo, near Makokoti (fifty-three miles above Pipiriki, a *pa* at the junction of Rere-taruke with Whanganui, but I think Te Ana is some way below this). Here the river is narrow and has high cliffs on both sides. On the summit of these cliffs a great number of people had collected to stay the progress of Nga-Puhi. Messengers had gone forth to alarm the tribes of the river and of the interior. Then the *hapus* of Ati-Hau, Patu-tokotoko, Nga-Poutama, Ngati-Pa-moana, and Nga-Paerangi came together at Te Ana-o-Tararo. The tribes of Tuhua and Taupo-nui-a-Tia (the full name of Lake Taupo) sent their contingents to help silence the boastful Nga-Puhi. Thus Nga-Puhi came. When the canoes of Tu-whare were passing through the narrows we attacked them. From the summit of the cliffs we hurled down logs and huge stones upon the canoes, crushing and killing many."

Thus far, Mr. Best: but it is clear this was not the final attack, which took place higher up. From five or six miles above Pipiriki for forty or more miles, the river is very generally lined with perpendicular cliffs about one hundred feet high, and any part of this long stretch would fit Mr. Best's description. I will now follow Te Aitua's story. "The Nga-Puhi had succeeded in passing the narrow cliff-bound part of the river and ascended above the junction of Rere-taruke, when the hostile movements of the local tribes became so threatening and

* Ao-kehu, an ancestor, a noted Taniwha slayer—see Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIII., p. 94. Hau-pipi, the great ancestor of the Ngati-Hau of Whanganui. Pae-rangi, another ancestor of the Whanganui people.—See Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIV., p. 131.

† One of the Nga-Puhi accounts say that Ngati-Pa-moana of the celebrated *pa* Operiki, made a fierce resistance to the advance of the northern *taua* at that *pa*, which is situated three-fourths of a mile above Corinthe. This *pa* has often been attacked.

their numbers so great that Nga-Puhi considered it time to turn back, especially as they had lost some of their canoes, thus necessitating some to travel overland. As they approached the Kai-whakauka *pa*, situated half a mile down stream from the Rere-taruke junction, on the east side of the river, the invaders found the Whanganui tribes assembled in vast numbers under the leadership of Turoa and other chiefs, awaiting the return of Nga-Puhi. Finding their route barred, the *taua* saw their only chance was to trust to their guns and fight it out. They first occupied the opposite side of the river (where there is a little native village now—1905) and from there fired into the *pa*, but the distance is rather much for the old-fashioned muskets. The *pa* of Kai-whakauka is situated on the top of a perpendicular cliff on the river side, with cliffs also on the north, where a little stream joins the main river through a cañon. Nga-Puhi (who, says my informant, were eight hundred strong with five hundred muskets—a very obvious exaggeration, the numbers being probably not more than three hundred men and thirty or forty guns) now crossed and occupied the slopes that rise from the *pa* towards the south, from which they kept up a constant fire on the *pa*. Under this fire, Nga-Puhi attacked and succeeded in getting into the fort, where, however, the numbers of Whanganui, now able to fight at close quarters with their native weapons, were too much for their foes, a very large number of whom were killed in the *pa*; others were thrown over the cliffs, to be killed on the rocks below. Whilst Tu-whare was in the *pa*, and just coming round the corner of a house, he was met by Ha-marama, a chief of Whanganui, whom Tu-whare fired at and hit in the shoulder; but before he could reload, Ha-marama struck him a blow on the head with his *taiaha*, which split his skull, but did not kill him. Tu-whare called out, ‘*Mehemea he ringa huruhuru tau, ko tenei he ringaringa mahi kai.*’ —(“If thine had been the arm of a warrior I should have been killed; but it is the arm of a cultivator.”)

Tu-whare's people succeeded in getting him away, and carried him wounded unto death, to their canoes, and then made off with all speed down the river, followed by Whanganui as hard as they could paddle. A flying fight ensued for some way down the river, until darkness set in—this was winter time—when hostilities ceased, and both parties, exhausted after the exertions of the day, went into camp at no great distance from one another. During this flight, Toki-whatī, a son (or perhaps nephew) of Tu-whare, was captured by Whanganui. As the two parties were resting in their camp, a parley took place, in which Tu-whare asked his enemies if they had seen Toki-whatī; the reply was that they held him a prisoner. Upon this, negotiations took place

and Toki-whatī was given up to his own people in exchange for part of a suit of armour that George IV. had given to Hongi when that chief visited England in 1820, and from whom it came into the possession of Tu-whare.*

This incident appears to have ended the fighting, for next morning the northern *taua* embarked, and with the swift current of the Whanganui under them, in a day or two reached the camp of their allies near the mouth of the river.

Te Aitua-te-Rakei-waho, from whom I obtained many of the above particulars, is a grandson of Ha-marama (whose other name was Te Whaingaroa), who gave Tu-whare the blow that eventually proved fatal, and he still possesses the *taiaha* that his grandfather used on that occasion, which bears the name of "Ringa-mahi-kai," so called after Tu-whare's expression.

The great expedition now passed on its way homeward, going by canoes as far as Patea, where, apparently, a division took place, some going on in their canoes to Waitara, whilst others, the Roroa people, went overland, carrying poor Tu-whare on a *kauhoa*, or stretcher. On their arrival at Kete-marae, the old native settlement not far from Normanby, Tu-whare expired of his wounds. So died this great chief, who, in many battles, had shown his courage and ability as a warrior. This was his third expedition to Taranaki, the first having been either with Muru-paenga or Tau-kawau. From Kete-marae, the body was carried on to Manu-korihi, at Waitara, where it was buried near Tau-kawau at the Rohutu burial ground. The Manu-korihi people, it will be remembered, were connected with Tu-whare, and hence his bones would be safe from desecration, a point of great moment to the Maori.†

After the burial of Tu-whare and the usual *tangi*, etc., the northern *taua* passed onwards towards their homes. With the canoes they possessed, probably they went by sea to Kawhia, where the northern tribes took farewell of Te Rau-paraha and the Ngati-Toa tribe, their companions in arms for so long. It is said that Nga-Puhi and the Roroa people presented Te Rau-paraha with fifty stand of arms, but,

* As these lines go to print, it is reported that the armour has recently been recovered and is now (1908) deposited in the Dominion Museum, Wellington, but it is clear some mistake occurs in the native accounts, for Hongi had not yet returned from England when this fight took place, and the armour is more probably that presented to Titore long after this event. What the object given in exchange for Toki-whatī was, cannot now be ascertained.

† See Appendix to this chapter.

probably, this is an exaggeration, though some were given, no doubt, which the Ngati-Toa chief shortly after used against Waikato and in his memorable migration to the south.

The Nga-Puhi contingent of this long expedition reached Hokianga about October, 1820, for when Marsden passed through the homes of these people in November of that year the women were still in the *whare-potae*, or mourning over those who had been killed at Taranaki. Two of the northern chiefs became afterwards celebrated for the consistent support they always rendered the British Government—in peace and war—the brothers Eruera Patuone and Tamati Waka-nene, both chiefs of Upper Hokianga. They both assisted actively in our war against Hone Heke, 1844. Patuone died 19th September, 1872, supposed to have been over one hundred years old.

The following is quoted from Marsden's "Journal" (already referred to) in reference to this expedition:—"24th November, 1820. Patuone informed me that he had been on the South Island across Cook's Straits, and that on his way his party was attacked at Taranaki and some of them killed, among whom was Mau-whena's son and two more chiefs belonging to here (Lower Hokianga). That he had retaliated upon the enemy, killing some, and taking many prisoners, among whom were many women and children; and that at length he had made peace with them and returned their children when redeemed by instruments of war made of green-talc and some mats. He had left ten of his people there who had married, and brought a number away with him, some of whom were present, and that he and the people of Taranaki were now completely reconciled."

Marsden also mentions, under date 21st November, that a Taranaki chief, much tattooed and with much hair on his head, was then on a visit to Mau-whena's village (at Whirinaki, Lower Hokianga)—who this could be I know not, but probably he was one of the Manu-korihi people.

TE ARIKI, THE PLAGUE OF 1820.

New Zealand has been visited twice (at least) by some serious disease which ran through the country like wild-fire, carrying off many thousands. The first scourge is believed to have occurred in 1795. The second one, called by the Taranaki people "Te Ariki," occurred about the end of 1820. The following brief account of it was given to Mr. Skinner and myself by old Watene Taungatara of Waitara in 1897. He said this was introduced by the ship "Coromandel," which discovered the harbour of that name in Hauraki Gulf in August, 1820. This plague, or whatever it was, spread from the crew amongst the Maoris, and passed on from tribe to tribe until it reached Taranaki. It swept down the

coast, taking village after village and *pa* after *pa* in its course, killing a large number of people. No sooner had the survivors in one place began to recover a little than the next place was attacked. So severe was it that in some cases there were not enough people left alive to bury the dead. The *tohungas* proceeded to try by their arts to stop the mischief. As the evil was of European origin, they first made a representation of a ship in sand, with masts and rigging such as had been described to them, for at that time none had seen any vessels. Over these imitation ships, as a *tuāhu*, or altar, they repeated their *karakias*, but alas! they could not stop the evil. Many thousands are said to have perished in this district.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XII.

DEFEAT OF THE NORTHERN TRIBES AT NGA-WEKA.

(?) 1820.

REPEATED, but unavailed, attempts have been made to determine the date of the above event. One good authority states it occurred during the Tu-whare—Te Rau-paraha expedition of 1820, and he is corroborated by another, but others are uncertain. As it will not do to omit an event of such importance, and especially as it was one of the few occasions on which the Taranaki tribe appear to have obtained revenge for many defeats at the hands of the Northern tribes, the account is inserted here.

Thanks to the care of the Taranaki Scenery Preservation Society, the old *pa* of Nga-weka is in an excellent state of preservation, and is interesting as a type of fortification not uncommon in the district round Cape Egmont, where the otherwise easy slope of the country from Mount Egmont to the sea, is broken up by volcanic hillocks, due no doubt to small explosions on the surface of the lava as it flowed from the mountain. The *pa* stands on the south bank of the Hanga-tahua, or Stony river, about three-quarters of a mile inland from the bridge on the Great South Road. It is now covered with a secondary growth of timber, which has served to preserve the many *maioro*, or ramparts in their integrity. The *pa* stands on two hills, the tops of which are separated about seventy yards, and has perpendicular cliffs along the river about thirty feet high.

On first hearing of the approach of a hostile force, the Nga-mahanga *hapu*, of Taranaki, all assembled to consider what steps should be taken to meet it. Some proposed that each *hapu* should remain in its own *pa* and await attack, but one of the chiefs of Nga-weka arose and said, "*Kia kotahi ano taringa hei ngaunga ma te hoa riri.*" ("Let there be only one ear for the enemy to bite.") This was finally agreed to by all, so the various *hapos* gathered together in Nga-weka to await the enemy, the chiefs being Tama-piri, Tu-te-whakaiho, and Te Ra-whakahuru. So soon as all were assembled in

the *pa*, parties were sent out to obtain wood from a place celebrated for trees suitable for spear-making; and they obtained large quantities, many of great length (*huatas*). At the time of the attack there were eighty warriors within the northern part of the *pa*, one hundred and forty in the southern part. The *taua* advanced and commenced to lay siege to the *pa*. They are said to have been under the chiefs Kahunui and Wherori, supposed by one of my informants to belong to the Mauiui *hapu* of Waikato—though no such name is known to me. Other accounts state that the force was under Tu-whare, or possibly part of Tu-whare's people, and that they were assisted by some of the Puke-tapu and Puke-rangiora *hapu* of Te Ati-Awa.

After some time the attacking *taua* decided to assault the place, at a spot between the two hillocks where the ground is lower, and where was one of the entrances into the *marae* of the *pa*, situated in the hollow and overlooked by the ramparts of both *pas*. Here was a confined space, some fifty feet by twenty-five feet, leading out to the cliff overhanging the river. The Nga-mahanga people on learning that an attack was to take place, decided to allow the enemy to enter and occupy this narrow space. As soon as they had all gathered there, the warriors from both *pas* rushed down, and with their long spears killed many of the enemy. Then closing in on them, a desperate hand to hand fight took place, in which the enemy could do little, hampered as he was by the confined space. Seeing defeat imminent, the northern *taua* found only one way of escape open to them, and this was along the deep ditch leading out to the cliff. Hastening along this, they were closely followed by Nga-mahanga, until all were gathered on the edge of the perpendicular cliff. The pressure from behind soon drove the foremost rank over the cliff, where most of them were killed by the fall on to the boulders of the Hanga-tahua river, whilst Nga-mahanga harried and hustled those in the rear until the whole body of the attacking force was precipitated into the bed of the river, until, as is said, there was a bridge of dead and dying bodies across the river, over which a few of the defeated made their escape to the north bank of the river, and to the hill where Mr. W. Grey's house now stands, and there passed the ensuing night in lamenting their losses, departing for their homes the following morning. The people of the *pa* hauled up the dead bodies by aid of supplejack ropes, and then enjoyed the usual feast. The following men of rank in the northern *taua* were killed here: Kahu-nui, Kuri (or Kurukuru), and Rori (or Wherori)—another account adds Rakatau to the number of slain.

For some particulars of the above affair I am indebted to Mr. W. Grey of Okato.

CHAPTER XIII.

TE RAU-PARAHA AND HIS DOINGS AT KAWHIA.

IN Chapter XI. hereof the celebrated Te Rau-paraha of Ngati-Toa tribe first comes into our narrative; and as he and his people played such an important part in the later history of the Taranaki tribes, it will be of interest to refer to the causes that led up to the migration of Ngati-Toa from their old home at Kawhia to Kapiti, the island in Cook's Straits which was so long their home. This name, Kapiti (which may be translated as "precipitous"), was not only the name of the island, but, by other tribes than those who lived in its neighbourhood, was used as a convenient term in modern times to denote all that part of the adjacent coasts of both North and South Islands. It will be frequently used in that sense in what follows.

The Ngati-Toa tribe and its various *hapus* are the direct descendants of the crew of the "Tai-nui" that formed one of the fleet of canoes that came from Tahiti in *circa* 1350. Until the year 1821, this tribe had always occupied Kawhia and the coast south from that harbour, as far as Marokopa river, or perhaps further.* It was not the crew of "Tai-nui," however, that gave the name originally to Kawhia, but rather Turi, captain of the "Aotea," soon after they landed at Aotea harbour (named after the canoe) a few miles north. On reaching Kawhia, they performed the ceremony called *awhi*, which seems to have been a common one, known under different names, by which all evil influences supposed to pertain to a new land, were removed, and an avoidance of the desecration of the personal *tapu* of the new-comers secured. The name is thus, *Ka-awhi-a*, the last *a* forming the passive of the verb *awhi*, and *ka* the sign of the present and future tense. We may thus translate the name as "the place where all evil influence was removed." The *tuāhu*, or sacred altar, used by Hotu-roa, captain and chief priest of "Tai-nui," his brother Hotu-nui, and other priests of that canoe was situated not far from the modern town of Kawhia (the Maori name of which is Po-wewe), and it is very interesting to note that its name was given in remembrance of a district (and, probably, a

* Most of the localities referred to in this chapter will be found on Map No. 4.

Scale of Miles

A horizontal scale bar with markings at 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, and 5. The bar is divided into five equal segments by vertical tick marks.

Aotea Harbor

Reference

Old Tracks shown thus-----
Old Pas -----,,-----,,-----■

Kawhia Harbor

W. Gordon del.

marae) in their ancient home at Tahiti. Ahurei is the name of the *tuāhu*, and Te Fana-i-Ahurai (Te Whanga-i-Ahurai in Maori) is the present name of the district a few miles south-west of Pape-ete, chief town of the French possessions in Oceania, island of Tahiti; from which (as also from Papara, the next district south) the Maoris came in 1350. The first *kumaras*, brought in the “Tai-nui,” were planted by Whakaoti-rangi, Hotu-roa’s wife, at a place which they named Hawaiki—again in remembrance of the general name of their ancient home—for this was the name given to all the islands of the groups round Tahiti.

The “Tai-nui” canoe arrived after the “Aotea,” and finding Kawhia unoccupied—the “Aotea” crew having gone on south—the people settled at that harbour, and spread from there all over Waikato and a large part of the west centre of the North Island. The Ngati-Toa tribe, however, remained, settling down near where their ancestors landed. But it was not until some ten or eleven generations ago that the present tribal name was adopted from one of their principal chiefs, named Toa-rangatira. Previous to that they were called Ngati-Mango.

There are many *hapus* claiming ancestry with Ngati-Toa, of which the following are some:—Ngati-Rarua, Ngati-Koata, Ngati-Haumia-whakatere-taniwha, Te Kiri-wera, Ngati-Hangai, etc.

The following is an interesting genealogical table showing the descent of Ngati-Toa from Turi of the “Aotea” canoe. It is supplied by Tungia Ngahuka of that tribe (son of the famous Tungia). On it will be noticed both Mango and Toa-rangatira, eponymous ancestors of the tribe:—

TABLE NO. LIV.

	Turi (of “Aotea”)
20	Turi-mata-kino
	Turi-mata-oneone
	Kura-waka-i-mua
	Tuhinga
	Pou-tama
15	Mango
	Kai-hamu
	Te Uru-tira
	Tu-pahau
	Koro-kino
10	Toa-rangatira
	Marangai-paraoa
	Te Maunu
	Te Mahutu
	Taka-mai-te-rangi

5 Te Matoe

1 Te Kanae 2 Te Puaha 3 Tama-i-hengia

|
Te Whirihana *

.....

.....

I do not think that Turi's son here shown is known to his other descendants, but it is probable that Turi found some of the original inhabitants at Kawhia, and, as was the custom, one of their women was given to him as a wife, from whom this line descends. That Ngati-Toa claim descent from the old *tangata-whenua*, the following table will show, which is from the same source as the preceding one :—

TABLE NO. LV.

	Ngai-nui
	Ngai-roa
	Ngai-peha
	Ngai-tuturi
	Ngai-pekapeka
28	Te Manu-waero-rua (father also of Toi)
	Uenuku-hangai
	Rongomai-ahu-rangi
25	Ranga-pu
	Kaihu
	Kahu-tai
	Uru-hina
	Tangi-wharau
20	Te Awe-o-te-rangi
	Ngarara-kura
	Ehau
	Hau-nui
	Hau-roa
15	Haumia-whakateretaniwha †
	E tara-tukunga-reka
	Haumia
	Taonga-iwi
	Tama-iwi-tarekareka
10	Maki
	Kuru-whare
	Hine-wairoro = Turanga-peke
	Kahu-taiki = Te Maunu
	Maui
5	Apitia

* A draughtsman, Survey Department, Auckland, in 1863; then about twenty years old.

† Eponymous ancestor of the *hapu* of Ngati-Toa of that name.

The first five names on this list beginning with Ngai are well-known *tangata-whenua* ancestors of the Bay of Plenty people, and Te Manu-waero-rua is either the father or mother of Toi-kai-rakau of the same people. In Chapter IV. it is shown that this Toi lived thirty-one generations ago; here his parent is shown to have flourished twenty-eight generations ago—not too great a discrepancy to disprove the identity of the individual.

The above table, in its latter end, runs into the Ati-Awa tribe; Apitia, the last named, died at the Chatham Islands about thirty years ago at a probable age of forty to fifty years.

Haumia (15 in table) received his name from the following circumstance: Haumia, who lived at Kawhia fifteen generations ago, possessed a *kumara* plantation situated on a cliff (let us suppose it to be a low one) overlooking the sea. His crops were constantly destroyed year after year in a most unaccountable manner. At last, Haumia found out the cause, in the existence of an immense *taniwha* (or sea-monster), which dwelt in a cave in the base of the cliff, and which caused the waves to rise and inundate the cultivations. This *taniwha*, whose name was Rapa-roa, was slain by Haumia, who thereafter received the name of Haumia-whakatere-taniwha (Haumia-the-*taniwha*-floater), which is borne by his descendants to this day as their tribal cognomen.

I have been favoured by Mr. James Cowan with the loan of a copy of the notes taken by Mr. John Ormsby at the Native Land Court, Otorohanga, in 1886, detailing the evidence given by Major W. Te Wheoro (sometime M.H.R.) and Hone Kaora, in the case of the title to Kawhia, from which is taken the following information as to events at that place in the early times of Te Rau-paraha. I am further indebted to Mr. Andrew Wilson, Government Surveyor, for the identification of some of the place names and other information.

The notes are unsatisfactory, as they do not make any pretence to be a continuous narrative, but enough can be made out to furnish an outline of the perpetual state of warfare, murders, and treacherous actions which characterised the period. Te Rau-paraha is believed to have been born about 1780—see Mr. W. T. L. Traver's "Life of Te Rau-paraha"—and therefore the first event noticed below would not occur until about the year 1800—for he would not have been a leader much before that time. All the troubles that ensued on the death of Te Uira occurred within the next twenty-one years or prior to 1821, when Ngati-Toa left Kawhia.

It appears that during the constant strife that existed between the Waikato tribes and those living on the west coast from Whaingaroa (Raglan) to Kawhia (which there is no need to follow Major Te Wheoro in describing)—that a large *tauā* of Ngati-Paoa (of the Hauraki Gulf), Ngati-Haho, and Ngati-Hine (of Waikato) made an excursion to Whaingaroa, which district they found at that time to be practically uninhabited, due to previous wars. From there the party passed southward to Aotea Harbour, and proceeded to attack a *pa* on the western side towards the sea, called O-whakarito, where they succeeded in killing the chiefs Whata and Wai-tapu, and took the *pa*. It is not stated to what tribe these victims belonged, but evidently they were allies of Te Rau-paraha's tribe, Ngati-Toa. Two chiefs of the *pa*, Ra-waho and Patete, succeeded in making good their escape. At this period most of the Aotea district was unoccupied, due to previous wars, and so the Ngati-Mahanga people (now of Raglan) came down and took possession.

This proceeding on the part of Ngati-Mahanga incensed the Ngati-Toa and their allies of Kawhia, and consequently Te Rau-paraha raised a *tauā* and proceeded in his war-canoes to Whaingaroa, where he attacked Ngati-Mahanga, killing Tu-tonga, Ue-hoka, Te Wharengori, and Moana-taiaha; after which the victors returned to their homes at Kawhia. Although Ngati-Pou are not mentioned, it is clear from other sources that they suffered in this raid.

There was apparently another reason also for this attack on Whaingaroa. Mr. Shand obtained the following from Petera Te Pukuatua, the late head chief of the Ngati-Whakawe branch of Te Arawa. Mr. Shand says, "It may be remarked that the people whom Te Rau-paraha attacked were killed in revenge for the massacre, by Ngati-Pou, living at Tarahanga (query, on the Waikato between Rangiriri and Kopu) of a number of Ngati-Toa women, his relatives, who were on their way to an *uhunga* (or crying over the dead) at the home of Te Hia-kai, several of them being Topeora's and Te Rangi-haeata's brothers and sisters. Some say there were thirty, others ten, of them. The massacre took place at Te Whakairoiro. Had Te Hia-kai been there, the people would have been saved. The cause of Ngati-Pou's action in this matter is uncertain, but no doubt due to some old quarrel. Te Rau-paraha sought revenge for it, first apprising Ngati-Pou of his intentions, especially Uehoka (mentioned above) who was living in a semi-fortified village. He replied to Te Rau-paraha's message in a derisive strain, on learning which, Te Rau-paraha said, 'O indeed! Does he say so!' and then took immediate action, capturing Uehoka's *pa*, killing and eating him and

his people, with another of their chiefs named Kuku, all of whom are mentioned in Topeora's lament to be found in *Nga-Moteatea*, p. 300."

That lament is as follows, and we note in it the virulent vehemence which characterises this lady's many effusions. She was *Te Rau-paraha's* neice.

HE KAI-ORAORA NA TOPE-ORA.

Kaore hoki koia te mamae,
 Te au noa taku moe ki te whare,
 Tuia ana te hau taua
 I a Te Kahawai, whakaoho rawa.
 Kia kaha, e te iwi kaha-kore
 Te hapai o te patu,
 Kia riro mai taku kai ko Titoko.
 Ka nene aku niho
 Puhi kaha ko Ue-hoka
 Ka kohekohe taku korokoro,
 Roro hunanga no Pou-tu-keka,
 A horo matatia e au
 Te roro piro o Tara-tikitiki.
 Whakakiki ake taku poho,
 Ko Taiawa, me ko Tu-tonga.
 Waiho mai ra aku huruhuru,
 Te puahau o Te Tihi-rahi.
 'A kai atu ko Kuku, ko Ngahu,
 Ko te tupuna i tupu ai
 O mahara tohe riri.
 E tapu ra te upoko o Te Rua-keri-po,
 Tē homai hei kotutu wai kaeo.
 Ki Te Kawau,
 Ka tukutuku i te ia
 Ki Tarahanga,
 Ki te kai-angaanga i Ngati-Pou
 Ka hirere taku toto
 Ki runga ki te tumuaki koroheke,
 Te Rangi-moe-waka tohe riri.

TRANSLITERATION.

Alas! how great this constant pain,
 That prevents all sleep in my house,
 For I am pierced by war's alarms,
 Due to Te Kaha-wai; 'tis this arouses me.
 Then be ye strong, ye listless people
 In skilfully plying your weapons.

And hither bring Titoko, as a meal for me,
 My teeth will gnash and tear
 My throat, with eager desire, is tickling
 For the hidden brains of Pou-tu-keka,
 The stinking brains of Tara-tikitiki
 Will I swallow still uncooked.
 Kai-awa and Tu-tonga, both,
 Shall fill me up inside.
 My hair shall form a top-knot
 To degrade the head of Te Tihi-rahi,
 Kuku and Ngahu, will I gladly eat,
 The ancestor from whom did spring
 Thy thoughts of angry strife.
 Sacred is the head of Rua-keri-po,
 But as a dish for mussels shall it be
 At Te Kawau, at our home.
 Then turn my thoughts to the current
 At Tarahanga, on Waikato's bank,
 Where dwelt those cursed heads, Ngati-Pou,
 There shall my blood spout forth
 On to that old man's head, on to
 Rangī-moe-waka, originator of strife.

This success on the Te Rau-paraha's part, was reported far and wide, and soon reached the ears of those branches of Waikato living at the mouth of the river, some thirty-five miles north of Whaingaroa, who decided at once to take up the cause of Ngati-Mahanga (and ? Ngati-Pou), and aid them to avenge their losses.

Accordingly the tribes mentioned below assembled at Waikato Heads and proceeded by sea to Kawhia. Te Wheoro has preserved the names of the various canoes in which the party embarked. The *taua* must have been a large one.

Canoe	Kau-te-uri	manned by	Ngati-Tipa, of Waikato Heads.
„	Tai-ki-harare	„	Ngati-Pou, of Tuakau.
„	Rakau-mangamanga	„	Ngati-Mahuta, of Raglan.
„	Mauku-wae	„	„ „
„	Tuatea-rahi	„	„ „
„	Te Aha-tua-roa	„	{ Ngati-Te-Ata, of Waiuku, and
„	Te Whata-kai-kuri	„	{ Ngati-Paoa, of Hauraki.

As the fleet came along "Rakau-mangamanga" was driven on shore near Rua-puke (near Woody Head, a few miles south of Raglan), but by aid of the other canoes she was got off, and then they all went on to Kawhia, and encamped at a place named Otiki, where all were assembled under the great Waikato chief, Kare-waho. Whilst here

the local people (? Ngati-Toa) advanced, and a fight ensued, in which the latter were defeated, losing Te Weu, Patea, and Ingoa, after which the rest retreated to Ohaua, which was their *pa*. Waikato now attacked this *pa*, and whilst the attack was in progress Wai-tohi, Te Rau-paraha's sister (and mother of Te Rangi-haeata and Topeora) recognised the Ngati-Te-Ata chiefs, Awarua, Rahurahu, Te Tuhi, Te Tawa, and Te Kauae, and exclaimed, "These are the servants of Ngati-Mai-o-taki who are attacking us." The meaning of this is not clear, but evidently Ngati-Toa saw, in the presence of these people, a chance of making up the quarrel, which the attacking party appear not to have been sorry to acquiesce in, for peace was made and the Waikato *taua* returned home.

DEATH OF TE UIRA, AND ITS CONSEQUENCES.

It would appear that at this time Aotea, or parts of that district, was still unoccupied notwithstanding that, as related above, Ngati-Mahanga, a Waikato tribe, had taken possession, and been defeated there by Te Rau-paraha. About this time Te Uira, a great chief of Ngati-Mahuta, *hapu* of Waikato, visited Aotea in order to indulge in fishing, and whilst there a man of Ngati-Toa named Te Huri-nui visited the place also, and was killed by Te Uira. The news of this murder caused great indignation to Te Rau-paraha, who, on learning that Te Uira was still there, left Kawhia with a war-party and proceeded by sea to Aotea in search of Te Uira. On finding him at the place named Mako-mako, Te Rau-paraha and his party attacked it and succeeded in killing Te Uira and also Te Ao-marama of Ngati-Te-Wehi (of Waikato), whilst Te Mohi and Te Tautara of Te Uira's party were saved by a Ngati-Toa woman named Te Patu, who was a sister of Tahuri-waka-nui of the same tribe and related to Ngati-Koata (*hapu* of Ngati-Toa), and Ngati-Hikairo of Kawhia. Te Mohi was allowed to escape, but Te Tautara was brought back to Kawhia, to the Ngati-Hikairo *pa* at Nga-toka-kai-riri, an island in Kawhia harbour, east side. Mr. Shand says "Te Uira's body was taken to Te Rau-paraha's *pa* and there eaten. This was at Powewe (present town of Kawhia), so after Waikato had finally expelled Ngati-Toa a few years later, this particular place was given to Te Uira's representatives (Te Hia-kai and others).

"It was afterwards sold to one Cowell (father of Hone Kaora, much of whose evidence before the Land Court is herein incorporated), a man who assisted at the capture of Tama-i-hara-nui at Port Cooper in about 1829 or 1830. The powder, tomahawks, etc., paid for this piece of land by Cowell, were distributed to those related to Te Uira as a *pure* or 'cleansing,' for the death of that chief. Subsequently this

fell into the hands of one Charlton, Captain Fairchild's father-in-law, and the latter sold it to the Government."*

Hone Kaora, in his evidence before the court in relation to the events of this period, mentions an interesting fact with respect to this inland *pa* of Nga-toka-kai-riri. He says, "I will now explain the phrases, '*tukutuku puraho-rua*' and '*te ruru-rama*.' Some of Ngati-Mania-poto (of Waipa) and Ngati-Hikairo were living at Kawhia—indeed the home of the latter tribe is there. If a war-party were passing from inland to attack the people of Kawhia, those of Waipa would send a messenger to warn those of Kawhia. There is a track through the forest called Tihi-toetoe, that passes over the southern shoulder of Mount Pirongia.† No war-party was allowed to travel by this route because it was *tapu* to expeditions of that nature. Our expression is, '*Te ara tukutuku puraho-rua‡ kei Tihi-toetoe*'—('The road by which one related to both sides may pass is at Tihi-toetoe')—by which we learn that it was not *tapu* to the messenger who went to give the alarm, but was so to the war-parties, which illustrates a characteristic of Maori warfare often noticed—*i.e.*, that due notice was generally given of an intended attack. 'At Nga-toka-kai-riri island in Kawhia, on the arrival of the messenger, beacon fires would be lit (*ruru-rama*) warning all the *pas* of the district of the approach of an enemy. The messenger would light a big fire on one side of the *pa* (which was named Poroaki), and this could be seen by the Ngati-Toa *pas* at Te Whenua-po (a hill and old *pa* of Ngati-Toa, one thousand and eighty-one feet above the sea, situated between the rivers Rakau-nui and Te

* The original deed transferring this land from Kiwi and Porima to Mr. John Vittoria Cowell is dated 11th January, 1840, though, no doubt, the purchase took place many years prior to that. The consideration was: one cask tobacco, forty spades, forty axes, eight casks of powder, ten pieces of print, ten pieces of handkerchiefs, forty iron pots, ten pair of blankets, six muskets, twenty cartouche boxes, twelve pairs of trousers, twelve frocks, twelve shirts, one thousand flints, one thousand pipes, two cedar chests, etc. This payment was for an estimated area of 20 thousand acres, which was reduced on Survey to forty-four acres! On the 2nd February, 1883, the Hon. William Rolleston, Minister of Lands, Hon. John Bryce, Native Minister, myself, and Mr. Frank Edgecombe, District Surveyor, landed at Powewe from the s.s. "Stella," she being the first vessel to enter Kawhia since the war. On that same day Mr. Edgecombe and I schemed out the present town of Kawhia, which he then proceeded to survey.

† Some time in the eighties of last century I attempted to cross over the ranges by this track from the town of Alexandra to Kawhia, but found it so overgrown that my Maori guide could not follow it, so I had to abandon my journey by that route.

‡ *Puraho-rua* has the same meaning as *Kai-whakarua*—*i.e.*, one who is related to both sides.

Mahoe, three miles from the southern shores of Kawhia, on which is Trig Station A), Te Totara (another Ngati-Toa *pa* situated on the first point inside Kawhia Heads on the south side), and other *pas* in the district. All these *pas* were generally antagonistic to the Ngati-Hikairo *pa* at Nga-toka-kai-riri, but the advent of an outside enemy caused them all to become allies."

The death of a great chief like Te Uira, who was father of Te Hiakai (another great chief of Waikato, who, as we shall see, fell at the battle of Te Motu-nui in 1821—see Chapter XIV.), and others of the principal families of Waikato—and whose end was evidently brought about by Te Rau-paraha in a manner which the former's tribe looked upon as approaching the treacherous—could not be passed over without an attempt to exact *utu*. Te Wheoro says this was the third great *take*, or cause, Waikato had against Kawhia, and consequently this powerful tribe decided that the latter people must be exterminated. It was the knowledge of this decision of Waikato—with other things—that first imbued Te Rau-paraha with the idea that Kawhia was no longer a safe place of residence for him and his tribe. Later on he expressed the thought of migrating to join Ngati-Rau-kawa in the neighbourhood of Cambridge, which people were closely connected with his own. Again, both Rotorua and Taranaki were thought of, but it was apparently not until he had joined Tu-whare in his southern expedition (1819-20—see Chapter XI.), and had then noticed the facilities offered by Kapiti Island as an anchorage for ships, from which he might obtain arms, that the decision was arrived at to migrate thither. But this was not for some years yet, and, in the meantime, Waikato sent *taua* after *taua* to Kawhia in the hope of carrying out the tribal decision, many of which are described in Te Wheoro's and Hone Kaora's evidence, but are passed over here, excepting those that immediately affect Te Rau-paraha.

The first step taken by Waikato to avenge the death of Te Uira was to send forth a *taua* composed of *hapus* with which the slain man was connected, *viz.*: Ngati-Reko, Ngati-Rehu, Ngati-Mahuta, and Ngati-Mahanga, which attacked and took a *pa* on the south side of Aotea, named Horo-ure, where Rangipotki, a woman of high rank of Ngati-Mahanga,* together with Tokoua were killed.

This was followed by another *taua*, having the same object in view, which proceeded to the north shore of Kawhia and fought a battle with Ngati-Toa under Te Keunga, and Tarahape, at Po-wewe, the present

* Probably married to one of Ngati-Toa's allies, for her own tribe formed part of the *taua*.

site of Kawhia town, and defeated them. The *tauu* then attacked and took the Motu-ngaio *pa*, overlooking the present township. The women and children of the *pa* fled to the water side and started to cross the sands; but Ahi-pania and Te Piē gave chase hoping to catch, and make slaves of them. In this they were frustrated by Te Whare-puhi and Taiko of Ngati-Toa, who turned upon the pursuers and killed them. This defeat was called Puta-karekare. Waikato now crossed the harbour to Te Totara, already referred to, which was one of the principal strongholds of the Ngati-Koata branch of Ngati-Toa; but apparently landed first on the long peninsula forming the south head of the harbour, and here they suffered a defeat at the hands of Ngati-Toa. "It was during this fight," says Te Wheoro, "that Kiwi and Te Rau-angaanga—father of the celebrated Te Wherowhero—were nearly killed. They escaped by jumping over a cliff. Waikato then fled to Maika, (headland, forming the south entrance to Kawhia,) and whilst there they could see no sign of life at Te Totara *pa* (about a mile and a half away); so they sent two scouts named Kahu-ina and Taiko by canoe to reconnoitre, both of whom were caught by Ngati-Toa and killed."

Waikato seem to have had enough of fighting for the time; evidently Ngati-toa were getting the best of it, although they had lost the *pa* at Motu-ngaio. So Waikato returned across the harbour and over the mountains to their homes on Waikato and Waipa rivers, but with the intention of returning.

Soon after, another element was introduced into this intertribal war, and for reasons not stated the great Ngati-Mania-poto tribe were drawn into the quarrel between the East and West Waikato tribes. Te Rangi-tuatea (of whom we shall hear a good deal later on) and Te Whaka-maru, both high chiefs of the tribe mentioned, led forth a great *tauu* to Kawhia, coming on as far as Te Awaroa river, which falls into the harbour on its eastern side. Te Rau-paraha at this time was at Tutae-rere, where also were some of the Ngati-Pou tribe (? of Tua-kau Lower Waikato), staying there as guests—amongst them two men named Hau-rora and Hau-pare. Soon after the arrival of Ngati-Mania-poto at Awaroa, Te Rau-paraha met them in battle at a place named Ta-whitiwhiti, and defeated them heavily, killing Te Whakamaru—one of the leaders—whose head was taken away to Te Rau-paraha's *pa*, where, no doubt, it was put to the usual purpose and stuck up on a rod to be jeered at. During the fight, Te Rau-paraha aimed a blow at Te Rangi-tuatea, which was warded off by the weapon striking a branch, and thus the latter's life was saved. These two men were related in some distant way, hence Te Rangi-tuatea's subsequent action in helping Te

Rau-paraha to escape to Kapiti, notwithstanding the latter's attempt on his life just related.

This defeat accounts in a large measure for the subsequent energetic pursuit of Te Rau-paraha by Ngati-Mania-poto, which we shall learn of at a later period.

The part that Ngati-Pou played in the above conflict is uncertain, but it is clear that they were inimical to Te Rau-paraha, though Te Wheoro says that some of them were then staying with Te Rau-paraha as his guest, a fact difficult of explanation after reading the account of Te Rau-paraha's attack on Ngati-Pou at Whaingaroa (Raglan), for which see *ante*.

On the return of this Ngati-Mania-poto *tau*a to their homes, messengers were at once dispatched to Ngati-Pou, Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Hine and other sub-tribes of Waikato calling on them to assemble at Tu-korehu's *pa*, Manga-toatoa, on the Waipa river, for the purpose of attacking Ngati-Toa in their headquarters at Te Totara *pa*; at Manga-toatoa the Waikato *tau*a was joined by Ngati-Apa-kura (now of Kawhia) and Ngati-Mania-poto, so that they numbered altogether sixteen hundred warriors. Te Rau-angaanga, father of Te Wherowhero, appears to have been in chief command. Crossing the ranges, the *tau*a drew near to Hiku-parea *pa*, situated on the long peninsula at the east end of Kawhia, called Tiritiri-matangi. During the night two divisions were formed, eight hundred men in each, one of which went into ambush near the *pa* whilst the other division made a feigned attack on the *pa*. This brought the garrison out, who, not knowing of the ambush, were set upon and badly beaten. This was followed up by the taking of the *pa*, which was easily accomplished. A great chief named Te Kanawa (not the great Waikato chief of that name) who was chief of the *pa* was killed here, as was Te Haunga and others. The latter was killed by Mau-tara, who was a brother (? distant cousin) of Taka, father of Te Poa-kai (? of Ngati-Hikairo) who was chief of that district and closely related to Te Hia-kai.

Not satisfied with the above success it was decided by Te Kanawa and Pikia (of Waikato) to attack Te Totara *pa*, in revenge for the scouts killed by Ngati-Toa, as related a few pages back. On reaching the *pa*, Ngati-Toa came forth and gave battle to Waikato, but in this case Te Rau-paraha and his tribe suffered defeat, losing Hikihihi, Kiharoa, Tara-peke, and others. Tu-whatau (of Waikato) had a very narrow escape of capture by Te Rangi-haeata. "Tara-peke (of Ngati-Toa) was killed by Te Whare-ngori in view of all the people

and without interference, as he was a relation of their people.”* After this, both sides being satisfied for the time, Te Rau-paraha called out to Te Rau-angaanga, the leader of Waikato, to approach the *pa*, and, on his doing so, a temporary peace was patched up and the Waikato party returned home.

But the turbulent spirit of Ngati-Toa was not satisfied. Hearing that Te Whare-ngori (referred to in the last paragraph) had gone to Whaingaroa, Te Rau-paraha and a party of Ngati-Koata (of Te Totara *pa*) put to sea in a canoe and went round to Whaingaroa, where they found Te Whare-ngori, and killed him and others, besides taking some prisoners, who were carried back to Te Totara. It was one part of this *taua*, apparently, that made an attack on another branch of Waikato, Ngati-Tama-inu, † at Whaingaroa, where they killed Totoia, and at Manga-kowhai killed Po-wha and Karetu. This *taua* was under Te Whare-puhi and Taiko (of Te Totara *pa*).

This incident ruptured the peace made between Te Rau-angaanga (of Waikato) and Te Rau-paraha (of Ngati-Toa). And hence a further war-party was raised by Waikato, consisting of Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Ngahia, Ngati-Reke, Ngati-Mahanga, and Ngati-Tama-inu, who forthwith went over to Kawhia, and at a place named Torea found a party of Ngati-Toa that had just crossed over from Te Totara. Waikato attacked them at Te Waro (said to be near the present town of Kawhia) and killed Taiko and Te Whare-puhi (the leaders in last Ngati-Toa expedition to Whaingaroa), Te Manu-ki-tawhiti, Te Hahana, Te Pou-kura, and many others. The *taua* then returned home.

RAPARAPA OF NGATI-TAMA.

We have already had occasion to refer to Raparapa, the warrior chief of the fighting Ngati-Tama of Pou-tama (south of Mokau).‡ He was a very daring man, whose exploits are still the pride of his tribe, and which is illustrated by the following incident in his career which led up to the great fight at Taharoa.

Unu-a-tahu was a member of that branch of Waikato named Ngati-Mahanga (now of Raglan). His sister married a man of the Ngati-Tama tribe of Te Kawau *pa*, Poutama District, near the White Cliffs, and on one occasion this man went on a visit to his sister at that place, where he found a party of Ngati-Raukawa staying with

* These notes are so defective in the names of the tribes to whom the people belonged that the narrative is frequently very difficult to make out. It was allowed, nay, proper, under certain circumstances, for one relative to kill another.

† See the origin of this *hapu* name, A.H.M., Vol. IV., p. 173.

‡ See Chapter XI.

Raparapa. It would appear that in some of the intertribal fights between Waikato and Ngati-Raukawa—a tribe that was nearly related to Te Rau-paraha and which eventually cast in their fortunes with him at Kapiti—this man, Unu-a-tahu, had been present. Thinking this a good opportunity to wipe out an old score, his visitors suggested to Raparapa that the man should be killed. What arguments were used we know not, nor why Raparapa should take on himself the quarrels of others; but he consented to the request of his guests. The brother-in-law of Unu-a-tahu, however, learnt of the proposal, and therefore hurried the latter off before any action could be taken. Unu-a-tahu started on his way home, making for his own tribe, Ngati-Mahanga, who were then living in the Waipa valley.

Raparapa, as soon as he heard that the bird had flown, started off in pursuit, and on his arrival at Kawhia, found that Unu-a-tahu was at Nga-toka-kai-riri, the island *pa* already referred to. The people of the *pa* prepared food for the traveller, and then advised him to hasten his departure for fear he should be caught, for Ngati-Hikairo (the people of the *pa*) evidently knew that Raparapa was in chase of him, and that he was a man not likely to change his plans without very strong opposition. Unu-a-tahu replied to his hosts, "Who am I—Te Unu-a-tahu, that they pursue me?" It was night, and he was weary, so he decided to stop at the *pa* against the persuasions of the people. Raparapa, at that very time, was crossing Kawhia in chase of his prey, and on arrival at the *pa* found Unu-a-tahu there, and forthwith killed him. He then returned home to Te Kawanu.

TE TAHAROA.

We now come to the series of incidents that were the immediate cause of Te Rau-paraha's migration to Kapiti.

Reference to the frequent alliances that existed from ancient times between Ngati-Toa (of Kawhia), and both Ngati-Tama (of Pou-tama) and Ngati-Mutunga (of Urenui) has already been recorded; and this murder of Unu-a-tahu, by Raparapa, evidently was considered by Waikato as involving Ngati-Toa in the inevitable vengeance that the former tribe considered it necessary to take to square the credit and debtor account between these ancient enemies. There were other causes inducing to the same end: The death of the great chief Te Uira, of Waikato, at Te Rau-paraha's hands; the defeat of Ngati-Mania-poto at Ta-whitiwhiti, and other disasters were by no means forgotten by the tribes concerned, and who had suffered at Te Rau-paraha's hands. Moreover, Waikato had not as yet fully carried out their formal decision of exterminating the Kawhia tribes.

The death of Unu-a-tahu, by Raparapa, accentuated the determination of Waikato to complete their work, and for this purpose they undertook the war at Te Taharoa.

Te Taharoa is the northernmost of a chain of small lakes situated four or five miles south of Kawhia, and is in the heart of the country, then owned by Ngati-Toa, and around which they had many villages and fortified *pas*, some of which were named Te Kakara, Rangihura, Te Rako, Ara-raparapa, Te Kawau, and Tau-mata-kauae.

For the account of what follows, I am indebted to the notes of Major Te Wheoro, Hone Kaora, Rangipito, W. Taungatara, A. Shand, and others collected by myself. In the length of time that has elapsed since the events occurred, the recollection even by such splendid memories as were possessed by these old Maoris, is somewhat at fault, and consequently we have some uncertainty as to the precise order in which Te Taharoa should be placed with regard to the well ascertained date (1819-20) of Te Rau-paraha's and Tu-whare's southern expedition. The evidence is conflicting; but on the whole it seems to point to this latter expedition having taken place first, and, therefore, Taharoa was probably about 1820 or early in 1821. If this is right, then the next event in our narrative which should come in here is the expedition of Te Rau-paraha and Tu-whare, which has already been described in Chapter XII., but it has been thought best to keep all these Kawhia incidents together.

So when Ngati-Mahanga heard of the murder of Unu-a-tahu, their chief Te Puna-toto was urgent that Waikato should avenge it. This was agreed to, and many of Waikato, including Ngati-Mahuta (Te Wherowhero's *hapu*), Te Patu-po, Ngati-Mahanga, and others assembled in great force to attack Ngati-Toa. This great *tau* was divided into two portions, one going by sea (probably from Whaingaroa), under the chiefs Te Kanawa, Kiwa, Te Hiakai, Te Awa-i-taia, and others; the other by the Waipa valley, and thence over the ranges to the coast. This last party was under Te Wherowhero, Te Tihi-rahi, Te Pae-waka, Hou (of Ngati-Apakura, now of Kawhia), Tukorehu (of Ngati-Mania-poto), Te Au, Te Ake (of Ngati-Hikairo, also now of Kawhia), and many others. They were to proceed to the coast and attack Ngati-Rarua (of Ngati-Toa) of Wai-kawau *pa*, situated fourteen miles north of Mokau, in order to punish those people for a curse they had uttered against the great warrior Tukorehu, as he and his people returned from some raid into the Ngati-Tama or other territory of Taranaki. Referring to this incident, Mr. Skinner says, "As Tukorehu's *tau* journeyed northward along the coast, they had to pass under the *pa*, which was built on a high cliff jutting out into the sea,

and it was only at low water that a passage round the base could be effected. As they passed underneath, one of the inmates of the *pa* (of the Ngati-Rarua *hapu* of Ngati-Toa) exclaimed, "Look at the steam rising from his bald head!" in allusion to Tu-korehu—a very stout, and presumably from this a bald-headed man. Now the mention of the head of a chief was a breach of the law, for the head was *tapu*, and never, therefore, mentioned; how much more insulting then to name it in this derisive manner, and on such a sacred personage as Tu-korehu. It was a deadly insult; and in revenge Wai-kawau *pa* was assaulted and taken, and all the inhabitants killed and eaten." *

This part of the *taua* went on to Wai-kawau, and sat down to besiege the place, where we will leave them for a time to follow the fortunes of the other branch of the expedition.

The second *taua* was composed of Ngati-Mahuta, Te Patu-po, Ngati-Mahanga, and others. Te Awa-i-taia was "the young chief" of the party. On arrival at Kawhia, by water, they proceeded overland to Taharoa where the bulk of Ngati-Toa had assembled under Te Rau-paraha; but the Ngati-Koata branch of that tribe remained in their *pas* at Kawhia, with the intention, should Waikato be defeated, of attacking them on their retreat, or, of taking Waikato in the rear. Major Te Wheoro says, "Whilst the *taua* were besieging Taumata-kauae *pa*, near Taharoa lake, a child of the enemy was caught, killed, and then served up to the *taua* with some fish. Te Puna-toto (apparently of Ngati-Pou, who had induced Waikato to engage in this undertaking) arose and stood over the food with a *ko* (or wooden spade, which is sharp-pointed like a paddle) in his hand. He was a *Tohunga*, or priest. He pierced the body of the child, saying, 'Here I will stick this *ko*.' At these words all the fish raised themselves up (!), and thereupon he recited his *whakatapatapa* †:—

Papa, papa te whatitiri
I runga i te rangi, etc., etc.

The child's body was then divided out to the *Tohunga* and the people. Te Rau-paraha was at this time within his *pa*—the battle had not commenced."

* Mr. Skinner places this incident after the defeat of Waikato at Te Motu-nui (see Chapter XIV.), but I think his informant probably had forgotten the exact occasion.

† *Whakatapatapa* usually means the act of naming some object after a part of one's self in order to *tapu* it and prevent others from taking it. But it appears to have a different meaning here. The lines of the *karakia* quoted are the opening ones of the *pihē* sung over the dead—see "Te Rou," p. 267.

The *pa* at Tau-mata-kauae was taken, and then Te Kawau, situated (Mr. A. Wilson says) on a point projecting out into the lake. This is the place mentioned in Topeora's *kai-oraora* (see *ante*). After these two *pas* fell (or perhaps before, for the Native narrative is very obscure), came the battle of Te Kakara, which is (says Mr. A. Wilson) an old settlement situated to the north-west of Te Kawau. W. Taungatara says that before the battle Ngati-Toa were in their *pa* named Te Roto, and saw the advancing host of Waikato, four thousand strong, with Ngati-Mania-poto, one thousand strong, coming to attack the place. Ngati-Toa, who had a few muskets given them by Tu-whare on his return to the north in 1820, sallied forth to meet this great force with only—as W. Taungatara says—three hundred men, composed partly of Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Koata, and Ngati-Rarua, under their various chiefs, of whom Te Rau-paraha, Te Pehi-kupe, Pokai-tara, and Te Rangi-haeata had guns. Immediately before the battle the famous Raparapa of Ngati-Tama had arrived on a visit to Te Rau-paraha—by himself, says Taungatara; accompanied by Rangi-numia and some ten men from Onaero, says Rangipoto—and they were quite unaware that fighting was taking place. With characteristic valour Raparapa immediately insisted on joining in the fight though dissuaded from doing so by Te Akau, Te Rau-paraha's principal wife. She said, "*E Rapā! E Rapā! waiho ma te pu!*"—"O Rapā! let the guns decide it!"—for Raparapa had only a long handled tomahawk as a weapon. But he was determined to join in the fight and was quite annoyed at the woman's interference, exclaiming, "*Ata! Nawai i ki ma te wahine au e ako!*"—"Aha! who says I am to be instructed by a woman!"

The opposing forces now approached, each side in companies according to their tribes. Te Rau-paraha's people, Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Rarua, were posted in two bodies awaiting the onslaught of the enemy, which advanced, and were met by volleys from Ngati-Toa, each shot—says Taungatara—knocking over a man. After a time, and whilst the opposing forces were squatting down watching one another, Raparapa, who was impatient with that kind of fighting, dashed forth into the open space between the two forces, and with his long handled tomahawk felled one of the enemy with a right-handed blow, another with a left-handed blow. A Waikato warrior now advanced to meet him; Raparapa made a blow at him and buried his axe so deeply in his body that he could not extricate it quickly, so he seized the man by his belt and flung him over his shoulder—Raparapa was noted for his great strength, see an instance of this, Chap. XI.—and bore him off.

Seeing him thus encumbered, Rota (or Kiwi)* of Waikato, rushed forth from the ranks, and catching Raparapa by his belt (about six inches wide and made of strong *muka*) took a grip of his naked body. Several more of Waikato now rushed out to assist their tribesman, and in the struggle that ensued, Raparapa tripped up in a pig-rooting and fell, where Kiwi, watching his chance, succeeded in giving him a blow that killed him. Thus perished the great *toa* of Ngati-Tama, no doubt, in the manner he would have most desired.

All this time the muskets were doing their work ; but on seeing the fall of Raparapa, the two companies of Ngati-Toa sprang to their feet preparatory to a rush, which being observed by the Waikato chief Pungarehu (or Hone Papita as he was afterwards named) of Ngati-Hine-uru, he called out, "*Ara ! He waewae tu !*" expressive of there being no force in reserve behind the two companies of Ngati-Toa. All Waikato thereupon made a rush forward, and by weight of numbers drove back Te Rau-paraha's people in confusion, each man trying his best to save himself. Waikato continued the chase close up to the *pa*, killing great numbers as they fled, amongst them Te Rau-paraha's elder brother. † Waikato now took Raparapa's body to their camp, where they cut him up (and no doubt ate him with great satisfaction, though our Maori narrators do not say so). It was a great triumph for Waikato to have killed so very noted a warrior. "Had Raparapa known in time of this expedition of Waikato, he would have brought up the fighting Ngati-Tama, when the result would have been different"—says Rangi-pito.

Those of Ngati-Koata who had remained in their *pas* on the shores of Kawhia with the intention of cutting Waikato off, should they be defeated, had by this time advanced to the assistance of Te Rau-paraha whilst the battle was raging, but on seeing that the day was lost, they returned. Many of the others (Ngati-Rarua etc.) after the defeat fled south to their fellow tribesmen at Wai-kawau, several miles down the coast, and with them, says Te Wheoro, were some of Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Mutunga (of Poutama and Ure-nui).

* Hone Kaora's evidence states that it was Te Awa-i-taia who killed Raparapa. This is confirmed by Mr. Shand, who heard the same story from Mr. Edwards (a native assessor), who had heard the incident related by Te Awa-i-taia himself.

† Which of his brothers my informants do not say. The father of this family was Werawera and their mother Pare-kohatu ; their children were (in order of seniority) : 1, Te Rangi-katukua ; 2, Waitohi (who married Te Ra-ka-herea and had Te Rangi-haeata and Tope-ora, the poetess) ; 3, Te Kiri-pae-ahi ; 4, Mahurenga ; 5, Te Rau-paraha.

The fall of these several *pas* and the loss of the battle of Te Kakara was a very serious blow to Ngati-Toa, in which they lost a great many warriors. As Wi Karewa says, "*Ka mate kino te iwi o Te Rau-paraha i konei; i patua i te ra, i te po, e Ngati-Pou*"—"The losses of the tribe of Te Rau-paraha here were very serious; by day and by night were they killed by Ngati-Pou." It was these losses that inspired the muse of Topeora when she composed the *Kai-oraora* given a few pages back. According to the same authority, Te Rangi-hokaia and Te Awa-i-taia were the most prominent leaders of the Waikato *taua*.

After the battle of Te Kakara, the Ngati-Toa left their *pa* Te Roto and retired to their stronghold, Te Arawi, a *pa* situated on the coast three miles south of Kawhia Heads, and two and a half miles eastward of Taunga-tara or Albatross Point. Mr. Andrew Wilson gives the following brief description of this stronghold. "It is situated on a point projecting into the sea, and is connected to the mainland by a narrow razor-back neck, and has cliffs all around it. On the north eastern side was an entrance to the *pa*, by means of a rope and steps cut in the rock, but it is so steep my informant thinks no one with boots on could make the ascent. The cliffs are all rock, in which pits have been cut out (for store houses), but there is no water on the point; off the *pa*, at sea, is a shark-fishing place."

WAI-KAWAU.

A few pages back it was stated that the great *taua* of Waikato had divided into two parties, the first of which under Te Hiakai and others fought Ngati-Toa at Taharoa, as described above, whilst the second proceeded by another route up the Waipa valley and then crossed the forest plateau to the Wai-kawau *pa*, situated on the coast fourteen miles north of the Mokau River. This place they proceeded to besiege, and whilst doing so a number of fugitives from the battle of Te Kakara arrived there and succeeded in making their way into the *pa*. These people were Ngati-Rarua (of Ngati-Toa) and others. During the night the besiegers heard the people of the *pa* lamenting the dead, and they therefore knew at once that the other *taua* had been successful, and Ngati-Toa defeated. So next morning the Waikato and Ngati-Maniapoto *taua* stormed Wai-kawau and took the place, killing all the inhabitants besides the fugitives, amongst whom were two chiefs, one of whom was slain by Tu-korehu, another by Te Au of Ngati-Hikairo, which tribe now for the first time joined in the war against Ngati-Toa, for generally they had supported the latter tribe in case of outside invasion. "It was," says Te Wheoro, "at these two fights, Te Kakara and Wai-kawau, that many chiefs of Kawhia were killed. After this, the two *tauas*, one from Te Kakara, the other from Wai-kawau, returned

to their homes." Thus Tu-korehu obtained revenge for the insult offered him by the people of Wai-kawau.

DEATH OF MARORE.

The death of Te Rau-paraha's first wife, Marore, is said to have occurred just after the former returned from his southern expedition with Tu-whare, or early in 1820, but whether before or after the fighting at Te Taharoa is uncertain, though probability seems to point to the latter date. It appears that Marore went from Kawhia to Waikato to attend a *tangi*, or crying, over some relative. Whilst there, Te Wherowhero, Te Kanawa, and Te Ika-tu (of Waikato) heard of her being in the district, and the former urged Te Rangi-moe-waka to kill her. This man, nothing loath, then murdered her. When Te Rau-paraha heard of this he said nothing but the death of one of the murderer's relatives could atone for this. A party was therefore sent out and Te Moerua (of Ngati-Mania-poto) was killed by Te Rako, and the murder thus avenged. This event (says Mr. Wilson) occurred at Kare-rauaha, near Otorohanga, and the body was eaten at Kawatea.

Ngati-Mania-poto, to square this death, sent a party over to Maro-kopa river, where they killed Te Mahutu (of Ngati-Toa). Mr. Wilson adds, "My informant, Whiti-nui, says this was not a murder like the others, as Te Mahutu was killed in a small skirmish."

Te Rau-paraha's retaliation for this was the death of Te Ara-taua, a woman of note of Mokau.* Mr. Wilson says, "She was on the track outside the Ara-pae *pa* in company with a woman of Kawhia, named Niho, who was spared. At this time Te Whaingā (? of Ngati-Mania-poto) was just returning from the east coast, and hearing what had occurred did not go on to the *pa*, but at once went after the murderers and overtook them at a place named Te Raupo, where he killed twenty of them in the night. Again, near Manga-o-hae, he overtook another party and killed Pekapeka. After this, Te Au-nui (of Arapae) went against Te Rau-paraha."

* It must be remembered that the Mokau people are practically members of the Ngati-Mania-poto tribe.

One of the Ngati-Toa women composed the following lament for Marore :—

E Hine ! e tangi kino e,
 E tangi aurere nei,
 Ko Te Wherowhero, ko Te Kanawa,
 Nana i unga mai,
 Ka eke nei taua,
 Te tihi ki Te Kawau,
 He maunga tu noa
 Kaore nei he mokorea tangata.
 Kei te amu au i te wai-takataka
 No Hari ranei ; no Hau-pokia.
 No Mama-uruahu,
 Whakaki tonu ake
 Ko Hihi, ko Te Whakaea,
 Ko taku kai reka nei, ko au, etc., etc.

O Lady ! in thy bitter grief,
 Thou cryest aloud in wailing tones,
 'Twas Te Wherowhero¹ and Te Kanawa,¹
 That instigated the foul deed,
 And also drove us to Te Kawau's² summit—
 A mountain now, with no sign of life.
 I would that I were chewing the brains
 Of Hari,³ perhaps, or of Hau-pokia,⁴
 Or even of Mama⁵-uruahu,
 And repleting myself by feasting on
 Hihi and Te Whakaea,
 These to me were sweet food indeed.

NOTES.—1. These two instigated the murder of Marore. 2. The *pa* taken at Taharoa.
 3. Hari, killed afterwards at Te Motu-nui. 4. A great chief of Kawhia. 5. Killed at Te
 Motu-nui.

TE ARAWI.

These various killings, no doubt, widened the breach between Waikato and Ngati-Toa, and it therefore causes no surprise when we learn that Ngati-Hikairo (of Waikato) and Ngati-Mania-poto raised a *tau*a and proceeded to Kawhia to chastise Ngati-Toa. Moreover, news had been received that Te Rau-paraha and his tribe had again occupied their old settlements, one of which was the *pa* at Whenua-po already referred to. At this time Te Poa-kai * was chief of the latter *pa* together with Rae-herea and Rawaho, whilst at Te Arawi were Te Rau-paraha, Rangi-haeata, with Matu (of Ngati-Koata).

The Waikato *tau*a first went to Whenua-po and began an attack on

* Mr. A. Wilson says the Whenua-po *pa* was built by a great chief named Nga-Tira.

the *pa*, "But," says Te Wheoro, "Te Hiakai was desirous to prevent bloodshed and asked the chiefs of the *pa* to come forth, together with the *hapu* Ngati-Te-Ra. When they did so Te Hiakai escorted them so they should not be harmed by Waikato. Ngati-Te-Wehi (Waikato) pursued the party, and Te Moke, seeing a greenstone *heitiki* on Te Hiakai's neck, snatched it off, which *heitiki* I (Te Wheoro) now have. But these people, together with Ngati-Whanga, were led away by Te Hiakai and Muri-whenua."

What the attack on Whenua-po ended in is not related; but from there the *taua* went on to Te Arawi with the intention of attacking that place. On their arrival Te Whakaete and Taki-waru of Waikato succeeded in killing two men of Ngati-Toa, named Arawaka and Whakatau-poki; and directly after an attack was made on the *pa*. Whilst this was going on Hau-tutu saw a man of the *pa* come outside whom he pursued but did not capture. On his return he found himself blocked on all sides and had to spring over the cliff to escape Te-Rangi-haeata. He landed on a rock and seriously injured his thigh, his blood staining the stone. When Te Rangi-haeata saw this he licked up the blood from the rock. Parakete is the name of the place where Hau-tutu jumped over. The circumstance is referred to in the song, "Mokai 'Haeta whakarauora," etc.

During the night the *pa* was surrounded (on the land side) and after dark Riki and Maru of Ngati-Te-Kore let a man down from the *pa* by a rope who wished to communicate with Taiawa, of Ngati-Mahanga (Waikato). At the interview Tai-awa arranged that they should escape, for they wished to leave the *pa* without the knowledge of the rest of the garrison. Te Kanawa (Waikato) at the same time arranged for the escape of Ngati-Tui-ri-rangi (related to Ngati-Toa, though often their enemies—see Chap. IX.) In the morning Ngati-Toa within the *pa* discovered that the garrison was decreasing by desertion.

"During the progress of the siege," says Hone Kaora, "Waikato caught Taunga-wai, a younger brother of Te Rau-paraha, whilst Te Aka and Rua-tahora, two women, were also caught, but their lives spared. Werawera* was also killed by Ngati-Hikairo, which tribe, with Ngati-Mania-poto, were surrounding the *pa*. Te Rangi-tua-taka (Waikato) took the two women back to the *pa* and delivered them to their relatives," an action which no doubt facilitated the negotiations that followed for the evacuation of the *pa*.

* Werawera was Te Rau-paraha's father, but it does not appear whether this was the same man. Te Aka is possibly Oriwia Te Aka, daughter of Tungia, and referred to in that stinging *Kai-oraora* to be found at p. 284 of Nga-Moteatea; where the incidents of this siege are described.

Amongst the Ngati-Mania-poto who were thus pressing Te Rau-paraha and his people to extremity, was Te Rangi-tua-tea of that tribe, but who was also related to Te Rau-paraha, and hence he did not wish to see matters carried to the bitter end by his own people. He therefore watched his opportunity when the watch kept on the *pa* was slacker than usual, and approached the fortifications in the night, and softly called to the sentries that he wanted to see Te Rau-paraha, giving his name. On learning of this Te Rau-paraha descended to the beach where his friend was awaiting him, and there a consultation was held, ending in Te Rangi-tua-tea saying, "*Māunu! Haere!* withdraw, and be off at once before you are attacked and it is too late. Go all that can, and leave only such as are unable to travel; leave them to be made cinders (*kongakonga*) of. Go to Taranaki; to Te Ati-Awa, for safety." * W. Taungatara, after relating much the same, says, "Rau-paraha replied that he thought it better to go to the Ngati-Raukawa tribe, who were his relatives (their home was at Munga-tautari, near Cambridge), but Te Rangi-tuatea said at once, "*E kore koe e pahure; engari me ahu koe ki te pa-ngaio e tu mai ra, ka ora koe!*"—"You will not be able to pass (the Waikato tribe), but turn towards the *pa-ngaio* there and you will be saved"—the *pa-ngaio* being the Ati-awa tribe.) Te Rau-paraha then asked, "When shall we go?" "This very night; do not delay;" W. Taungatara says that they left that same night; but it is probable Major Te Wheoro is right in saying that Te Rau-paraha possibly thinking there would be a difficulty in thus escaping without the help of—at least one part of—Waikato, summoned Te Hiakai to a conference, which took place within the *pa*. During this interview, Te Hiakai agreed that he would restrain his people and allow Te Rau-paraha to depart in peace on his way south. Te Rau-paraha, turning towards Kawhia, said to Te Hiakai, "Behold your land! Do not follow me to the south!" It would have been well for Te Hiakai if he had taken this advice; but he did not, and consequently lost his life at the battle of Te Motu-nui, as we shall see in Chapter XIV.

It appears that Te Rangi-tua-tea, in pursuance of his friendship for Te Rau-paraha and his desire that Ngati-Toa should get away, persuaded most of the besieging force to leave the neighbourhood of the *pa* and go a-fishing—probably in Kawhia Harbour. Evidently, Te Hiakai and he were now acting in unison, for Te Wheoro says, on the return of Te Hiakai from the *pa*, he and Ngati-Mahuta took great care that Waikato should not pursue Ngati-Toa. He adds, "Many of the garrison went by canoe with Te Rau-paraha, Te Rangi-haeata,

* From Mr. Shand.

and Te Kaka-kura, whilst others went by land" (see next Chapter). It was not the whole of Ngati-Toa that left, for some remained and became, as Te Wheoro says, slaves—rather would they be *rahi*, or vassals to the conquerors.

Te Rangi-tua-tea, in thus assisting Ngati-Toa, was secretly rejoiced at the discomfiture of Waikato, but evidently was not a believer in the doctrine that "virtue is its own reward," for "immediately on the abandonment of Kawhia," says Mr. Shand, "he, with all his people, at once took possession of part of Kawhia and instantly set to work to entrench himself in order to prevent Waikato claiming the place. He fortified a *pa* named Te Kawau (? that at Taharoa), where he left a guard of his own people, and then returned to Waipa and brought over four hundred of the Ngati-Raukawa (? Ngati-Mania-poto) to assist in holding the place."

THE FIRST SHIPS AT KAWHIA.

Before passing on to the further doings of Ngati-Toa, which are most intimately connected with those of our Taranaki tribes, I will summarize from the evidence of Major Te Wheoro and Hone Kaora, some information given by them as to the visit of the first ships to Kawhia.

First, I may say that on the 3rd November, 1894, Mr. Elsdon Best and I visited an old Ngati-Toa warrior named Te Paki, then living at Takapuahia, a place at the southern end of Porirua Harbour (named after Takapuahia, a mile and-a-half seaward of Kawhia township). This old man came down from Kawhia with Te Rau-paraha in 1821-22, at which time he was old enough to walk most of the way. He told us that up to the time of their leaving Kawhia no ships had visited the place, but they had been seen passing along outside, and were supposed by the natives to be manned by gods—*waraki*, or *reti-reti*, gods of the deep sea. Both these words are interesting: *waraki* was one of the first names given to Europeans as "gods of the sea." The name raises a very big question which cannot be discussed here: Who were the originals of the *waraki*, gods of the sea and white in colour, known to Maori tradition? *Reti*, or *Retireti*, is what may be termed an obsolete word for *waka*, a canoe, but used nowadays very rarely and then only in poetry. The suggestion is, that the word was originally used to denote a vessel of a different class to the Polynesian canoe. *Reti* has another meaning, for a kind of sleigh or toboggan used in a game, like the *Holua* game of Hawaii.

The following is from Major Te Wheoro's evidence: After describing the peace made with Nga-Puhi subsequent to the fall of Matakitaki in May, 1822, and the occupation of Kawhia by Waikato, he says, "When Nga-Puhi returned, peace was made, and at that time some of my female relatives were left at Matakitaki, *viz*: Parekohu and Ra-huru for that purpose. This peace was confirmed afterwards, Te Whakaete (of Waikato) was brought here, and Toha (Matire-toha, daughter of Rewa, of Nga-Puhi) was brought as security for peace, by Turi-ka-tuku (Hongi's wife). Toha married Kati, brother of Te Wherowhero." Now, the Nga-Puhi returned to their homes at the Bay of Islands in August or September, 1823, after having cemented this peace, together with several Waikato chiefs.* Te Wheoro proceeds: "After the return of Te Whakaete (from the Bay, which occurred early in 1824 *) Te Puaha went on a visit to Nga-Puhi. When he returned he brought back with him 'Hamu-kete,' a Pakeha; they came back in the latter's vessel to Kawhia, to Heahea, at the entrance." Hone Kaora says, "The first ship that sailed into Kawhia was about this time (*i.e.*, the death of Pomare, which occurred in June or July, 1826 †), 'Hamu-kete' was the captain, he brought muskets and powder to trade for flax." "Hamu-kete" is believed to be Captain Kent. From the evidence given above, we may assume that he entered Kawhia some time between 1824 and 1826, though it is usually stated that 1829 was the date of his first visit to that harbour. "The people asked the captain to obtain more arms for them, so he made a trip to Sydney, and on his return brought back the following Pakehas:—'Te Kaora' (J. V. Cowell), 'Te Kawana,' 'Te Rangi-tera,' and 'Tamete.' These different Pakehas were appropriated by various chiefs, who settled them as follows:—'Hamu-kete' was taken by Te Wherowhero, and settled at Heahea (near Kawhia Heads, north side); Te Tuhi took 'Te Rangi-tera' and settled him also at Heahea; Kiwi took 'Te Kaora' and settled him at Powewe (Kawhia township); Te Kanawa took 'Tamete' and settled him at Maketu (near the above). 'Hamu-kete' married Tiria, Te Wherowhero's daughter; 'Te Rangi-tera' married Heihei, Te Tuhi's daughter, and 'Tamete' married Rangi-atea niece of Te Kanawa." Who the other Pakehas were, beyond Captain Kent and Cowell, I do not know. They would be appropriated by these various chiefs in order that they might, through them, obtain arms, etc., and with whom to barter their flax.

* "Wars of The Nineteenth Century," p. 117.

† *Loc cit*, p. 185.

Captain Kent is buried at a place named Te Toro, a point of land that projects into the Waiuku Channel of Manukau Harbour, just opposite to the embouchure of the Mauku Channel, where I saw this grave in 1863. The Rev. James Hamlin, in his Journal (MS. in the possession of Dr. Hocken of Dunedin) says, under date 1st January, 1837, "Captain Kent died at Kahawai, Manukau; 3rd, was interred at Kahawai in a sacred place. He lived for many years at Ngaruahia, the junction of the Waikato and Waipa rivers, where he employed himself in trading with the natives."

CHAPTER XIV.

TE HEKE TAHUTAHU-AHI MIGRATION.

September, 1821.

THE above is the name given to the migration of Ngati-Toa from Kawhia on their way to Cook's Straits; but this name only applies to that part of their long journey from Kawhia as far as Ure-nui—the journey onward from there to Otaki being named "Te Heke-tataramoa," from the troubles encountered on the way. There are many migrations we shall have to deal with in the course of this narrative, to each one of which have the Maoris given a distinguishing name—wisely so, for they serve as land-marks in their history. The above-named means, the "fire-lighting migration," but why so called I have forgotten, unless it was from the fire-lighting alluded to below.

As already described, Ngati-Toa fled by night from their *pa* at Te Arawi, and men, women, and children assembled on the hill at Moe-a-toa* (? Kamaru) where the signal arranged for by Te Rangi-tua-tea was made. A high column of smoke rising in the clear atmosphere of the morning denoted that Ngati-Toa were safely on their road. At Kawhia, amongst the Waikato *taua*, when they saw no sign of life in the *pa* at Te Arawi, they enquired amongst themselves as to what had become of the inhabitants. Te Rangi-tua-tea, overhearing the remarks, replied, with a grin that denoted his secret delight, "*E! e ka mai te ahi o to koutou koroua ki runga ki Moe-a-toa.*" "A! Behold the fire of your old man burning on the summit of Moe-a-toa!"—and consequently beyond immediate pursuit.

There were assembled on the top of Moe-a-toa (or Kamaru) over which the path to the south lay, the whole of the people under the power and direction of Te Rau-paraha, comprised in the three tribes Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Rarua, Ngati-Koata, and the *hapus* named Ngati-Haumia, Te Kiri-wera, Ngati-Hangai and others—all related, and all

*Some of my accounts say Tapiri-moko, some Moe-a-toa, both of which are high hills; but I believe neither is right. The hill at Kamaru is probably the one where Ngati-Toa looked for the last time on Kawhia.

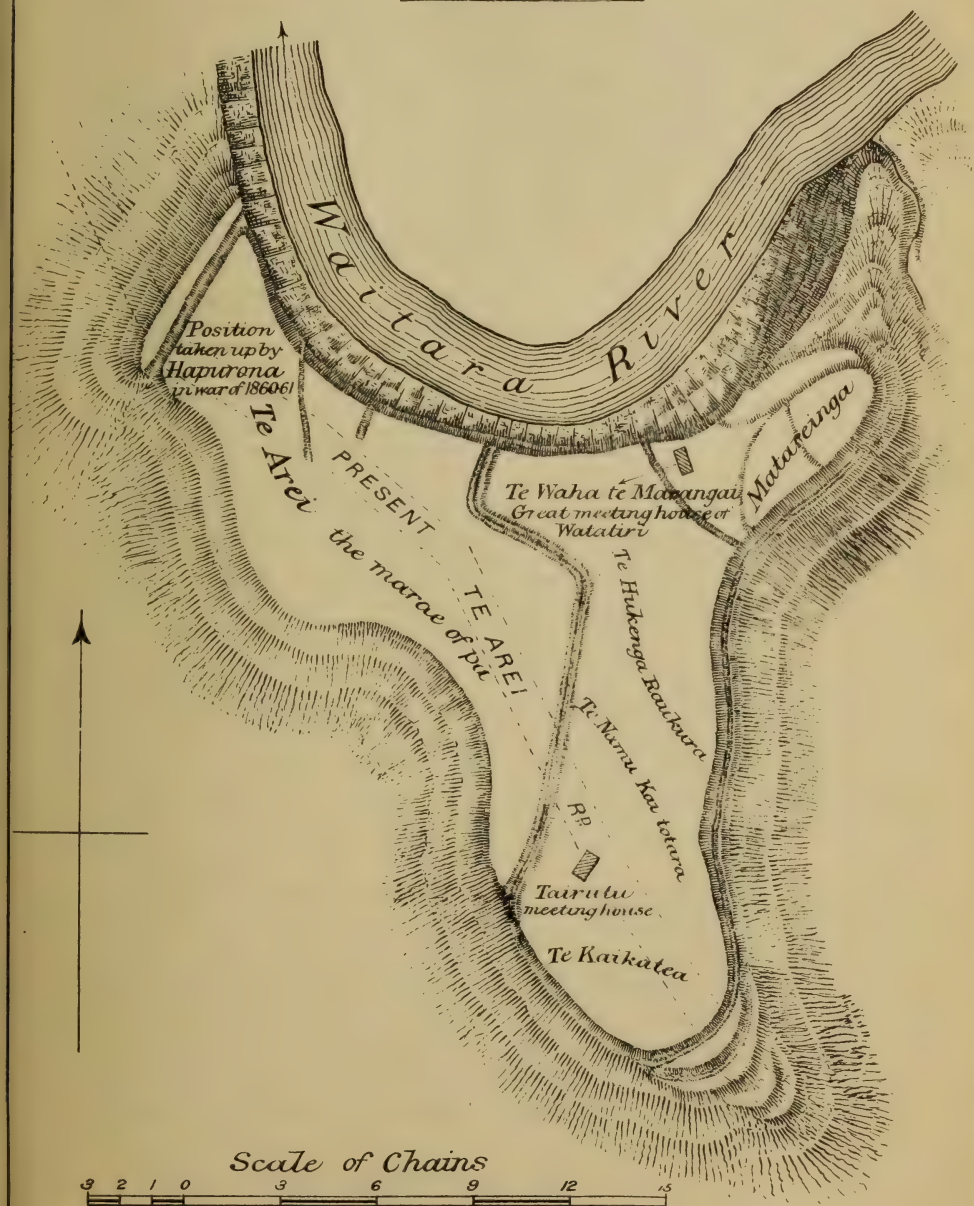
Map No 5

Pukerangiora Pa

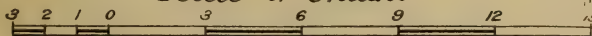
Pukerangiora Hapu. Te Ati-Awa Tribe

Sketched by W.H. Skinner

Drawn by W.F. Gordon



Scale of Chains



W. F. Gordon del.

equally compromised in the deeds of bloodshed that had caused Wai-kato to rise in their wrath with the intention of punishing Te Rau-paraha and these tribes for their evil deeds. No reliable estimate of their numbers has ever been stated, but as Te Rau-paraha led four hundred warriors in the expedition to the south with Tu-whare, and as the old people, women and children were now with the party, they could not have numbered less than 1,500 souls. His son, in his narrative* (which is very deficient generally) says there were four hundred people besides the after guard of three hundred and forty warriors, but this is surely too few from what we know of their descendants. Of individuals the following chiefs are known to have taken part in this great migration :—

Te Rau-paraha	Te Rangi-haeata	Te Tahua-o-Rehua
Te Poa	Te Hiko-o-te-rangi	Te Hua
Te Pehi-kupe	Noho-rua	Te Teke
Tungia	Te Ara-tangata	Te Whetu
Te Rangi-hi-roa	Puaha (Rawiri)	Te Tahua-o-te-koto
Te Waka-ketua	Te Mako	Te Whiwhi (Matene)
Tama-i-hengia (Hohepa)	Te Paki	Te Pani

But no doubt there were many others. Of the chief women were Topeora (whose marriage with Te Ra-tu-tonu at the siege of Tapui-nikau has been described), Akau (of the Tu-hou-rangi tribe of Tara-wera lake), Te Rau-paraha's wife, and Tiaia Te Pehi's wife, who was from the Tainui tribe of Raglan.

Most of these men would be veteran warriors who had accompanied the Ngati-Toa expeditions to Taranaki and Wai-rarapa, and had been engaged in the fighting round Kawhia before the *heke* left. Lucky it was for them that they were experienced warriors and men of determination, not likely to be deterred in their enterprise by difficulties on the way, of which, as we shall see, they had an abundant share.

The Maori is a true home-lover, and hence we may imagine what a wrench it must have been to these people to leave the bright waters of Kawhia, with its undulating hills and projecting promontories, each corner associated in some form or other with the deeds of their ancestors. At their feet lay the Taharoa lakes, on the shores of which they had so lately striven in vain against the might of Waikato. Beyond, the blue waters of Kawhia harbour, still visible from their resting place, to them the one most sacred spot in all New Zealand ;

* Ancient History of the Maori, Vol. VI., p. 17.

where the ocean-battered canoe of their great ancestor Hotu-roa had finally landed its crew after the long voyage from Hawaiki. Even the very spot where stand the two stone pillars that mark the length of "Tai-nui" could be seen from there. No wonder that the people wept over and lamented their beloved Kawhia, saying—"Remain, O Kawhia! lie thee there! for Kawhia's people are gone to the south, to Kapiti." Or, that Te Rau-paraha himself, the man of iron, should burst forth in a wailing lament as he looked for the last time on the home of his childhood. This was his song:—

Tera ia nga tai o Honi-paka,
Ka wehe koe i a au—e.
He whakamaunga atu naku,
Te ao ka rere mai
No runga mai o te motu
E tu noa mai ra koe ki au—e

Kia mihi mamao atu au,
Ki te iwi ra ia.

E pari, e te tai, piki tu, piki rere,
Piki takina mai
Te kawa i Muri-whenua
Te kawa i tu tere

Tena taku manu he manu ka onga noa
Huna ki te whare, te Hau-o-Matariki

Ma te Whare-porutu—
Ma te rahi Ati-Awa
E kau tere mai ra,
Ka urupa taku aroha.

There lie below the seas of Honi-paka¹
Parted from me now for ever.
My gaze in longing, lingering glance,
Follows the fleecy cloud that hither drifts
Across the forest groves there scattered,
Bringing, as it were, a message from my
home.

Let me here bid sad farewell in parting,
To the loved ones of our tribe of ancient
days.

Flow on, ye tides, in rising fleeting waves,
Flowing onward, drawing with them—
Urged by breezes from far Muri-whenua²
By death's decree and sacred ritual
(The spirits of our beloved dead)

My bird that sings at early dawn,
Now hidden in the house, Hau-o-Mata-
riki.³

In future shall it be for Whare-porutu
And the might of Ati-Awa tribe
To assist us with their many arms,
And thus my love shall cease.

NOTES.—1 Honipaka, a beach at Kawhia. 2 Muri-whenua, the North Cape, to which departed spirits went. 3 Apparently refers to some beloved child, possibly his murdered wife Marore, or relative, left behind in the graveyard. 4 Whare-porutu, is not known, but possibly some relative amongst the Ati-Awa, whose influence the composer counted on to obtain Ati-Awa's assistance.

Another *waiata*, or song, has been preserved, in which Po-nehu laments their beloved home at Kawhia:—

Ra te ao-uru ka tauhere,
Te hiwi ki te Hikonga
Homai kia mihia,
I hara mai i oku hoa—e—

Naku rawa i huri atu
Ki te tai-whanga ki a Te Wherowhero,

Behold the western clouds that hang
On the ridge of hills at Te Hikonga.¹
Here let me weep and greet them,
For they come from the home of my loved
ones,

Now I turn me in sorrow deep
To the country of Te Wherowhero.³

Nana i unga mai,
 Ka noho au te puke ki Kamaru,
 Nuinui Te 'Paraha i te whenua,

He manu ka pi-rere

Ka puihi tonu atu ki te tai-uru,
 Ki a Tamai-rangi—e—
 Tae a wairua te motu-huia.
 O Tara-rua i runga,
 Ki Wai-rarapa e, ki Te Tai-tapu,
 Ki a Te Ahuru—e—
 Kia noho taku iti
 Ki te kei o te waka,
 Nou na, E Te Pehi e !

'Twas he that sent his power against us,
 And drove us to this hill at Kamaru.²
 Great in the land was the fame of Te

Rau-paraha,

But now, like unto a fledgeling bird,
 homeless ;

Forced to the tides of the west to flee—
 To the country of famed Tamai-rangi.⁴
 In spirit do I visit the groves of the *huia*,⁵
 On Tara-rua, those mountains of the south,
 Perhaps to Wai-rarapa, or Te Tai-tapu,⁶
 To the land of Te Ahuru.

Then let my humble self be seated
 In the stern of the war canoe,
 Belonging to thee, O Te Pehi !⁷

NOTES.—1 and 2, places at Kawhia. 3 Te Wherowhero, principal chief of Waikato, who sent the army against Ngati-Toa and thus caused their migration. 4. Tamai-rangi, the great chieftainness of Ngati-Ira of Port Nicholson, whither the migration was going. 5 The *huia* bird, so valued by the Maoris for its tail feathers, is only found in any number on Taranaki mountains—now alas ! (1906) almost extinct. 6 Te Tai-tapu, general name for Massacre Bay, South Island. 7 Te Pehi-kupe of Ngati-Toa, who went to England in 1826 to procure arms for his tribe.

From the place of their farewell to Kawhia (? at Kamaru) the whole party passed on to Maro-kopa river, some twelve miles south of Kawhia. Heavily laden as all must have been with the household goods, clothing, etc., that they were able to bring away, this was a good day's march. The burdens would fall mostly on the women and slaves, for this was always the way with the Maoris, and it is astonishing the weight that they will carry for a long day's journey. At Maro-kopa the party were amongst friends and relatives. Tauranga-rua was the name of the village and Te Haumuti (subsequent baptismal name, Wetini Pakukohatu), the name of the chief of Ngati-Kinohaku tribe, where they stayed. Here it was decided that many of the women and children should remain for a time until the elders had arranged with the Ati-Awa about the passage through their territories. And, moreover, it was known that a party of Ngati-Mania-poto had gone by inland tracks to try and intercept Te Rau-paraha on his way, and it was this party, I believe, who fought the battle of Pārā-rewa at Awakino (to be referred to later on).

Some time, either before leaving Kawhia or at Maro-kopa, Te Rau-paraha was joined by some of the Ngati-Ranga-tahi, then of Ohura, Upper Whanganui, but formerly of Orahiri, Waikato, under Parata, who left Ohura, where they were living under the guardianship of Ngati-Hāua of Upper Whanganui, in consequence of a family quarrel. There were not many of these people. They went on, eventually, to Kapiti with Te Rau-paraha.

After leaving the women at Maro-kopa, the main body passed on south to Mokau, staying a night at Wai-kawau, a stream just fourteen miles north of Mokau, and which was the scene of the defeat of Ngati-Rarua, described in last chapter. Whilst here, the party were joined by Te Rangi-tua-tea, who had given the advice to Te Rau-paraha to abandon his *pa* at Te Arawi and flee. This man was connected both with Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Mania-poto, and so was friendly with both, though he took part in the latter's campaign against Ngati-Toa at Kawhia. He came to warn Te Rau-paraha that the forces of Ngati-Mania-poto had decided to follow him up and kill him if they could. Te Rau-paraha, bearing in mind their losses at Taharoa and of the late fights at Kawhia, and having the old man in his power, with characteristic treachery, proposed to slay him. But Tiaia,* wife of Te Pehi-kupe, strongly objected to this course, and, moreover, the tribe were against it, so, thanks to her action, Te Rangi-tua-tea was saved.

Crossing the Mokau river, a canoe capsized and Te Rangi-haeata's only child was drowned, whilst Topeora and others had a very narrow escape. On the south side of Mokau the migration were received in a friendly manner by Ngati-Tama, who were then mourning their losses at Pārā-rewa, but a large number of the plucky tribe were away under Taringa-kuri seeking some satisfaction for Pārā-rewa, as we shall see later on. From Poutama the migration passed on, some of Ngati-Mutunga having come to meet them at that country and from there the migration passed on to Te Kaweka, a place near Okoki *pa*, two miles north of Urenui river. Here arrangements were made with the Ngati-Mutunga tribe of those parts for the old people and most of the warriors to remain and commence the cultivation of crops to serve the party on their further journey. It appears that Ngati-Mutunga were at first not very hospitable, nor did they receive these unbidden guests in a very friendly manner. But, no doubt, they did not care to quarrel with so large a party of tried veterans, many of whom were armed with muskets, of which Ngati-Mutunga had none. In the end, however, their feelings changed, and it is little doubtful that Te Rau-paraha's success at the battle of Te Motu-nui and subsequent settlement at Kapiti was largely due to the aid rendered by Ngati-Mutunga.

* Tiaia was of the Tai-nui *hapu*, or tribe, of Waikato, whose home is at Raglan. She was Te Pehi's first wife, and when that man took a second wife, Purewa, this latter lady made disparaging remarks about Tiaia. This induced Hoki, Tiaia's cousin, to compose a song exalting the latter and disparaging Purewa, which is very amusing and illustrates the kind of poetry that was popular amongst the Maoris of that age—see “Nga Moteatea,” page 192.

After settling down his people at Te Kaweka and remaining there a few days, Te Rau-paraha started back for Maro-kopa with only twenty men (it is said), but all tried veterans armed with muskets, for the purpose of bringing on the women and young children left there under Te Puaha's care. His tribe, the Ngati-Toa, were much afraid his party was too small, for it was known that Ngati-Mania-poto were somewhere in the Mokau country in search of Te Rau-paraha, and they wanted to send a strong force with him. But he decided that a small party would be better able to elude the enemy, and so started with this small number.

The party reached Maro-kopa without trouble, notwithstanding that Ngati-Mania-poto had come over the ranges and were prowling about the country everywhere, and found all well with those left there. His wife, Te Akau, had, during his absence, born him a son, who afterwards received the name of Tamihana Te Rau-paraha. The party only stayed at Maro-kopa a few days and then started off back for Te Kaweka. Te Karihana Whakataki of Porirua says,* "The party came along the coast, Te Rau-paraha carrying his little son in a basket on his back, and carefully taking precautions against being seen." Watene says, "Prior to the departure of Te Rau-paraha from Maro-kopa, they had acquired a good many of the red garments referred to below. Some of these they divided up so that each person wore a broad band across the chest. He had also taken the precaution to spread a report for the benefit of Ngati-Mania-poto that a large party of Nga-Puhi was hastening down the coast all dressed in red and armed with muskets. As Ngati-Toa came down the coast they reached a place where a descent had to be made to the beach, and where the whole party, with their red garments, could be seen a long way off. At the other end of the beach was a large party of Ngati-Mania-poto, who, as soon as they caught sight of the red glowing in the sunlight, said, '*Koia ano! he tika te korero!*'—('Truly it is so! the story is correct!') and at once the whole departed inland, leaving the way open for Te Rauparaha." Te Karihana continues: "At the approach of night (? of the second or third) the party reached the banks of the Awa-kino river, where they were again seen by another party of Ngati-Mania-poto which was one hundred strong, under their chief Tu-takaro. The Ngati-Mania-poto now made an attack on Ngati-Toa at dusk, when a fierce fight took place, in which Ngati-Toa lost two of their men; but in revenge Te Rau-paraha and Te Rangi-hounga-riri managed to kill Tu-takaro, the leader of the enemy, besides four others. As Tu-takaro lay wounded

* Told to Mr. E. Best, 1895.

on the ground he recognised Te Rangi-houngā-riri, and said, '*Hua noa, na Nga-Puhi au i patu. Kaore! ko koe, E Rangi*'—('I thought I had been stricken down by Nga-Puhi! But now I see it is thee, O Rangi!') The small party of Ngati-Toa had the advantage of possessing muskets. The fight took place at Hukarere, or, as another account says, at Purapura.* Ngati-Rakei of Mokau were engaged in this fight, and my informant, Rihari of Mokau, says Te Rau-paraha punished them for it afterwards.

"Next day, Te Rau-paraha reached the Mokau river, where, the tide being high, they could not cross, and so camped there on the beach. They were apprehensive that Ngati-Mania-poto would renew the attack after having discovered how few Ngati-Toa were in number. So large fires were lit in several places, and all the women dressed up like men, whilst Te Rau-paraha and the other men kept addressing warlike speeches to each party round the fires so that, should the enemy be near, they might think a large war-party was assembled there. Te Akau, Te Rau-paraha's wife, and Tiaia, Pehi-kupe's wife, were the principal women there, and they employed themselves in running backwards and forwards all night addressing imaginary bands of warriors. Many of these women were dressed in a European garment called a *tu-ngaro*, which is never seen now, but was not uncommon fifty to sixty years ago. It was composed of exceedingly thick serge and reached from the neck to the knee; it was of a brilliant red colour. These had been obtained by barter with other tribes, for up to the time of the migration leaving Kawhia no vessel had entered that harbour."

This ruse was successful, for no attack was made; and the next day the party proceeded on their way and reached the other members of the migration at Te Kaweka in safety. Arrived there, and on the news of the death of Tu-takaro reaching Ati-Awa, Ngati-Tama, and Ngati-Mutunga, there was great rejoicing, because that chief had been lately instrumental in defeating Ngati-Tama at Pārā-rewa. They were so elated that a party of them at once started off for Mokau, where they came across some of Ngati-Rakei of that place, killing several of them, and thus, as old Rihari says, 'punishing them for attacking Ngati-Toa.'"

It was after this event, that the Ngati-Mutunga began to show signs of a more amicable disposition towards Ngati-Toa, and assigned

* Mr. Skinner suggests that Hukarere is the place where the fight occurred. It is situated about a mile north of the mouth of Awa-kino. Purapura is half way between Mokau and Awa-kino, and may have been Ngati-Toa's camp the next night.

them places for cultivating, and a *pa* called Puke-whakamaru to dwell in, which *pa* is that on the west side of the Ure-nui river inland of Okoki *pa*. Here Ngati-Toa remained some time, but not long, when news came of the advance of a very large party of Waikato and Ngati-Mania-poto in order to chastise Te Rau-paraha for his evil deeds towards those tribes as already related, and also to try and raise the siege of Puke-rangiora, where many of their tribesmen were cooped up, as we shall see.

But before describing the great battle of Te Motu-nui which ensued, we must hark back for a time to describe that of Pārā-rewa, which had already occurred before Te Rau-paraha reached Te Kaweka.

PARA-REWA.

? September, 1821.

For what follows I am indebted principally to a MS. of Wetene Taunga-tara's, and an account dictated to Mr. A. Shand and myself by Rangipito—both old men of Te Ati-Awa tribe.

It will be remembered that Ngati-Tama of Pou-tama had suffered a very severe defeat at Tihi-manuka towards the end of 1819 (see Chapter XII.) in which they lost their old chief Te Kawa-iri-rangi and a great many others, so many that the tribe was considerably reduced in fighting strength. They had also lost heavily in the fight at Nga-tai-pari-rua in 1815, where Ngati-Rakei, of Mokau, had succeeded after many generations of trial in inflicting a serious defeat on the brave little tribe of Pou-tama.

The Ngati-Mutunga tribe of Ure-nui are intimately connected with Ngati-Tama, whose boundaries marched with theirs on the north. Naturally, the former tribe felt the defeat at Tihi-manuka almost as much as did Ngati-Tama themselves. Hence we find Ngati-Mutunga raising a *taua* under Koropeke, Tu-kawe-riri and Te Whao, to assist Ngati-Tama to obtain revenge for Tihi-manuka. The branches of Ngati-Mutunga concerned in this affair were Te Kekeriwai of Mimi, Kai-tangata and Ngati-Tu *hapus* of Onaero, besides members of the Ati-Awa to the south of them. Koropeke does not appear to have been a chief of great rank, and he was an old man. At Te Kawau the *taua* was joined by the celebrated Tupoki, and all the men of Ngati-Tama that could be raised, so that the whole party numbered all told, four hundred warriors.

The news of a large party of Ngati-Mania-poto being in the neighbourhood of Mokau had reached the allies before they started. This *taua* of Ati-Awa first went to inland Mokau, but they found no

one there, so they came back on their way to Awakino, where it was reported Ngati-Mania-poto were to be found. Arrived at the north bank of that river, near where it makes its great bend to the south before falling into the sea, the *taua* formed their camp. In the meantime Ngati-Mania-poto had received news of this Ati-Awa *taua*, and came after them, finding them camped as above. The former tribe is said to have been in possession of a great many guns, while the *taua* of Ati-Awa had very few—indeed Ngati-Tama only had one. The allies were soon aware of the proximity of the foe, but did not take sufficient precautions to prevent a surprise, for the forces of Ngati-Mania-poto attacked them in their camp, being led, as Rangi-pito says, by Tu-korehu (but this can scarcely be, for he was away with the “Amio-whenua” expedition at the time), Hau-auru, Mama, of Ngati-Rora (of Upper Mokau), and also assisted by contingents of Ngati-Haua (Upper Thames) and Ngati-Paoa (of Hauraki Gulf). In this assault the Ngati-Tama chief Tu-poki was shot by Hau-auru, and two other prominent chiefs, Tu-kawe-riri, his wife Te Waero, and Te Whao were also killed, whilst the originator of the *taua*, old Koro-peke escaped with the rest by flight. All the young men of the *taua* are said to have been slain that day in the attack, and in the subsequent pursuit. This was a disastrous defeat for Ngati-Tama, for besides many others they lost their great *toa*, or warrior, Tu-poki, only a few months after the death of his valorous brother Rapapapa, at the battle of Taharoa. From this time forth they practically ceased to hold their ancestral lands, and shortly after migrated to Wai-kanae near Kapiti—the new weapon, the musket, was too much for them.

As the allies retreated in all haste towards their homes, they were met on the road by a large force of Ati-Awa, who had been aroused by the news of the approaching *taua* of Ngati-Mania-poto, and which numbered one thousand warriors. After the junction of the two *tauas* some marauding parties were sent out to meet Ngati-Mania-poto, which managed to kill a chief of that tribe named Tautu-o-te-rangi. After this the whole party of Ati-Awa returned to their homes, and immediately after their arrival Te Rau-paraha and his first party of migrants reached Te Kaweka. It was, no doubt, the same party of Ngati-Mania-poto, or a company of it, that Te Rau-paraha had had the brush with at Awa-kino, and it is also certain that this was part of the great *taua* that was in pursuit of that wily chief with the intention of demolishing him and his people and at the same time succouring their fellow tribesmen in Puke-rangiora; with what result we shall shortly see.

Thus died Ngati-Tama's great warrior, Tu-poki, who fell by the

leaden bullet supplied to his enemies by the in-coming Pakeha. Had the fight of Pārā-rewa occurred a few years previously, when none but the Maori weapons were in use, it is probably the result would have been different, for Tu-poki was a master of the art of fighting with such arms. On his death, his sister, Te Maro-pounamu, lamented him in the following *tangi*, which is still a favourite with the Maoris:—

Tera ia te po taua
 Te taka mai nei i Pari-ninihi,
 Nau tē tatari, kia maunu mai,
 Te wai i runga i Nga-Motu,
 Kei to tamaiti, ma Rau-o-Matuku
 Hei putiki mai te ua o te pakanga,
 E tauira mai ra te hiku o te taua.
 Pairangitia mai o kahu angiangi—
 Pairangitia mai i te puke ki Whare-kohu,
 Ka nui ou tohu ki runga ki tou rangi,
 Ka rere nga whetu o te ata,
 Manu whakarewaia kia whakakau au,
 I te riri whatiwhati
 I roto o Pārā-rewa.
 Kei pehia koe te ahi o te tipua;
 Tenei Poutu, nau i here mai,
 Hei whakatu mai
 Te whare i muri ake,
 Kauraka e koaia e te rahi 'Ati-Tama.
 Me tuku ki raro, mo Tautari ma,
 Mo te wai-aruhe e tānga tonu nei,
 Tahurihuri ai i te papa i Raro-taka.
 E kore, E Tama ra! e tahuri to rakau toa,
 I ngaua putia e te ipo wahine,
 Ka whati i reira te puhi o taku waka;
 He tumu herenga waka,
 No runga, no raro, no Te Rau-paraha, e!
 Hurihuri kau ai te mokai o te wahine,
 Taku kiri whakaniko,
 Te kiri o Awa-nui
 Ka whara kei muri.
 Ma te hau takaha e turaki.
 Taku rata tiketike—
 Taku whakaruru totara
 E tu ki Pou-tama ra.
 Karanga mai E Pare!
 I te tara ki Rangī-kohua,
 Tera taku manu, he manu tākupu—
 He tākupu matakana,
 He aua matawhero,
 Mo nga utu e hira
 Ki te pae ki Karaka-ura.

He aha koia koe te tohi atu ai
 To patu whakatu, ki te ihu o Mama,
 O Mama ra, i te kai a wai?
 O Hari ra, i te kai a Ranga
 O Hari ra, i te kai a Oro,
 O Tiu ra, i te kai a Maene,
 Ka mahungahunga te whakahoro,
 I tou angaanga—
 Tou angaanga i tohe nei,
 Ki te hau o te riri
 Ko Kaha-tuatini, hei utu mo aku taro
 I ngaua iho nei—e—i.

TRANSLITERATION.

Behold the dark and gloomy cloud of war,
 That settles down o'er Parininihi cliff.
 Hadst thou but waited the forthcoming tide
 Of waters from Nga-Motu,¹ that would have flowed
 Hither with thy son, with Rau-o-Matuku,²
 To aid thee, the storm of battle to repel.
 His plumes yet flash in the rear of the *taua*
 (Too late to succour thee in thy need).

Spread out were thy flowing garments—
 Spread out upon the hill at Whare-kohu
 (As thou led on in the forefront of the battle).
 Gallant were the plumes upon thy head
 As before thee flew the "stars of morning."³
 Let them float forth that I may swim
 In the overwhelming battle of retreat
 That caused thy downfall within at Pārā-rewa.
 Thou didst not take heed to the demon's⁴ fire,
 Such, O Poutu,⁵ as thou brought hither
 To support this tribe in its future wars.
 Rejoice not ye, the dependants of 'Ati-Tama,⁶
 But think of 'Tautari,⁷ and others of thy tribe.
 Let this be payment for unavenged defeats
 As oft thy tribe turned aimlessly to and fro
 At the rock of Raro-taka⁸ there below.
 Thy weapon, O Sir! would never have failed thee
 But that thy loved one, thy orders disobeyed,⁹
 Hence was the "plume of my canoe" broken.
 Thou wert the pillar, that stayed war-parties,
 From the south, from the north, even Te Rau-paraha's,
 But now cast down are the hopes of woman.
 O my richly tattooed one! with Awa-nui's¹⁰ pattern,
 Is henceforth lost to sight and forgotten.

Naught but a fierce blowing gale
 Could overthrow my lofty *Rata* tree—
 My sheltering *Totara*, in its beauty,
 That stood so straight and tall at Poutama.

Lift up thy voice and praise, O Pare !
 At the peak of Rangi-kohua,
 This my bird, like unto an ocean bird,
 A wild white gannet,
 A red-eyed mullet,
 Now slain in payment for the many
 That fell at Karaka-ura.
 Why did thou fail to strike out straight
 With uplifted weapon, on Mama's nose ?
 Of Mama¹⁷ indeed ! who shall be eaten by whom ?
 Of Hari,¹⁷ there ! who shall be food for Ranga,¹⁸
 Of Hau',¹⁷ also ! who shall be eaten by Oro,¹⁹
 Of Tiu,¹⁷ again ! whom Maene¹⁹ shall eat.

Crushing was the stroke that overthrew thee !
 That fatal blow upon thy head—
 That head that shone in the fore—
 In the wild tempest of battle.
 Kahu-tuatini shall be the payment,
 For my *taros*, for my loved ones,
 That there have been destroyed.

NOTES:—1 "The waters from Nga-Motu" represent the on-coming Ati-Awa who arrived too late to save the day at Para-rewa. 2 Rau-o-Matuku, another name for Te Whare-pouri, we thus learn that this well-known chief in later days was with the Ati-Awa force. 3 "Stars of Morning," the chiefs of the opposing party. 4 *Tupua*, or demon, *i.e.*, the guns of the Pakeha. 5 Poutu brought the first musket to Ngati-Tama from the Nga-Puhi. 6 Ati-Tama = Ngati-Tama. 7 Tautari short for Maunga-tautari, killed by Ngati-Tama at Pou-tama, see *ante*. 8 Rarotaka, a flat rock below Te Kawau *pa*, the scene of many a fight. 9 Tu-poki, before the battle, had given orders that no food was to be eaten by his tribe, but his granddaughter disobeyed him, which was an evil omen for him, and hence—they believe—he was killed. 10 Awa-nui-a-Tarawera, another name for Whanganui river. 17 All chiefs engaged in the battle of Para-rewa on the Ngati-Mania-poto side. 18 A dog belonging to the composer. 19 Slaves of the composer. Pare was Pare-te-korae, mother of Hau-auru of Ngati-Mania-poto (? Ngati-Hine-uru) and Hari was Hari-Maruru, who defeated Ngati-Tama at Tihi-manuka in 1819.

Te Whao was one of the chiefs of Ngati-Mutunga killed at Pāra-rewa, and he was related to Kauhoe, a woman of Ngati-Hine-tuhi *hapu* of Ngati-Mutunga. She was afterwards the second wife of the celebrated Te Pu-oho of Ngati-Tama, who met his death, near Gore in the South Island, about 1835. Kauhoe composed the following lament for Te Whao and Tupoki. Te Whao's wife, says Rangi-pito, was from Ngati-Hine-uru, and she died of grief for the loss of her husband, who was a very fine, handsome man.

Tera te uira hikohiko ana mai,
 Hoehoe ake ra nga rahi a Te Whao
 I raro Te Hikuwai e—
 Ka tika i te ia o Orohue i tai,
 Ka ripa ki waho ra e,
 Atu-tahi koa, te whetu tarake o te rangi,
 Ka kopi te kukume,
 Ka hahae Mata-riki e—
 Puanga, Tau-toru—
 Nana i kukume koutou ki te mate e—
 Wahia i waenga i te angaanga
 O Ngati-Mahuta, nana te wahine,
 To kiri piataata kia whakapokia
 Ki te ahi manuka e.
 Iti toku taina
 Me tangi e au i te pou o te whare,
 Nau i eke atu i te waka pukatea,
 I te waka kohekohe ra.
 Kuru-tonga-rerewa
 Nau i wehe atu te tau i a Kahu—e—
 Motaha ki tahaki
 Kei te anuanu au i te wai-roto tapu
 No Tu-korehu, no Hauauru,
 Ka kita aku niho—e—

There was also killed in this battle a somewhat famous chief of Ngati-Toa who was assisting Ngati-Tama, their constant allies and relatives, named Te Matoe, who was the father of Te Kanae and Rawiri Puaha, both men of note at the time Wellington was founded. The following lament was composed by Taka-mai-te-rangi, Matoe's father :—

Ko au, ko tama putea-wananga
 Ki te whare korero,
 Ma Wai-kapakapa
 E hua ake kia tupu,
 Hoki ana mai ko te kawa ki au.
 E Rangi-aho ka kite ra koe
 Kiore kai kiri runga o Para-rewa,
 Whakarawakitia ki te puni-o-Tane
 He kai te manu iti, he kai ika mounu,
 He kai ka kuka, ka noa,
 Ka whara kei muri,
 Kowai au, E te ipo!
 Kia whakamau iho te ra huru mai,
 Ko Te Matoe i te rangi,
 E waiho ana koe i te puni wahine,
 Whakainuinumia i roto o Tahere,
 Tangi tiere ana te tai o Rau-kura
 Haere mai nei koe i te iwi ka ngaro,
 Te mate apiti ki tua o te rawhiti.

TRANSLITERATION.

The son am I of those whose ancient knowledge
 Was taught by priests in the house of learning
 (No longer do I interest feel in our ancient lore),
 In future shall it be for Wai-kapakapa
 To cause the fruits to grow and bear,
 Whilst bitterness and sorrow remain for me.
 O Rangī-aho ! it was thou that saw
 Those flesh-eating rats above at Para-rewa,
 Who rifled the camp of our braves,
 When all, both great and small, were eaten,
 Or left as wasted dried-up food, common to all.
 Now alas ! will they all be forgotten ?
 Who then am I, O thou beloved !
 That fixes my gaze on the setting sun—
 Emblematic of Te Matoe in the skies,
 Better had'st thou remained in the woman's camp,
 To drink of the waters of Tahere,
 Breaking are the waves on Rau-kura beach,¹
 'Tis surely a message from those now lost,
 Another death added to that in the east.²

1 An *one-tapu*, or beach used as road near Kawhia. 2 Refers to the death of Te Momo (son of Te Whata-nui, principal chief of Ngati-Rau-kawa) who was killed not long before at Te Roto-a-Tara, Hawke's Bay.

TE AMIO-WHENUA.

1821-1822.

Events were crowding on the heels of one another at the end of 1821 so rapidly and so numerous that it is difficult to sustain their sequence in an intelligible manner. Hence it becomes necessary to leave Te Rau-paraha and his people engaged in the work of house building and cultivating at Ure-nui, whilst we describe the doings of a great *tauā*, or war-party, of Ngati-Whātua, of Kaipara, under the chiefs Apihai-Te-Kawau (the principal leader), Awa-rua, his son Totara-i-ahua, Te Tinana, Uru-amo, Pa-te-oro, Tama-hiki, and Ha-kawau ; Waikato of Waikato under Te Kanawa, Awarua, Rehurehu, and others ; Ngati-Tipa of Lower Waikato under Kuku-tai and Tupaea ; Ngati-Mania-poto under the veterans Tu-korehu and Pura ; a few of Ngati-Maru and Ngati-Paoa of the Thames under Te Rau-roha ; and also a few of Te Arawa. This expedition numbered, all told, six hundred warriors and was called "Amio-whenua," or "round about the land."

The early part of this expedition is fully detailed in "Wars of the Northern against the Southern Tribes," p. 93, *et seq.*, but it has nothing

to do with the West Coast history, of which we are now treating. The latter part, however, is very intimately connected with Taranaki. After passing through Roto-rua, Hawke's Bay, and Wairarapa, the *taua* came out on to Cook's Straits at Port Nicholson.

The news of the expedition, however, had preceded it all along the coast, so that when the *taua* reached Cook's Straits they found nothing but empty *pas*, or, more likely, villages, for there are few *pas* along the southern coasts. The Mua-upoko of Otaki, Waikanae, etc., and Rangi-tane of Manawa-tu, etc., had nearly all taken refuge on Kapiti Island, thus leaving no canoes by which the *taua* could get at them. No doubt, these people had no very pleasant recollection of the last northern raid under Tu-whare, Patu-one and Te Rau-paraha in 1819-20 (see Chapter XII.). No one was found at Porirua, but a few refugees were discovered at Horo-whenua safely ensconced in the island *pas* on the lake, at whom the *taua* were obliged to look in vain, for they had no canoes by which to reach them.

WAI-KOTERO.

I am obliged to Mr. T. W. Downes for one or two incidents connected with the doings of this expedition which are not generally known. His information is from the late Major Kēpa Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, and therefore should be reliable. "Whilst the *taua* was in the neighbourhood of Horo-whenua," says the Major, "they came on to Otaki, then Horo-whenua, and my father's* place—probably at Papa-i-tonga lake—where they surrounded the *pa*. Our people were very few in number here; so my father sent out messengers to the other members of the tribe, calling on them to come to his assistance and make an attack on the invaders at night. But this message was disregarded and no one came. Determined to try and alarm the enemy and force their retreat, he went forth with two companions and thus almost single handed attacked this great *taua* in the night. They were all three eventually captured, but not until several of the enemy had fallen under their spears. When my father was captured he raised his voice, loud as the loud thunders, and the women of our tribe, hearing his call, came down the river in a canoe, shouting and making as much noise as if a large war-party was approaching. The invaders, thinking they were about to be attacked in great numbers, decided to decamp, which they did in the night, leaving their dead behind them. In the confusion my father escaped back to his own people. This fight was called Wai-kotero."

* Kēpa's father was Tungia; his mother, Rere-omaki; connected with the Mua-upoko tribe.

The *taua* continued its way up the West Coast to Whanganui, where the local tribes were met with, and a fight took place on an island in the river, called by my informant, old Ereatare of Ngati-Whatua, Te Manuka. The *taua* was victorious, but only after a hard struggle. This fight, it ought to be stated, is not known locally.

MANGA-TOA.

Mr. Downes also supplies the following from the same source as last quoted: In the neighbourhood of Whanganui, "at Mangawere (or Upoko-poito, some twenty miles below Mangatoa) the *taua*, under Tu-korehu and Te Wiwi, came upon and killed some brothers of Te Anaua (later known as Hori-Kingi), and captured a woman named Korako, mother of Hakaraia. The latter was a small child at the time and thus escaped. In revenge for this, Hori-Kingi gathered his tribesmen together and followed one portion of the *taua*, which had gone up the Whanganui river and came upon and defeated them at Mangatoa, a place about two to three miles seaward of the modern village of Koroniti (Corinth), on the east side of the river. Hakaraia's mother, when captured, pleaded for her own life and that of her child, promising that if allowed to live she would lead the party to a place where her brothers and other people were, and that she would give them a large quantity of greenstone, which was hidden away. This was agreed to; so she guided the party up the river till they reached Te Punga (another name for Te Arero-o-te-uru, at Mangatoa), where they all landed and left the canoes. She led them on into a deep gorge on the Mangatoa, hemmed in by perpendicular cliffs, and out of which there is no escape except up or down the stream, but which widened out at one spot in the middle, where the *taua* was advised to camp, as it was just about night. Korako managed, as soon as it was dark, to creep away unseen, and then made all speed to her own people, some of whom were living not far from the cliffs above, whilst others had been following up the party from behind. Thus the invaders were in a trap, and when the time came, though those of Whanganui in the rear of the *taua* were only few in number, they were strong enough to hold the pass, whilst the other local people held the upper end. After a great battle only six people managed to escape out of the six hundred men of the *taua*." I think this number is probably much exaggerated by the local people—for the *taua* was still a large one when it reached Taranaki. Te Wiwi is said to have been killed, whilst Tu-korehu escaped. Who the former was I have no knowledge. This party was, probably, only a branch of the main *taua*.

The following *waiata*, or song, relating to this event, was given to

Mr. Downes by an old Ngati-Pa-moana woman named Taurira, but it seems to me that though stated to have been composed at the date of the Amio-whenua expedition, it is more modern:—

Pakipaki tu au i te rau o Mangatoa,
 I mahue au i te tikawe haere i a Nga-Rau,
 Tu ana ahau i te kei o te waka o Te Hekeua,¹
 Hei hoatu i ahau ki Paparoa.²
 Tukutuku i te ia ki Ope-riki³
 Ka kite au i te kopua kanapanapa ki Wai-hakura.
 E ngari moti ana te haere,
 Nga one roa kei Mata-hiwi,⁴
 Takoto ai te marino—
 To reti na, ko te waka o Tainui,⁵
 Hei whakawhiti ki Kai-koura.⁶

I hahae kau aku mata
 Ki te wai-rama na Te Pēhi.⁷
 E Tia ma ! me whakahoki mai
 Te makau ki ahau ;
 Ka eke nei ki Tongariro,
 Me whirinaki ki Koinaki,⁸ ki a Te Matoha,⁹
 Ki te mea ra i hoki mai i te kaupuke,
 Ko Rangi-ahua te wahine,
 I rangona ki te hapai pu,
 Ka tataki nei, ka whero.
 Ko tahi te manu o te tau
 He Pipi-wharau-roa,¹⁰
 “ Kui, kui, whitiwhiti-ora ! ”

What wild delight I feel for the defeat at Mangatoa.
 I was left behind when Nga-Rau went forth.
 Would that I stood in the stern of Te Hekeua's¹ canoe,
 To carry me along to the Paparoa² rapids,
 And float away with the currents of Operiki.³
 And there behold the gleaming depths at Wai-hakura.
 But instead were they beaten
 At the long reaches at Mata-hiwi,⁴
 Where smooth waters ever prevail,
 The conveyance was the canoe Tainui,⁵
 With which to cross (the Straits) to Kai-koura.⁶

In vain I score my face in mourning,
 At Te Pēhi's⁷ torch-light march up stream,
 O Tia ! thou must return,
 The loved one now departed,
 Who has ascended Tongariro mountain,
 And rests on Koinaki⁸ with Te Matoha—
 With him who by a ship came back.

Rangi-ahua was the famed woman,
 Who was skilled in the use of the musket.
 There is but one famed bird of the year,
 The Pipi-wharau-roa,¹⁰ who cries,
 Kui ! Kui ! whitiwhiti-ora !

NOTES.—1. Te Hekeua, head chief of the Uri-o-Hau division of Ngati-Whatua, of Kaipara, who accompanied the expedition. 2. Paparoa rapids just above Pipiriki, on the Whanganui river. 3. Operiki, a celebrated old *pa* three-fourths of a mile above Corinth, on the same river. 4. Four miles above Galatea ; same river. 5. The celebrated canoe of Waikato. 6. Kai-koura is sometimes used as a name for the South Island. 7. Te Pehi, a celebrated chief of Whanganui. 8. A place near Tongariro. 9. Te Matoha is said to have gone to Sydney to fetch muskets. 10. The little Shiny Cuckoo, whose note is given in the last line.

After these events the *tauu* passed through the thickly-inhabited districts of Patea and Taranaki, but what success they had against the people of those parts is unknown—the probability is that many of them fled to the fastnesses of the forest to escape a repetition of their sufferings from previous northern war-parties, though Watene Taungatara says they first fought the northern *tauu* in a battle, which was long undecided as to the victory—and that many *pas* were taken.

We next hear of the expedition at Waitara, where the Ati-Awa successfully opposed their further progress towards their homes. In what follows, Mr. W. H. Skinner will be quoted, for no one has obtained so much information about this period, which he has carefully checked from the statements of some of the old men of Ati-Awa, to wit : Te Watene Taungatara, Rona, Whati-tiri, Rameka Te Ami, Tommy Watson, late *tohunga* of Kairau, and others.

“ Amongst the numerous raids that were organised by the northern tribes against the people of Taranaki and Cook’s Straits districts was one led by Tu-korehu, or Pehi-korehu, of the Ngati-Mania-poto tribe. This great fighting chief left Mangatoatoa *pa*, on the Waipa river, about the middle of the year 1820 with a force of one hundred and forty warriors ” (in addition to the others mentioned above, making in all about six hundred men). . . . “ They eventually reached the *pa* of Rewarewa, at the mouth of the Wai-whakaiho river, north bank, where they remained for a while. Tautara, the *ariki* and principal chief of the Ati-Awa, was at this time living at Rewarewa, though his home was at Puketapu *pa*, a few miles further north.” The intercourse with Ati-Awa seems to have been friendly, but it is clear from what follows that Tautara was not much enamoured of his guests and was glad to avail himself of any means for their destruction. Watene Taungatara says : “ There was a great division in Ati-Awa ; those to the north of Waitara determining to fight, whilst those to the south

decided to help them—*i.e.*, Nga-Motu, Puke-tapu, and Puke-rangiora.” To this end, “he sent messengers to the *hapus* of Ati-Awa living further north with directions to the effect that Tu-korehu and his companions were to be attacked after they had crossed the Waitara river. But Huri-whenua, of Ngati-Rahiri” (whom we have seen as the defender of Te Taniwha *pa* in 1818) “would not agree to this, but desired to attack the enemy at once. So he went with his people, numbering eight hundred, to Te Rohutu, at the mouth of the Waitara, north bank, and there awaited the approach of Tu-korehu’s party.

“But why this sudden change on the part of Ati-Awa? Several other expeditions of the same northern people had passed through this country and had been well received, while numbers of Ati-Awa had joined them and gone forth to murder and plunder—in fact, they had been as one people. But the reason is not far to seek. We find it in the presence in the district of that great chief Te Rau-paraha, leader of Ngati-Toa—now just starting on that path of conquest which made his name in after years a terror to both Europeans and Maoris alike—who was just removing his people from Kawhia and was then at Ure-nui. . . . Ngati-Toa were waiting in that district to harvest the crops they had planted on their arrival, so as to provide food for the next stage of their journey towards Otaki and Kapiti. Te Rau-paraha wished to be revenged on Ngati-Mania-poto” (of whom Tu-korehu was one of the principal chiefs), “but did not care just then to run the risk unaided. If he could incite the Ati-Awa to attack Tu-korehu and his party, they would thus be drawn into the quarrel and lend their aid to attain his ends. By means of plotting and deceit he succeeded in rousing Te Ati-Awa—or the greater part of them—to take up his quarrel.

“As stated previously, an ambuscade of eight hundred men of Ati-Awa, awaited on the north bank of the Waitara the crossing of the returning war-party. The plan arranged was to allow part of the force under Tu-korehu to cross the river and then to rush in and divide them, and subsequently to fall on the parts separately. But this plan was frustrated by the watchfulness of the scouts. A small number of men crossed the Waitara in advance of the main body to spy out the land, for they expected trouble, and had been warned by certain of the Ati-Awa as to what they might expect. It was early dawn, and when within a few yards of the northern bank of the river the most advanced scout saw the shadow of a man moving on the surface of the water. He paused; then seeing other shadows, or reflections, he turned and gave the alarm to those behind. Seeing their ambuscade had been

discovered, Pokai-tara, the possessor of the only gun* amongst the Ati-Awa, fired his piece and killed one of Tu-korehu's men. The frustrated *taua* now gave up the idea of crossing the Waitara, and retreated inland for about a mile along the west bank of the river and took up a position on Puke-kohe, an old *pa* overlooking and to the north-west of the present Railway Station. This was subsequently the headquarters of the Imperial troops at Waitara during the war with the Maoris in 1860-61. One account says that Ati-Awa attacked the *taua* here, which, getting the worse of it, retreated further inland. Another account says that the Ati-Awa, seeing the position Tu-korehu had taken up, decided to cross the river and give them battle. Accordingly, Tau-tara brought their forces over; but Tu-korehu did not wait to meet them. He retreated to Nga-puke-turua—the old *pas* on the hillocks close to Mahoe-tahi and half a mile north-east from Sentry Hill Railway Station; the inland side of the main road.†

NGA-PUKE-TURUA.

Here the *taua* was immediately surrounded by thousands of the Ati-Awa, now thoroughly aroused by the machinations of Te Rau-paraha. Rangi-pito's account given to me is to the effect that on the arrival of the *taua* at Nga-puke-turua, they found it occupied by some of the Puke-tapu *hapu* of Ati-Awa. The place was at once attacked, and after firing several volleys into it, killing a good many of its inhabitants, they took it. Ati-Awa had only their *rakau-Maori*, or native weapons, so could not get at the enemy. Seeing the probability of the *pa* being taken, the inmates decided to escape; they made a gallant dash for life and succeeded in breaking through the ranks of their enemies and joining their fellow tribesmen from Waitara. The Amio-whenua expedition now occupied the *pa* abandoned by Ati-Awa, but had not

* It is difficult at this date to determine when Te Ati-Awa procured their first guns. But I was told in 1894 by Te Rawaho that Te Puhi-rawaho, of the Ngati-Amaru tribe of Lower Waikato, brought the first gun to Nga-Motu, which he obtained from the "Tini-pakete" ("Sydney Packet"). He came down in that vessel on a trading trip to the Ngati-Ruanui country—i.e., Patea, etc., and then returned overland to Waitara, where he married a woman of Te Ati-Awa, and gave his musket to his wife's people. The "Sydney Packet," he says, was lost on her return voyage. In the times of Te Whare-pouri the people of Nga-Motu got their second gun, which they named "Ruku-moana," because they had to dive for it. Puhi-rawaho also obtained a small cannon from the same ship, which was in the sixties used against H.M. forces at Rangiriri. The "Sydney Packet" (if the same) was lost at Moeraki, Otago, in July, 1837.

† Plate No. 8 shows the two hillocks that are known as Nga-puke-turua, and Map No. 2 shows all the localities mentioned in this part of the narrative.

done so very long before the force from Waitara was seen approaching. The invaders were now in their turn besieged by Ati-Awa.

Mr. Skinner continues: "That same day, or early next morning, a desperate fight took place (outside the *pa*). Both parties lost heavily; the northern *taua* losing fifty-two, amongst whom were five chiefs of note—Mahia, Kapa, Here-puku, Hape, and Takinga. These losses, no doubt, included those killed in attempting to cross the Waitara, and the subsequent retreat on Puke-kohe and Nga-puke-turua; in both of these latter cases the *taua* was very roughly handled. Rameka Te Ami says the *taua* had only one gun, which was the property of Te Totara-i-ahua of Ngati-Whatua, and with this he shot four of the Ati-Awa. An accident to the gun then happening, it was of no more use."

Now it may be true that Ngati-Whatua had only one musket, but I think it unlikely, and certainly there were a number of fire-arms in the party.* The losses of the Ati-Awa in this affair do not appear. "The Ati-Awa leaders were: Tau-tara of Puke-tapu, Huri-whenua of Ngati-Rahiri, and Rangi-wahia of Ngati-Mutunga, who appears to have been the leading man in this and the following events."

"Ati-Awa appear to have suffered a good deal in this affair, which is called Aro-hoa, for they did not take advantage of their success. Toi-roa of Ngati-Mania-poto says that Ati-Awa were afraid of Tu-korehu in an open, stand-up fight. His weapon was a *pou-whenua*, of such size that it took two ordinary men to yield it! He was a man of gigantic stature and a great *toa*, or warrior," as is proved by his many expeditions to various parts of the North Island, in nearly all of which he was successful. Watene Taungatara says, "After the northern *taua* had occupied the *pa* and on the arrival of the Ati-Awa forces from Waitara, the besieged made a sortie, and a fierce battle ensued, in which the guns of the northern people created much havoc, twenty men of Ati-Awa being killed, which gladdened the hearts of the *taua*. After this, the northern people went towards another party of Ati-Awa, which was lying in reserve under Huri-whenua, Towhia, Manu-kino, and Topa-ki-Waikato. This party waited until Tu-korehu's party were right on them, and, suddenly springing up, fell on the latter with

* The first gun possessed by Ngati-Whatua was captured from Nga-Puhi, when the latter tribe attacked Tau-hinu *pa*, on the Wai-te-mata, Auckland, situated at the junction of the Paremoremo Creek. As they had no ammunition, the gun was of no use to them. Totara-i-ahua, mentioned above, was the chief of Tau-hinu *pa*. About 1820-21 he obtained a second musket from some vessel at Coromandel, and there learnt how to use it. This gun was named "Hu-teretere," and is probably the one mentioned above.—See "Wars, North and South," p. 234.

such fierceness that twenty-five men were killed in a very short time. During this fight, a single combat took place between Te Tupe-o-Tu of Ati-Awa and Tu-korehu, a chief of the northern *taua*. They were both armed with Maori weapons alone—the former with a long-handled tomahawk, the latter with a *patu-kohatu* (stone club). They were so equally matched that neither could force the guard of the other, and finally both withdrew with their respective parties. Tu-korehu was an immense man—there is no one of this generation to equal him.”

Mr. Skinner continues: “The same authority says the Ati-Awa in thousands camped down around the beleaguered *pa* after the repulse, satisfying themselves with the cutting off of all supplies and by that means hoping to starve the *taua* into submission. But the necessity for this never arose, as subsequent events will show.”

“The case of the *taua* was indeed a desperate one—a small body of men surrounded by an enemy outnumbering them by nearly ten to one; in a strange country and cut off from food supplies, beyond what they found in the *pa*, and quite beyond any hope of assistance from their own tribes. Although practically at the mercy of their enemies—for starvation must soon have ended their troubles—the *taua* does not seem to have shown any sign of fear. Putting a bold face on the matter, the second day and night after their occupation of Nga-puke-turua was spent by them in singing *waiatas* (songs) and dancing *hakas*—done, no doubt, to deceive the enemy and hide their losses.”

“As stated previously, there was a section of Ati-Awa that was adverse to the action taken by the bulk of the tribe in attacking the *taua*, and it was some of these people who warned them of the proposed ambuscade at Waitara. Amongst those who sympathized with the northern people (possibly through relationship, more or less distant) were the principal chiefs of the great Puke-rangi-ora *pa*, situated three miles inland of Nga-puke-turua: Whatitiri (the elder, father of Mahau), Pekapeka, Ngata, and Te Morehu; together with the whole of their *hapu* (Puke-rangi-ora),* with Koro-tiwha, Te Iho-o-te-rangi, and Whakaruru, and a few of the Puke-tapu *hapu*. In the words of Whatitiri, nephew of Whatitiri, senior, the present head of Puke-rangi-ora *hapu*: ‘Their fathers were sad at the thought of

* The Puke-rangi-ora *hapu* takes its name from the *pa*. It is said to be the *rangatira hapu* of Te Ati-Awa, i.e., the *hapu* whose chiefs were the principal men of all Te Ati-Awa, and whose original home—and the head-quarters of the *hapu*, where their meetings took place, and where was the principal *tuāhu*—was at Okawa, a little way inland from the Puke-rangi-ora *pa*. They, at any rate, have the longest pedigree of any of Te Ati-Awa, as may be seen in Table No. 1.

these *toas* being shut in without escape and nothing but death before them, and so their hearts went out to them.' ”

There were probably other reasons, which have not come down to us, that caused this change in the feelings of the local people and the ensuing division amongst them. Rangi-pito says: “Several of the chiefs of the Puke-tapu branch of Ati-Awa, as well as some of Ngati-Rahiri* of Northern Waitara, were engaged in the siege, and, as provisions fell short within the *pa*, the besiegers (*Ka whai koha e ratou ki a Waikato*) became possessed with a feeling of generosity (or pity) towards Waikato. Negotiations ensued and then Te Manu-tohe-roa of Puke-tapu, springing into the midst of Tu-korehu's warriors, caused all fighting to cease. . . .”

Mr. Skinner continues, “It was at once decided to help Tu-korehu to escape from Nga-puke-turua to their own great *pa* of Puke-rangi-ora, the great fighting *pa* of all Ati-Awa. Their scheme was made known secretly to the northern *taua* and the following night or early dawn was fixed upon for the time to evacuate Nga-puke-turua. Some time during the night, Whati-tiri and Tai-ariki of Puke-rangi-ora came down from their *pa* with about thirty of their people, accompanied by a number of young women. They came by way of Manu-tahi (Lepperton) and Te Morere (Sentry Hill). Approaching the neighbourhood of Nga-puke-turua in the dark, the women commenced a *haka*, accompanied by a *ngeri*, or war-dance, on the part of the men. As this reached the ears of the rest of Ati-Awa, Rangi-wahia and the men fell in to receive the enemy, but soon recognising the Puke-rangi-ora people they at once started a war-dance on their part. The women continued their *hakas* in order to attract the rest of Ati-Awa, and thus allow of Tu-korehu and his people to effect their escape. With the same object these latter people had been holding *hakas* all the night, and thus between them Rangi-wahia and his people were thrown off their guard.”

“Whatitiri and his party from Puke-rangi-ora had approached Nga-puke-turua on the side away from that on which the most direct way led to Puke-rangi-ora, thus leaving it open for the escape, by attracting the Ati-Awa, who guarded that side, to witness the *hakas*, which took place on a flat piece of ground to the south-west of the *pa*. When the proper time came, Tu-korehu and his party took advantage of the absence of all guards on the south side of the *pa* and evacuated

* Te Awataia, in his brief account—A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 2—also says it was Ngati-Rahiri who took the *taua* to Puke-rangi-ora. He also gives the following names of chiefs who were befriending Waikato: Te Manu-toha-roa, Raua-ki-tua, Tau-tara, and Matatoru.

the place, and struck off by the track leading to Puke-rangi-ora, crossing the Wai-o-ngana river at Kai-puku—the present ford on the Kairau road—then skirting the clump of bush on the same road, called Repo-roa, and then along Te Arei road to the sheltering protection of the fortifications of Puke-rangi-ora *pa*.”

“Whatitiri and his party, in the meantime, had kept the *hakas* going until such time as it was considered would allow Tu-korehu to be well on his way. Having accomplished this, they then withdrew in all haste, some along the track Tu-korehu had taken, others, apparently, by the way they had come. Daylight was now approaching, and the fact of the northern *taua* having escaped was soon evident to Ati-Awa. The party of Tu-korehu, with their rear guard of Whatitiri’s people, had barely reached the *pa* and made all secure when Rangi-wahia and his host made their appearance. Whatitiri and the other chiefs of Puke-rangi-ora now told the Ati-Awa chiefs that they had taken the *taua* under their protection. This caused a furious altercation between the two parties, and Rangi-wahia, who seems to have had an implacable hatred of Tu-korehu, said, ‘If I could get at Tu-korehu I would make short work of him, and strike him on the nose’—adding an insulting expression which was never forgotten or forgiven, and Ati-Awa paid dearly for it in after years.”

It is not difficult to understand the bitterness of Rangi-wahia against Tu-korehu, for, closely as the former’s tribe, Ngati-Mutunga, is connected with Ngati-Tama, the losses of the latter at Tihi-Manuka, Pāra-rewa, and other places recently by Tu-korehu’s tribe, Ngati-Mania-poto, would easily account for it.

PUKE-RANGI-ORA (RAIHE-POAKA).

First Siege, 1821-22.

So Ati-Awa determined, if possible, to secure the deaths of the Amio-whenua *taua*, and with them some of the Puke-rangi-ora *hapu*, which had just deprived them of their prey, sat down to besiege the *pa*.

Mr. Skinner says, “The following *hapus* of Ati-Awa took part in the ‘Raihe-poaka’: Otaraua, Manu-korihi, Kai-tangata, of Waitara; the people of Te Taniwha *pa* (Ngati-Rahiri); the people from Ure-nui, Okoki, Arapawa, Whaka-rewa, Otu-matua (Ngati-Mutunga); Puke-aruhe, Katikati-aka, Pa-tangata, Omaha, Te Kawau (Ngati-Tama); Otaka *pa* (Nga-Motu); and Puke-tapu, of Puke-tapu” (part of them, probably). Watene Taungatara says that Te Rau-paraha and some of Ngati-Toa also assisted at the siege, but this is the only authority who does so. He also gives the names of some of those chiefs of Ati-Awa who assisted the northern *taua*: Tautara, Raua-ki-tua,

Nga-tata, Te Rangi-tu-matatoru, Te Whare-pouri, Te Puke-ki-Mahu-rangi, and Te Puni; all of the Nga-Motu *hapu* of the Ati-Awa people—some were on one side, some on the other—for instance: Te Manu-tohe-roa himself remained neutral, whilst many of his people joined the northern *taua*. There were most, if not all, of the Puke-rangi-ora people under Te Morehu engaged there. There were sixteen hundred people (? including the six hundred of the *taua*) within the *pa*.”

“The besieging Ati-Awa now set to work and built an outer palisading and earthworks around Puke-rangi-ora, and closely pressed the inmates, besides cutting off all communications and food supplies. This shutting up the garrison within the *pa* gave rise to the name the siege is generally known by, ‘Raihe-poaka,’ or ‘the pigsty.’ This was adding insult to injury.” . . .

The Puke-rangi-ora *pa* is situated just five and three-quarter miles from the mouth of the Waitara river to the south and west of a sharp bend in the river, on a spur that there comes down from inland, and along which the old Maori track, called Rimu-tauteka, went inland to the country of the Ngati-Maru tribal lands. The cliffs fronting the river are some three hundred feet high and nearly perpendicular.* To the south-east the land falls away in a very steep slope to a little stream, along the flats of which was much of the cultivated land of the people. To the west, the land falls more easily, as it does to the north, and in this direction the spur flattens out, and the part towards the cliffs is strongly fortified by ditch and bank; forming, as it were, a projection from the main line of fortifications, which are on higher ground to the south. This projection is called Te Arai, or, in full, Te Arai-o-Matuku-takotako, which is, in fact, a *whakatau-ki*, or saying, from very ancient times—so ancient that the incident which originally gave rise to it occurred whilst the ancestors of these people were occupying the eastern part of the Fiji group. It means “the obstruction of Matuku-takotako,” and this is how it came to be applied to the place described above: One of the ancestors of these people was named Tu-horo, and when he was a very old man his people neglected him in the matter of food—as, indeed, was not uncommon. When the young women used to come from the cooking houses,

* Plate No. 11 shows the northern face of Puke-rangi-ora *pa*. The terraces, which were formerly palisaded, can be distinguished on the summit, but a large part of the *pa* is invisible from the point where the view was taken. The cliff on the right hand, falling to the Waitara river, is where the garrison jumped over in the second siege in 1831 (see Chapter XVII.) Map No. 5 shows details of the *pa* from Mr. W. H. Skinner’s survey.

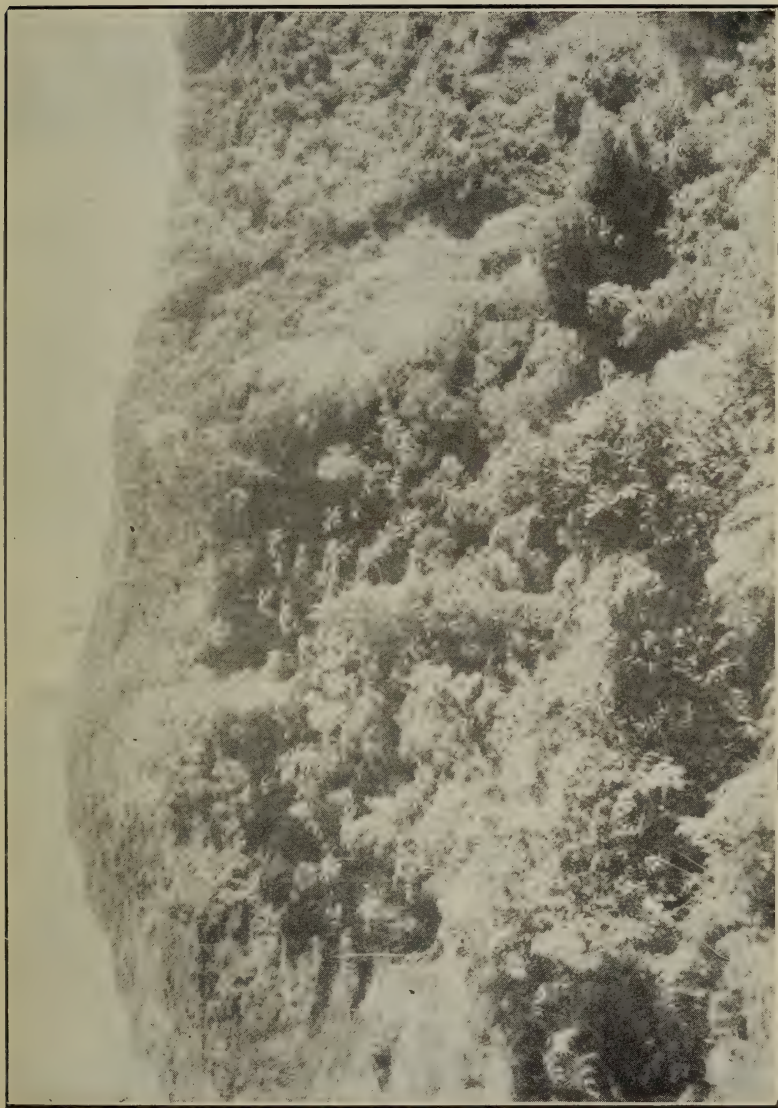


Photo. by M. Crompton Smith.

PLATE No. 11.

Puke-rangiora *pa* from the East.

marching two and two, each carrying in their hands, outstretched above the shoulder, two little square baskets of food called *kono*, and on state occasions accompanied by a song of welcome, called a *hari tuku kai*, all the people of the *pa* would arrange themselves in two rows, one on each side, leaving a passage along which the women passed, depositing here and there amongst the family groups the little baskets of food described above. Now Tu-horo, being very old and decrepit, always reached the *tahua kai*, or feeding-place, late, and consequently had to sit at the far end of the *kapa*, or rows of people. Hence it often arose that he either got no food or only the indifferent parts. So he said on one occasion, "These young people offer as much obstruction to food reaching me as did the 'obstruction (*arai*) of Matuku-takotako.'" From this circumstance arises the name of this part of the *pa*, so well known in 1861, when it was occupied by Hapurona in the war against the Europeans, and up to which the sapient General Pratt dug a sap three-fourths of a mile long—and then did not take the position.

The fortifications of this celebrated *pa* are still in fair preservation, and it is to be hoped that, as the land has been recommended for acquisition under "The Preservation of Scenery Act, 1903," it will now have some care devoted to it, or otherwise the cattle will soon destroy it.

To return to Mr. Skinner's account: "For seven long months the northern *taua* was shut up within Puke-rangi-ora. The main body of these people resided in the south-west part of the *pa*, called 'Kai-katea'; but Tu-korehu lived with Whatitiri in the tribal meeting-house, named 'Te Waha-o-te-marangai' (the door of the east). This great house was built within the innermost part of the *pa* and close to the edge of the cliff rising from the Waitara river. It faced towards the north-east and commanded a view of the whole of the Waitara valley, as far seaward as the mouth of the river. From this point, probably, the finest landscape in the whole of the Taranaki district is to be seen at the present day. It must have been, in some senses, still more beautiful at the time of the siege of 1821-22," when the flats on the opposite side of the river were covered with forest, on to which the eye looked down without being able to penetrate the mass of variegated foliage. The grey cliffs below the *pa* are covered with a rich vegetation, amongst which the *mamaku*, or black tree-fern is conspicuous. The beautifully clear and rapid river curving and twisting in its level valley, sometimes running under the grey cliffs at one side, then crossing to the other, enhances the most beautiful views here to be obtained. Inland, the country is still covered with forest as far as the eye can reach, whilst seaward the rich undulating plains with their ever-green pastures of

the dairy farms, and homesteads peeping out from the clumps of dark woods surrounding them—the blue sea beyond, and in the extreme north the bluer hills of Herangi, Tapiri-moko, etc., which stretch their forest-clad length to distant Kawhia—forms a landscape difficult to surpass.

Watene says that no man was allowed to come outside the *pa*; he was killed directly, and that great were the losses on both sides. The besieged had great difficulty in obtaining water, and many were killed in the attempt.

“During the seven months,” says Mr. Skinner, “that the siege lasted, several messengers—seven in all—were despatched at various times to communicate with the tribes of the north and to tell them of the desperate position in which they were placed, and asking immediate assistance. (The first was sent after the siege had endured three months, says Watene.) It is said that when one of these parties was caught the heads were brought back to Puke-rangi-ora, and there exposed on poles so that the besieged might see that they had not escaped the enemy. All these messengers were intercepted and killed except one, who got through to the Waikato country by way of Kete-marae and Whanganui, thence by Taupo and Waipa.” This messenger was Rahi-ora, a young man of the Ngati-Mahanga tribe of Waikato, whose home is about Raglan. On his arrival he communicated with Te Wherowhero, the principal chief of all Waikato, who immediately sent out messengers to the surrounding tribes; and a large party of Waikato, Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Haua of Upper Thames, Ngati-Mania-poto, and others at once marched by way of the Mokau river to endeavour to raise the siege and at the same time join the force that had been trying to cut off Te Rau-paraha at Mokau. The junction of these forces had been finally effected—somewhere at Mokau—and thence they came on in a body towards the south.

BATTLE OF TE MOTU-NUI.

1822.

We must for the time leave the Amio-whenua *taua* cooped up in Puke-rangi-ora and return to Te Rau-paraha at his then temporary home at Ure-nui.

The news of the advance of the Waikato *taua* spread rapidly, and it caused a relaxation in the strict leaguer of Puke-rangi-ora, for it drew away a good many of the Ati-Awa people to the neighbourhood of Ure-nui in order to meet this new enemy before a junction could be effected with those in Puke-rangi-ora. Some of the Ngati-Tama from Pou-tama left those parts and retreated to Ure-nui also, but a large

party of them under Taringa-kuri were away inland on a foray against Ngati-Uru-numia of Ongarue. "Others," says Mr. Skinner, "remained in their impregnable forts awaiting events. The death just prior to these events of their two great leaders, Raparapa and Tu-poki, had in a measure disorganised this tribe, for it is certain had they been living they would have offered battle to the invaders. Having reached Whaka-rewa, the great *pa* on the cliffs at the north end of the Wai-iti beach, three miles south of Puke-aruhe, the *taua* of Waikato managed to send on a messenger to Puke-rangi-ora to inform Tu-korehu of their movements. This news was the salvation of Tu-korehu and his party, for the siege of Puke-rangi-ora was at once (partly) abandoned and the *hapus* of Ati-Awa scattered to protect their different homes and to give battle to the invaders."

The plain of Motu-nui, from which the battle takes its name, lies along the coast between the Ure-nui and Mimi rivers. The sea coast is bounded by perpendicular cliffs * about one hundred and fifty feet high, on top of which are several small *pas* used as fishing places in the old times. To the east of the plain the hills that form the termination of the wooded ranges rise somewhat steeply, and from them run, either to Ure-nui or Mimi, a few little streams, one of which was the rallying ground of the Ati-Awa and Ngati-Toa forces during the battle. On the southern end of one of the spurs running down from the ranges was the celebrated *pa* called Okoki, now covered with wood about fifty or sixty feet high, but in the early years of the nineteenth century it was very strongly fortified with palisades and steep banks, cut out of the solid earth. Immediately under the *pa*, on the south-east side, ran the Ure-nui river, which curved round, making a bend, in which the *pa* stands. The top of the *pa*, which is quite level, is about two hundred feet above the river. There were at least three rows of palisades around the *pa* in former times, erected on the edge of the terraces that had been cut out and levelled so as to admit of house sites. On the southern face of the *pa*, Mr. A. Hamilton and myself estimated that the steep scarfed bank sloping down from the platform on top was at least fifty feet in height. Down the face of this escarpment is a deep artificial cutting about four to six feet wide, leading down from the upmost platform towards the river, which was used as the entrance to the *pa* and the way by which the inhabitants fetched their water. It is so steep that there must have been steps in

* In these grey *papa* cliffs are to be found many fossils and also a few nodules of the brilliant blue clay, called by the Maoris *pukepoto*, which in former times was used as a pigment to paint their faces with. The colour is due, probably, to some form of phosphate of iron.

it originally. It was, no doubt, protected by palisades and would be easily defended. The platform on top is about two hundred yards long by a varying width of from fifty to eighty yards. Here was the site of most of the houses, but all the terraces, which are about ten to fifteen yards wide, would also contain many houses. Altogether, this was one of the strongest *pas* known. It was built originally by the Kekerewai *hapu* of Ngati-Mutunga, whose home, in later days, was the Mimi valley, and by the Ngati-Hine-tuhi *hapu* of the same tribe as a stronghold to which all could flee in time of danger. Ngati-Mutunga was the last tribe to occupy the *pa*, and they were living there when Te Rau-paraha and the Ngati-Toa migration arrived. The chiefs of the *pa* at that time were Whakapaki, Te Awa-roa, Koromiko, and their chief leader Rangi-wahia, whose particular *pa*, however, was Puke-whakamaru, just across the Ure-nui river. These same *hapus* built and owned the *pa* called Ure-nui, on an isolated hill just at the mouth of the river on the north side; Poho-kura, a very strong *pa* on another isolated hill a quarter of a mile to the east of the last; Te Rewa, another strong *pa* just across the river from Poho-kura; Kumara-kai-amo, within the present township of Ure-nui; and Pihanga on the south bank of the river near the mouth, which was occupied by the Native contingent under Captain Good in the middle sixties of the nineteenth century. There are numerous other *pas* in the neighbourhood, but the above are the principal ones that still remain and add so greatly to the interest of the scenery of that picturesque country! Several of these *pas* are shown in Plate No. 7.

It was on the plain at the foot of Okoki that the battle was fought, and from the *pa* the non-combatants could look down and see every movement of the parties engaged. Plate No. 12 shows the level plain of Te Motu-nui where the battle was fought; it is from a photograph by Mr. A. Hamilton, taken from Okoki *pa*.

The Waikato forces, the number of which is somewhat uncertain—the Maori accounts varying from two thousand to six thousand men—were composed of the following tribes:—Ngati-Mahuta of Central Waikato, Ngati-Mahanga, Ngati-Tahinga, Ngati-pou of Lower Waikato, Ngati-Haua of Upper Thames, and Ngati-Mania-poto of Waipa.

The following principal chiefs of the Waikato *taua* are known to have been there:—Te Rau-angaanga, his son Te Wherowhero, principal leader (afterwards King Po-tatau), Hia-kai, Mama, Hore, Te Kahukahu, Korania, Te Ringa-pakoko, Tamihana Te Waharoa (Tarapipipi), Pohepohe, Te Horo, Te Awa-i-taia, Pou-tama, Tu-awhia, Te Kanawa, Te Tumu, Te Puna-toto, and Te Tihi-rahi.

On the other side (Ngati-Toa and Ati-Awa), were:—

Ngati-Toa, under Te Rau-paraha, Rangi-haeata, Te Kete-pane (or Te Oho), Tama-tiwha, and a Nga-Puhi chief named Taki-moana.

Ngati-Mutunga, under Rangi-wahia and those mentioned above as living at Okoki, and Rangi-tokona.

Puke-tapu, under (?) Te Manu-tohe-roa.

Manu-korihi, under Taka-ra-tai and Rere-tawhangawhanga.

Ngati-Rahiri, under Huri-whenua.

Nga-Motu (?) (?) Te Whare-pouri.

Ngati-Tama.

What their numbers were is not known, but from the *hapus* engaged there must have been a great many.

The Waikato *taua* came on to a place called Waitoetoe, on the south bank of the Mimi, and there made preparations to camp. This place is only two miles from Okoki *pa*, where all the strength of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Toa was gathered. The fires of Waikato as they came along had been seen from Okoki, which commands an extensive view to the north. Rere-tawhangawhanga (father of the notorious W. K. Te Rangi-take), proposed that a party of eighty men should at once be despatched to reconnoitre and find out what Waikato was doing, but Te Rau-paraha thought it would be better to wait until the whole of Ati-Awa had assembled, for some of them were still holding Tu-korehu and the Amio-whenua *taua* in check at Puke-rangi-ora *pa*. Rere' then said to Te Rau-paraha, "*Ma taua te whetu.*"—"Let us obtain the chiefs," meaning, let their party make a dash for it and secure the death of some Waikato chief and all the *éclat* that would be theirs). To this Te Rau-paraha consented, and so after Te Rangi-wahia and the old men had formed a reserve, eighty young and active men of Ngati-Hine-tuhi, under Te Rangi-puahoho, were chosen as a *hunuhunu* (lit. to singe; a party sent in advance to test the metal of the enemy), and they advanced to just above Waitoetoe, where they found Waikato building shelters; a good many of the people being scattered about collecting *toetoe* and other material. Seeing their opportunity, the *hunuhunu* fell on some of these scattered parties and before they knew where they were twenty of Waikato had fallen. But the main party of Waikato were by this time aroused and Te Hiakai shouted out, "*Whakatika! Whakatika!*"—"Arouse! get up!" whilst Māma shouted, "*Te toitoi! Te toitoi!*" (meaning not known) and immediately a large number of the *taua* came after the other party, catching them up as they began to retreat and—says Rangi-pito—killing a great number of them. The main body of Waikato were

now drawn in and followed in chase after the fleeing Ngati-Mutunga, many of whom were caught by their pursuers and killed. Whilst the Waikato were thus in full chase, old Te Rau-angaanga, the supreme chief of Waikato, was seated on a hillock in view of the field busily engaged "concealing the stars," or in other words, attempting by the force of his *karakias* to weaken the chiefs of the opposite party so that his own people should easily kill them.

But just before Waikato started on this chase, a heated discussion arose amongst them as to whether they should follow at once on the heels of the retreating scouts. Te Wherowhero was one of these, and he wished to complete the building of their temporary houses first, but Waikato were too excited to stop, now that blood had once been spilled, and he was drawn into the chase. Those who were in favour of staying said, "*Haere ki te mate! Haere ki te mate!*"—"Go on to death! Go on to death!") Others shouted, "*Taria te whita! Taria te whita!*"—"Await the charge!") This division of opinion was considered an evil omen for them. But the final result was that the whole body of Waikato came rushing after their fleeing enemies, the Ngati-Mania-poto taking the lead.

As the northern *tauā* came along in full cry, Te Hiakia shouted out to his men, "*Hoea! Hoea te waka! kia rangona ai he parekura, he pa horo!*"—"Paddle! Paddle the canoe! That it may be heard, a battle won, a *pa* taken!") Mr. Shand says (J.P.S., Vol. I., p. 85): "The Ngati-Mutunga and their allies meanwhile had lost several of their men and more were being killed as they quickly retreated towards Okoki. Seeing this, Ketu Te Ropu, who was fleeing with Te Rau-paraha, kept saying to him, 'Turn,' advice which the latter refused to comply with, saying, '*Taihoa, kia eke ki nga kaumatua!*'—"Wait till we reach the old men!') who were in reserve, *i.e.*, Rangiwahia and others." Te Wherowhero, now as much excited as the others, kept shouting out, "*Kia ngaro nga whetu!*"—"Let the chiefs be killed!") *i.e.*, single them out for death. The pursuit had now continued for some distance—in fact, nearly two miles—and the southern people were nearing their supports, those in advance having been stopped by the veterans at Mangatiti* as they came up and held there; while many of the Waikato were in straggling order and out of wind, and others had stopped to cut up the slain. The remains of the *hunuhunu* had by this time all reached the reserve of veterans under Rangiwahia at the little stream Mangatiti, about an eighth of a mile

* Plate No. 12 shows this gully where the veterans were stationed; it is the wooded gully crossing the picture.

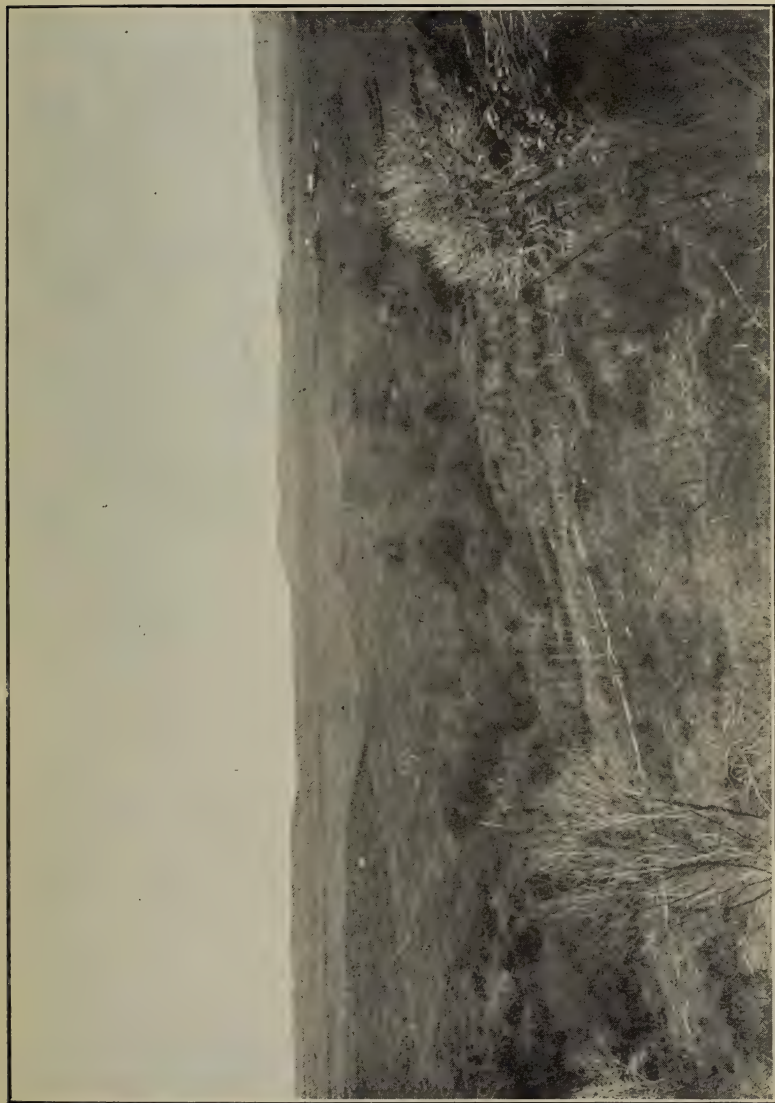


Photo. by A. Hamilton.

PLATE No. 12.

Te Motu-nui Battlefield from the foot of Okoki *pa*, looking North.

from Okoki *pa*, and were taking breath. They waited quietly until the most advanced of Waikato were upon them. This was the opportunity foreseen by Te Rau-paraha. Then Rangi-wahia arising and giving the order, the whole force of Ati-Awa, *ka maka i te whana*, dashed forth in a charge and, attacking the scattered Waikato with their fresh forces, commenced the slaughter, killing at once the leading ranks, amongst whom were the chiefs Hiakai, Hore, Māma, Te Kahukahu, Te Tumu, Korania, and others. Pokai-tara of Ati-Awa was the possessor of a musket, and it was he who secured the *mata-ngohi* (or first fish) by shooting the Waikato chief Te Kahukahu.* The Ati-Awa made four separate charges; at the first charge thirty of Waikato were killed, including Hore—named above; in the second charge forty were killed, together with the chief Te Tumu; at the third charge Māma and thirty others fell; followed in the fourth dash by the death of Te Hiakai, when twenty were killed. Te Hiakai had a musket, the possession of which formed the subject of a contest between two warriors of Ngati-Mutunga, and Te Hiakai would have escaped whilst the others were fighting for it had not another person perceived him in time and killed him. By this time the fleeing Waikato had reached to where Te Wherowhero was stationed with his particular adherents. “At this period the fight was raging fiercely; Te Rau-paraha and his allies were pressing Waikato sorely, and it is alleged that but for the extreme bravery of Te Wherowhero the latter’s tribe would have been annihilated. He was pressed very hard, but fought like a lion; many attacked him but paid dearly for their temerity. Puanaki, who died long afterwards in the Chatham Islands, made a blow at him with his *taiaha*, just grazing his forehead. Te Wherowhero replied with a return blow, knocking out one of Puanaki’s eyes, but barely escaped a second adversary’s *taiaha*, which was intercepted by a branch of a *tutu* shrub.” Te Rangi-paki also made a blow at Te Wherowhero, but the latter felled him with his *taiaha*. Te Tohi-maire also attacked the Waikato chief, but was felled by a blow that struck him fair in the face and seriously wounded him. Another warrior, named Piki-whata, now tried conclusions with Te Wherowhero; he was armed with a *pou-whenua*, but was soon placed *hors de combat* by a heavy blow on the shoulder from Te Wherowhero’s *taiaha*. Next Te Rangi-tokona attacked the Waikato chief, and as he stooped to make an upward blow with his *taiaha*, received a stroke on the head that disabled him. None, however, of these Ati-Awa warriors were killed right out.

* It is also claimed that Te Matoha of Ngati-Mutunga obtained “the first fish”—considered a very great thing amongst the Maoris.

The fight was now nearly over and Waikato were allowed to retreat towards their camp, but not unmolested. "As they were thus hard pressed," says Rangi-pito, "there arrived on the field from Uru-ti (a place up the Mimi valley) a chief of Ngati-Mutunga named Pi-tawa, the elder brother of Taki-rau, who reached the scene of the battle at a place named Te Tarata with a few of his followers, and, attacking Waikato as they retreated, managed to kill six of them. Pi-tawa was noted for his dexterity in the use of the *taiaha*, and on meeting Te Wherowhero in the fight, these celebrated warriors faced one another, each alternately making feints at the other, but neither daring to strike the first blow, well knowing that he who did so and missed his blow would lose his life. Pi-tawa was a man of great influence in the tribe, whose word would not be 'trodden on' or disobeyed by any of the tribe. In this respect he was like Te Puni, whose word was law to his followers."

"The fight continued until evening;" says Mr. Shand, "the Waikato after the second onset being barely able to hold their own. At this juncture a pause occurred, and it is said by some that Te Rangi-tuatea, who had previously allowed Te Rau-paraha a passage from Kawhia—in fact, protected him being related to him, called out, '*E'Raha! he aha to koha ki a maua!*'—('Te Rau-paraha! what is your generosity to us two?') meaning to himself and his party; a usual way in which a chief refers to himself and his companions, however numerous, *i.e.*, as 'we two.') Te Watene Taungatara also says this speech was made by Te Rangi-tuatea,* but Te Wherowhero is generally accredited with it. Te Rau-paraha, seeing that he and his allies had won the battle, and, no doubt, not wishing to see Waikato annihilated, for he had many connections and relatives amongst the opposing party, shouted out, '*E tika ana. Ki te hoki koe ki raro, ma te ara i haere mai nei koe, ka hamama te kauae runga ki te kauae raro. Engari, me ahu koe ki runga, ki Puke-rangi-ora, ka ora koe!*'—('It is correct. If you return north by the way you came, the upper jaw will close on the lower. But if you go south to Puke-rangi-ora you will be saved!') In this reply Te Rau-paraha, by saying 'it is correct,' acknowledges that the questioner had a claim on his consideration, and his reference to the 'upper jaw' was in allusion to the fact that Taringa-kuri, with nearly all the fighting men of Ngati-Tama, was momentarily expected from inland Mokau, and if Waikato fell in with that party they would probably suffer a very severe defeat, if not extinction. So the advice given was to the effect that the defeated *taua* should go south to Puke-rangi-ora and join the

* It is doubtful if Rangi-tuatea was at Motu-nui at all—see later on.

Amio-whenua *taua* still beleaguered in that *pa*, it being of course understood that so far as Te Rau-paraha could do so he would allow the *taua* to pass unmolested. Watene Taungatara expressly says that Te Rau-paraha's consideration for the beaten *taua* was because Te Rangi-tuatea had helped him to escape from Te Arawi *pa* at Kawhia.

One of my informants tells me the pursuit of Waikato did not end until the fugitives reached Wai-iti, seven miles north of Okoki, but this seems doubtful—it is more probable it ended this side of the Mimi river. Wherever it may have been, it is quite clear that the pride of the great Waikato tribes was completely humbled that day, and they were thankful to be allowed to get quietly away.

Amongst the losses on the Ati-Awa side were Taka-ratai, principal chief of Manu-korihi *hapu* (who, it will be remembered, led the Tu-whare-Te Rau-paraha *taua* to Te Kirikiringa in 1820), Te Mamaru, Te Toea, and others.

Tu-awhea was the first person killed on the Waikato side, by Te Oho of Ngati-Toa. Taki-moana of Nga-Puhi killed Māma, and Te Hiakai was killed by Whakau of Ati-Awa.

As soon as darkness had set in, the whole of the Waikato *taua* marched southwards, taking the beach wherever possible, and reached the Waitara just at daylight. After crossing they proceeded inland, and finally effected a junction with Tu-korehu's party within the *pa* at Puke-rangi-ora; the Ati-Awa, on guard at the place, either letting them through or being afraid to attack them owing to the numbers of Waikato. On arrival, there was a great *tangi* held by both parties on account of their mutual losses.

The Ati-Awa appear not to have been content with Te Rau-paraha's arrangement to allow Waikato to quietly get away to their friends; for they sent a large party from Ure-nui with the intention of stopping them at Waitara, but arrived too late, for at that time Waikato had reached Puke-rangi-ora in safety.

The combined forces of Waikato with those of the Amio-whenua expedition did not stay very long in Puke-rangi-ora, but started away for their homes, travelling by way of the coast, 'neither attacking nor being attacked by Ati-Awa; neither side evidently considering it prudent, and the northern people well pleased to get away,' says Mr. Shand.

Mr. Skinner says, "In this retreat Tautara, Whaitiri, and other chiefs with the Puke-rangi-ora *hapu*, accompanied them as far as Mokau. On leaving Puke-rangi-ora, they crossed the Waitara half a mile below the *pa*, then passing through the Tiko-rangi district on to Onaero and

to Pihanga, at the mouth of the Ure-nui, thence by the old Native coast track through the Ngati-Tama country into their own lands at Mokau."

Rangi-pito says, "On the retreat of the combined forces of Te Wherowhero and Tu-korehu, they waited a while at their old camp at Waitoetoe, Mimi, to give Ati-Awa a chance of attacking them again, but they did not do so." Probably, the latter people thought it best to rest on the victory they had obtained rather than risk an engagement with the combined forces of Waikato.

Mr. Shand obtained from Petera Te Puku-atua of Te Arawa tribe the following note as to the doings of the Waikato *taua* as they returned: "As they passed homeward the *taua* met a considerable force of Ngati-Haua (of the Upper Thames) under their great chief Te Waharoa (whose son, W. T. Te Waharoa, was with the Waikato party), then on their way down to Taranaki on a war-like expedition. (Ngati-Haua had not as yet obtained payment for the death of their chief Tai-porutu at the hands of Ngati-Tama.) Te Waharoa endeavoured to persuade Te Wherowhero to return, and with their united forces obtain some compensation for their losses at Motu-nui. But the defeated *taua* had had enough of it—at any rate for the present—and declined the advice. Te Waharoa, however, went on and had a brush with Ati-Awa and got badly beaten. He then returned home." It is not stated where this meeting took place, or where the Ngati-Haua were defeated, or by what section of Te Ati-Awa. Probably, it was Ngati-Tama.

Mr. Shand continues, "On the return of the beaten Waikato to their homes, they were met by Te Rangi-tuatea (he who assisted Te Rau-paraha to escape from Te Arawi), who enquired of them what was the news from the south. They replied, 'We have been badly beaten at Te Motu-nui and lost all our chiefs without getting any payment for them.' Rangi-tuatea then said, 'Did I not tell you not to follow Ngati-Toa? You persisted in doing so to a far distance. I told you the trail was cold and that you had better return home.'* . . . Te Rangi-tuatea was secretly rejoiced at the discomfort of Waikato." . . . The Waikato *taua* returned to their homes in time to take part in the fighting incident to the fall of Matakītaki, on the Waipa, which event occurred in May, 1822 (see "Maori Wars in the Nineteenth Century.")

Te Motu-nui was a disastrous defeat for Waikato and Ngati-Maniapoto, and, indeed, was the last but one really great battle fought between these northern tribes and the Ati-Awa. It left its effects behind, inasmuch as a strong desire was engendered to obtain revenge for the death of their great chiefs, and several expeditions, which will be

* This was at Kawhia—see *ante*.

recorded in their place, were sent to endeavour to settle accounts with Ati-Awa. But it was not until ten years after that Waikato obtained a decisive victory over Ati-Awa—at the second siege of Puke-rangi-ora in December, 1831. So far as Ngati-Toa is concerned, this victory at Te Motu-nui, by putting a stop for a time to Waikato operations, allowed time for Te Rau-paraha to prepare for the further continuation of his migration.

A few lamentations for the chiefs who fell at Te Motu-nui have been preserved, which I give below. The first is for Te Hiakai, composed by his wife Te Riu-toto; a lady of high rank:—

E Hia! rongo nui, ki te taha o te rangi,
 Ka whati ra, e, te tara o te marama,
 Taku ate hoki ra, taku piki kotuku,
 Tena te kakahi ka tere ki te tonga,
 I pongipongia koe ki te hau ki a Tu,
 Kei hea tou patu e hoka i te rangi,
 Hei patu whakatipi ki mua ki te upoko,
 Ki te kawē-a-riri.
 Whakahaere ra, na runga o nga hiwi,
 Kia kite Taupo, kia kite Rotorua,
 Kia werohia koe ki te manu kai miro,
 I runga o Titi'.
 Hoki mai E Pa! ki te waka ka tukoki,
 Waiho ki muri nei, ka ru te whenua,
 Ka timu nga tai i roto o Waikato.
 Taku koara te uira i te rangi,
 Whakahoki rua ana na runga o Hakari,
 Ko te tohu o te mate—i—.

TRANSLITERATION.

O Hia!¹ whose wide-spread fame has reached
 To the far sides of the very heavens.
 Now for ever art thou broken
 Like the limb of the horned moon,
 Together with my heart. My white heron's plume!
 Thy ivory comb² has drifted away
 And disappeared in the distant south.
 Incited thou wert, and spurred on
 By the spirit of the war-god Tu,
 Where was thy weapon that was wont
 To bestride the very heavens?
 A weapon that ever in the front did slash
 Before the faces of thy enemies,
 In the excitement of the battle.
 Thy fame ere this has carried been
 Across the ranges standing there;

Taupo and Rotorua have felt thy might,
But now art thou speared like some bird,
That feeds on the *miros* at Titi'.

Return thee then, O Sir! to the lost canoe,
That now in troubled water rocks:⁴
For after thee the earth will quake—
The tides of Waikato will ebb away.

The lightning⁵ brought the evil omen,
When its doubled flashes played
Around the summits of Hakari-mata⁶ peaks,
The sure sign to the tribe of coming death.

NOTES.—1. Hia, short for Hiakai. 2. Kakahi, a species of whale, from the bones of which ivory combs were made. 3. Titi is probably Titi-raupenga mountain—a great bird-spearing place. 4. The canoe is used for the tribe. 5. Each tribe had a *rua-koha*, or mountain where the lightning played, and this was a sign of some death in the tribe. 6. Hakari-mata is the name of the range west of the Waipa and Waikato, probably a *rua-koha*.

The following lament alluding to the losses at Te Motu-nui by a Waikato woman, is from Mr. Shand. It is interesting as referring to the fact that ships (or a ship) had visited Nga-Motu before the battle, and hence were some of the muskets used by Ati-Awa:—

He hau no waho i whiua mai ai,
Te puke i Oropi, i Poi-hakene.
I maunu atu ai te taniwha i te rua,
Te puru o Waikato—e—!
Taku tau i mutua,
Te wehi o te whenua!
E Hine a Ngao! i murua iho ra,
To mata-whakarewa ki te wai ngarahu,
Te uhi a Mata-ora.
Hoki kau mai nei
Te tangata putohe o te riri,
Te haere te rongo me ko Te Rangi-wahia
Mo nga mate ngaro
I runga Te Motu-nui—e—
Tikina atu ra nga rāta
Whakatere kai-puke i runga o Nga-Motu,
Nau i kumekume,
Ka u te paura, ka tini te māta,
Ka moe koutou ki runga o Raki-ura,
Kia ata whakaputa, te rae i Rangi-po,
Kei pehia koe e te awe o Tongariro,
Tahuri atu ki tua, te moana Pounamu,
Tautika te haere ki a Te Rau-paraha,
Ki' koa tonu mai te wahine Ati-Tama.
Mo Tupoki ra, mo Raparapa, ra,
Tenei kei roto.

TRANSLITERATION.

'Twas a favouring breeze from beyond
 That hither drove the ship from Europe,
 Coming from the distant Port Jackson.
 This was the cause that then withdrew
 The famous *taniwha*¹ from its lair.
 O thou ! the restraining hand of Waikato !
 O my lover !² now is thy career at an end !
 Thou dread one ! whose fame in all lands was heard.
 O Lady of Ngao ! his mobile face was decorated
 With the dark-coloured water of *ngarahu*,³
 Skilfully applied with Mata-ora's⁴ magic chisel.

When the struggling men of the fight returned
 They brought no fame.
 To Rangi-wahia⁵ alone did this pertain
 Through the losses in sudden death,
 In the south, at Te Motu-nui.
 'Twas he that sought and inducement gave
 To men learned in navigation,
 Who brought to their home at Nga-Motu
 Both powder and balls in plenty.⁶
 Hence ye sleep above at Raki-ura.
 Ye took no care the danger to pass
 At the point of Rangi-po,⁷
 Lest ye be overwhelmed in death,
 By the snows of Tongariro.
 When I turn my thoughts to the southern sea,
 I would that my course were direct to Te Rau-paraha.
 Let the women of Ati-Tama then rejoice
 For the valour of Tupoki⁸ and Raparapa,⁸
 As I feel within me now.

NOTES.—1. The withdrawal of a *taniwha* from its lair is emblematical of the death of a great chief. 2. "My lover" refers to the death of Te Hiaikai and others. 3. *Ngarahu*, the burnt resinous wood of a pine, from which the tatooing pigment was prepared. 4. Mata-ora, the traditional inventor of tatooing, which operation is done with a chisel-shaped instrument—*te uhi a Mata-ora*. 5. Rangi-wahia, chief of Ngati-Mutunga and leader of Ati-Awa at Te Motu-nui battle. 6. This and the preceding lines seems to show that Ati-Awa had at that time (1821-22) obtained muskets from some vessel calling in at Nga-Motu, but it would not have been Rangi-wahia who obtained them, but rather Te Whare-pouri or some other of the Nga-Motu chiefs. 7. Rangi-po desert at the foot of Tongariro volcano, but probably used as emblematic of death. 8. The two warrior brothers of Ngati-Tama, killed not long before the battle of Te Motu-nui.

Rangi-pito, in the account of the battle of Te Motu-nui which he dictated to Mr. Shand and myself, says that on the night of Waikato's defeat as they rested in their camp, gloomy and sorrowful for the losses of their chiefs, some one started an old lament for the dead, which was taken up by hundreds of voices. In the stillness of the summer night this was heard by their enemies, who, it appears, kept watch at no great

distance, until the Waikato *taua* departed for Puke-rangi-ora. The following is the lament, which is an old one, slightly altered to suit the occasion. Watene says it was sung by Tu-korehu's party when they suffered losses at Nga-Puke-turua, which is likely enough, as the lament is known to many tribes. It was a frequent custom of the Maoris thus to make use of some old song by introducing some fresh words to suit present circumstances. :—

Tangi ra, e toku ihu,
 E waitohu noa nei i te rangi-tahi ;
 He wawara taua pea,
 Tenei ka tata mai wawara-aitu.
 He aroha tangi atu naku ki te mate
 E whakaingoingo mai ra,
 I te tuoro pari ki a Rata.
 Pupuke mahara e—
 I roto i to hine-ngaro
 I ou kainga waiho no'
 Waiho i te ao—
 To whenua kura, ka mania,
 Ka paea te koko i Otangi-moana,
 To putea tātāka kei runga i to ringa
 Wheko turuki ana te wheko
 I a raure moana ;
 Ko koe anake tipao haere
 I runga i nga maunga,
 E to ana i tona waka
 I a Te Kumukumu,
 Ka puta ake ki waho
 Ko nga whakaihū ki Maunga-roa
 He ripa ka mau.
 Kei runga kei te taumata ;
 Titiro ki Rua-wahia, ki Tara-wera
 Ko te mea ia ra,
 I whakakopea mai e Tara-iti
 Ka mau te hu,
 Ka hoki ki te wai-ora, ki te ao.
 Ko te heke ra o Maru-iwi
 I haere ai ki Te Reinga,
 Anā to kai! ko te taringa o Ngatata,
 Nana ano i maka mai ki te kupu
 Ki te muri ki te tonga.
 He ware koia tohuku
 I te paenga tohōra,
 I te whakawhitianga i Tumu-tara,
 He poa te tau i te kore,
 Ka hōhoro te pa,
 Ka riro mai a Te Rama,
 Me aha i te potiki tau-roto waenga,

O Papa-i-whara-nui,
 Nana i hohora te whetu, te marama,
 Horahia mai ano kia takoto
 I te aio moe rokiroki—e—.

TRANSLITERATION.

Wail aloud then, O my nose !
 With itching omen, the live long day,
 'Tis the distant sound of battle.
 Like some evil omen now approaching
 A wail of love from me for the dead,
 A low continued cry, it sounds
 From the sloping cliff at Rata.
 Swell up the thoughts
 Within my mind,
 For thy abandoned home,
 Remaining in this world,
 Thy beloved home has passed away,
 The strand is covered at Otangi-moana.
 Thy weapon from thy hand has fallen,
 Extinguished dimly is thy light,
 On the wide space of ocean.
 Solitary thy spirit wanders,
 Here and there upon the mountain,
 Dragging with thee, thy heavy load—
 A canoe laden with every doubt.
 And then thou comest forth,
 At the brows of Maunga-roa—
 To the bounding line of vision,
 On the mountains distant summit.
 Look forth ! at Rua-wahia ;² at Tara-wera²
 Whence were the forces gathered,
 That came with Tara-iti.
 Then was the convulsion of defeat,
 Back again, to happiness, to the world,
 Alas ! 'twas like the headlong flight
 Of the hapless people of Maru-iwi³
 Passing onward, to Hades and to death.

Behold thy object of revenge !
 False Ngatata's ear,
 He who spoke with words of guile,
 To the people of the north, of the south,
 Was the folly then of my doing ?
 That caused the death of many chiefs,
 At the crossing place at Tamu-tara.
 Long was that year of striving
 When after many days the fortress fell,
 And famed Te Rama⁴ was taken.

What else could be expected from
 The famed Papa-i-whara-nui's⁵ descendant,
 Who stretched out in death, the stars, the moon,⁶
 Spread out again the word
 That peace may now prevail
 Like tranquil waters.

NOTES.—1. "Putea tataka" ordinarily means a fallen basket; but the reciter says it refers to weapons. 2. The volcanic mountains near Rotorua. 3. Maru-iwi, a tribe driven from Whakatane, which in their flight all disappeared into a chasm near Te Pohue, Napier-Taupo road. 4. Rama is probably the famed *mere*—Rama-apakura. 5. Papa-whara-nui, mother of Tou-hou-rangi, eponymous ancestor of the Tu-hou-rangi branch of Te Arawa. 6. Stars and moon represent the chiefs.

CHAPTER XV.

TE RAU-PARAHA GOES TO ROTO-RUA.

1822.

IT has been said a few pages back that the defeat of Waikato enabled Te Rau-paraha to complete his arrangements for his further migration. His first step in this direction was an endeavour to secure the aid of the Ngati-Raukawa tribe of Maunga-tautari, near Cambridge, and their consent to migrate and join him in his proposed settlement on the shores of Cook's Straits near Kapiti Island. To this end, after making arrangements for his people at Ure-nui, he started on a long journey, going inland from Ure-nui by way of the Upper Waitara and Upper Whanganui on to Taupo, where, at Opepe (later a constabulary station twelve miles from the town of Taupo, on the main road to Napier) he met the assembled Ngati-Raukawa under their principal chief Te Whata-nui. Here the question was discussed, but the tribe was not yet ready to fall in with his views, indeed they tried to persuade him to join them in a war with the people of Hawke's Bay, in which direction Ngati-Raukawa were turning their eyes as a country that might be conquered, and to which they thought of migrating.* Disappointed in his endeavours, Te Rau-paraha went on to Roto-rua and there interviewed Puku-atua, the principal chief of the Ngati-whakaue branch of Te Arawa. Puku-atua, however, did not care to render any assistance; so Te Rau-paraha then visited Tauranga to see the chief of that place, Te Waru, and equally failed to enlist him in the movement for migrating to Cook's Straits. Whilst there, the news arrived of the fall of Te Totara *pa* at the Thames, which was captured by Hongi-Hika, the great Nga-Puhi chief, with great slaughter, in December, 1821. The month previous Hongi had taken Mau-inaina *pa* at the Tamaki (near Panmure), and amongst the slain at both places were some people related to Te Rau-paraha, which greatly incensed him.

Failing in his mission to Te Waru, Te Rau-paraha now returned to Roto-rua and thence on to Roto-kakahi, where the principal people of the Tu-hou-rangi branch of Te Arawa were living in their island *pa* of

* As a matter of fact Ngati-Raukawa did start for Hawke's Bay immediately after this meeting, and there attacked Te Roto-a-Tara.

Motu-tawa. His principal wife, Te Akau, belonged to this tribe. Whilst here, the news came of an expedition of Nga-Puhi under the young chief Te Pae-o-te-rangi, then on his way to attack Te Arawa.

Having in mind the death of his relatives mentioned above, Te Rau-paraha incited the Tu-hou-rangi people to destroy this northern *taua*, and then left for Ure-nui by the inland tracks, accompanied by some of the Tu-hou-rangi, who had agreed to cast in their lot with him. His advice bore fruit, for most of the Nga-Puhi *taua* was inveigled into the *pa* at Motu-tawa, where the whole were killed, whilst only a very few of the others escaped to carry back the news to their relatives in the north.*

NGA-PUHI ATTACK PUKE-WHAKAMARU.

1822.

Whilst Te Rau-paraha was absent trying to persuade his kinsmen to join him—in which he eventually succeeded so far as Ngati-Raukawa was concerned, but not until some time after—events were occurring on the west coast, particulars of which are supplied by Watene Taungatara.

Before the battle of Pāra-rewa, and probably with the northern expedition of 1819-1820 already described, Tu-kawe-riri, a chief of Ngati-Mutunga, had made a visit to the Nga-Puhi country for the purpose of obtaining some guns. But before he went he sang a song to his people; which has been handed down to his descendants, in which he expresses his sentiments in the obscure manner so common to songs of that nature, and which the Maoris think so much of—they knowing all the references which we do not, unless explained. It will be remembered that this chief, Tu-kawe-riri, was killed at Para-rewa. The following is his song:—

E muri ahiahi, takoto ki te moenga,
 Nuku mai e Waero kia moe taua,
 Karia e waiho i te whare huri ai,
 He whakaaro ake he waka kei te pine,
 Tokona te tinana ki nuku o te whenua.
 A iri ana i te kei o te waka,
 Nou, na, E Paka! hei kawē i a au,
 Nga tai huri atu ko Hokianga i raro,
 Aru tomokia te whare o Mau-whane,
 He moe po naku e hapai ana ahau,
 Ka urapa pu ki runga ki aku ringa
 Iti toku iti, ka haere aku rongo,
 Te rei a Taoho, te tai ki a Hongi,
 He koha korero kei hoki mai hoki au,
 Whiua te aroha ki te iwi e takoto—o—.

* See "Wars between the Northern and Southern Tribes," where details of all these transactions will be found.

When Tu-kawe-riri returned from his northern visit, there came with him, or shortly after, a distinguished party of Nga-Puhi chiefs from Hokianga on a visit to Ngati-Mutunga, together with a large party of their people. The chiefs were Moetara, Heketoro, Mahu, and Tapuru. This was a visit of ceremony and friendship, and the visitors were well received by the Ngati-Mutunga people of Te Kaweka, Okoki, and Puke-whakamaru. But Tu-kawe-riri himself, meeting Tu-poki and his war-party on their way north to attack Ngati-Mania-poto, joined them and fell at Pāra-rewa, as has been stated.

Whilst this party was at Ure-nui, there arrived from the north another party of Nga-Puhi under the Hokianga chief Pi (who was afterwards shot in an engagement at Otuihu, near Russell, Bay of Islands, in 1830). The most of Ngati-Mutunga were living in the Puke-whakamaru *pa* at this time, together with Te Rau-paraha's tribe, Ngati-Toa. The usual welcome, or *pohiri*, was accorded to the Nga-Puhi party, and they then entered the *pa*, where the elders on each side made the usual friendly speeches. The burden of the Nga-Puhi speeches, as related by Watene, were, "*E Mara ma! tenei e haere nei; he pai! He pai, E Mara ma!*"—"O Sirs! this coming of ours is in friendship. It is good, O Sirs!") This party stayed one night at Puke-whakamaru, and the next day they moved on to the Waitara river. That same night Nga-Puhi returned on their tracks to Puke-whakamaru, which place they captured by a sudden assault, and took prisoners several women and children, but all the men without exception effected their escape. The other Nga-Puhi party was in the *pa* at the time, and it returned north with Pi and his party very shortly after this affair. Watene says, "Te Ati-Awa did not feel evil towards Nga-Puhi on account of their deceit but continued to entertain Moetara and his people until their return."

This act of treachery on the part of Pi and his party remains unexplained to this day, equally with the forbearance of Ngati-Mutunga in not avenging it. This event occurred in 1822.

TE HEKE TATARAMOA.

1822.

The above, which means "the bramble-bush migration," is the name given to the second part of the Ngati-Toa migration—from Urenui to Kapiti. It is so called on account of the difficulties the party encountered on the way, which the Maoris poetically liken to forcing one's way through the *tataramoa*, or New Zealand bramble. The whole *heke*, or migration from Kawhia to Kapiti, is called "*Te heke mai raro*," or "the migration from the north."

It would be about the end of February or beginning of March, 1822, that Te Rau-paraha returned to Ure-nui, at which time the *kumaras* and potatoes would be harvested, which were required to serve the party as provisions on their further journey, though they could not carry a great deal. They would eke out their fare with fern-root and the stores they might plunder on the way, besides the men they might kill.* They possessed potatoes, for it is well known that Ngati-Toa introduced them to the south of the North Island. It was not very long after Te Rau-paraha's return that the party started. The Ngati-Toa would still be about the same number as left Kawhia, but they were joined by a party of Ngati-Tama under Te Puoho,† who had found that the constant incursions of Waikato and the losses of his own tribe of late made Pou-tama an unsafe place to live in. But all the tribe did not leave at this time. The fighting Ngati-Tama would be a very welcome addition to Te Rau-paraha's force. There were also a few of the Puke-tapu people under a chief named Te Whaka-paheke, some of Ngati-Mutunga, and some of Ngati-Rahiri—under their chiefs Tu-mokemoke, Te Pakai-ahi, Kawe, Kohiwi, and Ngatata; besides a few of Manu-korihi.

The journey before the *heke* was a long one—some two hundred and fifty miles—and through an enemy's country all the way. Hampered as the party was by old people, women, and children of all ages, it must have taken them at least a month, traversing the country by the native tracks. Every precaution would have been taken by the wary chief of Ngati-Toa to prevent surprise, and there are indications that they generally moved circumspectly, not unnecessarily embroiling themselves with the inhabitants of the districts they passed through. It is believed the *heke* travelled from Waitara by the Whakaahu-rangi, or inland track. This, no doubt, was selected from the fact of there being no inhabitants until the path came out of the forest near the present town of Normanby. The party then passed through the Ngati-Ruanui country to Patea and on to the Nga-Rauru territories without any fighting, so far as is known.

Here, however, some of their troubles commenced. The party occupied the Ihu-puku *pa*, which is situated on an isolated hill about one-eighth of a mile seaward of the railway bridge over the Wai-totara

* The *kumaras* used on their lengthy journeys were dried in the sun, and then became somewhat tough and also sweet; they would not carry far in their natural state. This dried *kumara* was called *kao*.

† Te Puoho did not stay long with Te Rau-paraha at Kapiti, but returned to Taranaki with his brother Te Rangi-taka-roto and a party of Ngati-Tama, but joined the second migration (called “Niho-puta”) of Ati-Awa to Kapiti. He was eventually killed near Gore, South Island.

river and immediately overlooking the river. Possibly the Nga-Rauru people had abandoned the place on the approach of such a large party of warriors, dreading—what to them was nothing new—the ruthlessness of a *taua* on the march. From here a party of five men were sent inland to find the Nga-Rauru people and to try and get some food from them. Some, but not all, of Nga-Rauru were hostile to the visitors, and this party seeking food came upon some of the unfriendly members of the tribe. On meeting, the Ngati-Toa attempted to claim relationship with the local people, saying to them, “Are we not all descendants from Mango who married Hiapoto?”—of Nga-Rauru—“Did not Ruaputahanga, the ancestress of many of Ngati-Toa, come from here?” But Nga-Rauru would not acknowledge the relationship or, rather, they found it convenient not to do so just then, for the connection was undoubted, as related in Chapter IX. hereof. Nga-Rauru being many and the Ngati-Toa few, the former set upon their unwelcome visitors, killing Hape, Whatua-te-po, Te Ra-tu-tonu, and another, whilst the fifth emissary escaped by flight to carry the news to Te Rau-paraha. Te Ra-tu-tonu, killed in this affair, was a chief of Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of Taranaki and the husband of the celebrated Tope-ora, Te Rau-paraha’s niece, who, it will be remembered, insisted on having Te Ra-tu-tonu as a husband after witnessing his courage in the fight before the *pa* Tapui-nikau.—See Chapter XI.

That is one story; but Mr. Shand got another version of it as follows:—“Hape and his four companions met the Nga-Rauru people, and the chief of the *pa* came forward to welcome them, and proceeded to enlarge on his reason for so doing by saying, ‘You are descended from Hiapoto, so am I!’ To this Hape replied, ‘I do not know that Hiapoto. Hotu-nui * was my ancestor—a man-eating ancestor.’ The Nga-Rauru chief, insulted at the connection being disclaimed, or perhaps glad of an excuse to proceed to strong measures, turning to his people sitting behind him, all armed, exclaimed, ‘*Rauru, E! e kai!*’—(‘Nga-Rauru! Eat!’ A very brief but expressive command fully understood by his fellows.) But the Nga-Rauru chief first of all, however, gave his guests some *karaka* berries to eat, and whilst they were engaged on their meal the local people fell on them and killed them. A small portion of their bodies was eaten and the rest was found there lying in a pool of blood by their friends when they attacked the *pa*.”

When Ngati-Toa heard of the fate of their emissaries, they were

* Hotu-nui, chief priest of “Tai-nui” canoe and ancestor of Ngati-Toa and many other tribes—a brother of Hotu-roa, the captain of the same canoe.

not long in seeking to avenge them, and the result was that more than one of the Nga-Rauru *pas* were taken; consequently, the migrants had plenty of provisions for the time. I believe Otihoi was one of the *pas* taken by Ngati-Toa.

At Wai-totara the migration appropriated several large canoes belonging to the local people, and for the rest of their journey they were enabled to make use of them to convey some of the old people and children. Tamihana Te Rau-paraha—who wrote an account of his father's doings, characterised by many inaccuracies and, perhaps naturally, a suppression of the many evil deeds of his wily father—says at this time Te Rau-paraha had become exceedingly anxious to possess canoes, for he had already conceived the idea of crossing Cook's Straits with a view to conquering the people of the South Island.

From Wai-totara the canoes were sent on to Whanganui, whilst the fighting men went overland. Arrived there, they waited some time, but no fighting with the local people is mentioned, so we may suppose the dread of a repetition of the scenes that occurred on Te Rau-paraha's former visit had induced the people to remove up the "*Koura puta roa*," or Crayfishes' long hole—a name given to the Whanganui river from the facility it offers to its inhabitants to escape inland by their canoes. Whilst here, the relatives of Pikinga (a chieftainess of the Ngati-Apa tribe of Rangi-tikei) visited that lady, who had been taken prisoner during Tu-whare's and Te Rau-paraha's expedition in 1819-20, and was now Te Rangi-haeata's wife, and was travelling along with the *heke*. There was diplomacy in this visit, no doubt—Ngati-Apa wished to placate Te Rau-paraha and so save their tribe and lands from devastation. In fact, an agreement had been come to between the Ngati-Apa and the Mua-upoko tribes at a meeting held at Horo-whenua lake, called together by Tohe-riri of the latter tribe as soon as they heard of Te Rau-paraha's arrival at Wai-totara, at which it was decided that overtures should be made to Ngati-Toa to the effect that they should join Mua-upoko and Ngati-Apa, and all live in peace, *noho Maori noa iho*. This was agreed to by the assembled people, and then two messengers—Te Hakeke and Warakiki—were despatched to meet Te Rau-paraha at Whanganui and make this offer. The wily Ngati-Toa chief agreed to this proposal—no doubt with mental reservations, for, as we shall see, the arrangement was very soon broken. Now Ngati-Apa, Mua-upoko, and Whanganui are connected ancestrally and by constant inter-marriage, and it was on hearing of the above proposal that Topia Turoa, a principal chief of Whanganui, refrained from attacking Te Rau-paraha when at Whanganui.

The migration now moved on to Rangi-tikei river,* the two emissaries accompanying them, and by them Ngati-Toa were taken up the river to Te Awa-mate to see Ngati-Apa living there, and with them they stayed some little time. The party then moved on to Te Wharangi, at Manawa-tu river, and here Te Rau-paraha attacked some of the Rangi-tane people and killed several, amongst them a woman of Mua-upoko named Waimai. This greatly incensed the Mua-upoko people, as it was a breach of the arrangement so recently made. A meeting was called at Horo-whenua lake to consider the position, and (apparently) a decision was come to as to the course to be pursued. In the meantime Tohe-riri of Mua-upoko retired to Papa-i-tonga lake, where there are several little islands, partly artificial, used as *pas* at that time by the Mua-upoko people. From here a messenger was despatched to Ngati-Toa inviting them to come on and settle at Wai-kawa (seven miles north of Otaki), which river at that time had one mouth with the Ohau. So the *heke* came on and settled down at a bend in the Wai-kawa river, just above Te Kotahi, which is still known as the *pa* of Te Rau-paraha.

After a time Te Warakihi (one of the emissaries above mentioned) came over from Papa-i-tonga lake to Te Rau-paraha's camp, where he told the latter that he had heard the Mua-upoko people saying that a decision had been come to—*Me patu a Te Rau-paraha*—Te Rau-paraha must be killed. Presumably, this was the decision come to at the Horo-whenua meeting, and all that follows is the working out of that scheme. Te Rau-paraha asked whether there were any canoes on Lake Papa-i-tonga. "Yes," said Warakihi, "there are." Then said Te Rau-paraha, "*Maku ena waka.*"—"Those canoes shall be mine." After this, Te Warakihi returned to Papa-i-tonga and reported the conversation to Tohe-riri. "He shall have the canoes," said the latter, and sent off Te Warakihi to tell Te Rau-paraha of his decision.

THE MASSACRE AT PAPA-I-TONGA.

1822.

There are several accounts of the massacre of Te Rau-paraha's people at Papa-i-tonga, which little lake lies on the north side of the Ohau river, where Te Rau-paraha had settled down and not far from the sea. Sir W. L. Buller in "Transactions New Zealand Institute," Vol. XXVI., p. 572, supplies one of the best accounts as dictated to him by a Ngati-Raukawa man (now) of those parts; but it makes

* For most of what follows I am indebted to Mr. Elsdon Best's notes, gathered from the Mua-upoko people.

the mistake of placing the Wai-o-rua fight before the massacre at Papa-i-tonga. Mr. W. T. L. Travers, in Vol. V. of the same publication, in his life of Te Rau-paraha, also describes the incidents—as does Te Rau-paraha's son in Vol. VI. of Mr. John White's "Ancient History of the Maori," from which, indeed, a great deal of Mr. Traver's information is derived—errors and all. But Tamihana Te Rau-paraha has to be read with caution; he is often wrong, and is contradicted over and over again by information obtained by Mr. Shand, Mr. Best, and myself, which was mostly derived from the old men who took part in these scenes. This account generally follows this latter information.

An invitation was now sent by Tohe-riri and his people to Te Rau-paraha to come over and partake of a feast of eels, for which these parts are celebrated. The Mua-upoko, in the meantime, had collected in numbers at a place called Te Wi—lying between Papa-i-tonga and Te Rau-awa (Mr. John Keble's homestead). Te Rangi-haeata (Te Rau-paraha's nephew) appears to have had doubts of the intentions of the Mua-upoko people, but he endeavoured in vain to reason the latter chief out of his determination to go. Nor would Te Rau-paraha take more than twenty of his people with him, mostly relatives, amongst them some of his daughters. The guests were welcomed by Mua-upoko, amongst whom were the chiefs Tohe-riri, Te Rangi-hiwi-nui (probably a relative of Major Keepa Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, our loyal ally in the Maori war), and Tanguru (the Major's father). After the feast the guests were distributed in several houses, Te Rau-paraha occupying the same one with Tohe-riri. During the night the Mua-upoko assembled, many coming over from Papa-i-tonga, all ready to commence the massacre of their guests. They were all armed with their native weapons for no muskets had reached them at that time. Ngati-Toa do not appear to have had guns either. At the first noise of the people surrounding the houses, Tohe-riri arose and went out of the house. From what follows he appears to have had some scruples at the last about the justification for this treachery. This roused Te Rau-paraha, and just at that moment the voice of Takare was heard shouting out, "*E Raha! ka whati to kaki!*"—"O Raha! your neck will be broken!") Seeing the front of the house crowded with people, Te Rau-paraha went to the far corner, and, it being a *raupo* house, he managed to make an opening and thus got outside, and rushed away to the stream, where he found Te Ra-ka-herea (a connection of his—a son of Te Poa's) with a spear sticking in his back. The two of them now made off the best they could, "*Me te weka ka motu i te mahanga*"—"Like a weka escaped from the snare") and finally reached their camp at Ohau. But it fared differently with the others; when the attack commenced

they were all asleep, and it was only when Nga-rangi of Mua-upoko shouted out to Tohe-riri, "*E Tohe E! e! ko to hoa!*"—"O Tohe! look after your companion!") that they roused themselves and rushed out of the house, where a hand to hand encounter took place. But Mua-upoko were too many for them, and they were soon nearly all killed. Te Rangi-hounga-riri, a young man who was Te Rau-paraha's son by his first wife, Marore, was escaping and would have got away, when he heard his sister Te Uira call out to him that she was being murdered. He turned back, and after killing two men was himself knocked on the head. Te Uira's husband, Te Poa, had been killed just before. She herself was killed by Warakihi. In addition to those mentioned above, Poaka, another daughter of Te Rau-paraha's, was killed, whilst Hononga, also his daughter, was taken prisoner. Taiko was another killed there.

Tohe-riri, it is said, was angry that the attack had been made, for what reason is not clear. He, with his particular *hapu*, soon afterward left the west coast and went to Wai-rarapa, where he remained two years, and then came back to Papa-i-tonga and was eventually killed with great barbarity.

The Mua-upoko, though no doubt elated at thus punishing Te Rau-paraha for the death of their kinswoman Waimai at Manawa-tu, perhaps did not foresee the consequences to themselves of this treacherous act. Te Rau-paraha was not the sort of man to allow such a blow to fall on him without exacting *utu* to the utmost, and in the end Mua-upoko paid dearly for their deeds that night.

Te Rau-paraha lamented his daughter Te Uira as follows :—

Takoto mai E Hine !	Lie thee there, O Lady !
I roto Horo-whenua	Within at Horo-whenua.
Kia kai whakawai	'Twas through foul treachery
Te wahine kiri pango,	Of the black-skinned woman,
Ko te manure ano	And rank foolishness
I riro i a koe	That thou possessed.
Tenei ano te ruru-kai-kiore,	Still lives the rat-eating owl ¹ —
Te kawau horo ika,	The fish-eating cormorant ² —
Te takupu matakana,	The fierce-eyed gannet ³ —
Te Wehi—o—te—whenua—e—i.	The dread of the land ⁴
	(To avenge thy loss).

NOTES.—1, 2, 3, and 4: Terms applied by the composer to himself and expressive of his determination to avenge his daughter's death. *Manure* = *kuare*.

This is not a very elegant effusion for so great an event, but Te Rau-paraha was a diplomatist rather than a poet. Had his niece, Topeora, taken up her muse, the occasion was one which would have

given full scope to her great powers of poetic vituperation, but nothing of the kind has been preserved unless, indeed, the following of hers refers to this event :—

Kia kaha E Tipi te hapai patu,	With mighty blows, O Tipi !
Kia riro mai taku kai,	Thy war-like weapon uplift,
Ko Tangaru e tuoho nei,	And hither bring for me to eat,
Te rau hoko-whitu o Mua-upoko,	Tangaru, who in dejection rests
E kai, E Roku ! i te roro piro	With the remaining hundred and forty
O Te Rangi-hiwi-nui,	Of Mua-upoko's diminished strength,
Te kai o te tuna	And thou, O Roku ! thou shalt feast
O tona whenua.	On the rotten, stinking brains
	Of Te Rangi-hiwi-nui,
	Who is only fit for food,
	Of the eels of his own land.

So far as can be made out from the Native accounts this massacre took place in the spring of 1822.

HORO-WHENUA.

1823 (?).

The massacre at Te Wi described above determined Ngati-Toa to put an end to danger from that quarter by exterminating the Mua-upoko people, who, at that time, were a somewhat numerous tribe, but armed only with native weapons. To this end the unfortunate people were hunted down wherever the better armed Ngati-Toa came across them. This went on for some time ; how long, it is difficult to say, but not less than six months. At last the Mua-upoko were so harried in the settlements round about the Lakes Papa-i-tonga and Horo-whenua that they speedily collected at the latter lake and took refuge on several little islands—some of which had been artificially increased in size to make them suitable for erecting houses on. Here the Mua-upoko had several *pas*, all strongly palisaded, but the islands being low and very flat they were not adapted for the usual terraced form of *pa* customary with the Maori. The lake at that time was nearly surrounded with woods, so there would be little difficulty in floating heavy timbers across to build palisades ; and its waters teemed with eels, making these islands desirable places of defence against any body of men armed only with native weapons.

I have very few particulars in my notes about the attack made on Horo-whenua by Ngati-Toa and their Ati-Awa allies, and will therefore quote from Mr. Travers' account (already referred to). "Finding themselves unable to check these attacks the Mua-upoko took refuge in lake *pas*, which, however, the Ngati-Toa determined to attack. Their first attempt was on that named Wai-pata, and having no canoes

they swam out to it and succeeded in taking it, slaughtering many of the defenders, though the greater number escaped in their canoes to a larger *pa* on the same lake, named Wai-kiekie. This *pa* was occupied in such force by the enemy that the party which had taken Wai-pata felt themselves too weak to assault it, and therefore returned to Ohau for reinforcements."

"Having gained the necessary assistance they again proceeded to Horo-whenua and attacked Wai-kiekie, using a number of canoes which they had taken at Wai-pata for the purpose of crossing the lake. After a desperate but vain resistance they took the *pa*, slaughtering nearly two hundred of the inhabitants, including women and children; the remainder escaping in their canoes and eventually making their way through the forest ranges to Pae-kakariki, where they ultimately settled (for a time). In the course of these attacks a number of the leading Mua-upoko chiefs were taken prisoners, all of whom except Ratu (? Te Raki), who became the slave of Te Pehi, were killed, and their bodies, as well as those taken in the assault, duly devoured."*

The following account was obtained by Mr. Best from the local people:—"The Mua-upoko now assembled at Horo-whenua and occupied the six inland *pas* of the lake, which are named Wai-pata and Puke-iti, at the south end of the lake; Wai-kiekie and Te Roha-o-te-kawau at the north end, opposite where the Horo-whenua stream runs out; and Te Namu-iti and Karapu in other parts. When the *tua* of Ngati-Toa came on to the attack, part of them proceeded by land, whilst others followed along the coast parallel to them in canoes. The canoes were then hauled up the Horo-whenua stream and so into the lake. Directly the Mua-upoko saw the canoes some of them knew their case was hopeless, and crowded into Wai-kiekie *pa*, whilst the women and children were hastily embarked in some of their own canoes and despatched to the forests on the east shore of the lake, away from the side where Ngati-Toa were, hoping they might effect their escape. But the Ngati-Toa canoes gave chase and several of the fugitive women and children were captured and enslaved. Te Rau-paraha's canoe was named 'Tu-whare' (after his old comrade in the 1819-20 raid). The canoes of Te Papaka (Ngati-pariri) and of Te Hau-iti (Ngati-Hine)—both *hapus* of Mua-upoko—were captured, as was the chief Te Raki, whilst Oti, Te Kotuku, Rangi-hiwi-nui, and Tanguru escaped." "After the taking of the *pas* (as described by Mr. Travers) the Ngati-Toa returned to Wai-kawa, and a few days afterwards came back to the lake to attack Puke-iti and Wai-pata;

* Awa-mate was another of the Mua-upoko *pas* taken at Horo-whenua.

and here they succeeded in capturing two more canoes full of women and children. After the massacre of all the people left in the *pas*, those of Mua-upoko who escaped fled to Pae-kakariki and the hills behind Wai-kanae."

It was somewhere about the beginning of 1823 that the Horo-whenua Lake *pas* were taken. Amongst the Mua-upoko people in the *pas* were some of the Ngati-kuia people of Pelorus Sound, South Island (whom Mr. Travers refers to in other parts of his narrative as Ngati-Huia, a quite different people, a *hapu* of Ngati-Rau-kawa). This was the Ngati-Rongo-mai *hapu* of Ngati-kuia under their chiefs Pakau-era and his brother Maiki, who, according to the grandson of the former, were both great *toas* or braves, and fought bravely against Ngati-Toa at Horo-whenua, which gave rise to the following saying in regard to them:—

Tataia mai te rakau a Te Rau-
paraha
Na Pakau-era raua ko Maihi.

Stricken was the weapon of Te Rau-
paraha
By Pakau-era and Maihi.

These men escaped and afterwards crossed the Straits to their homes in the Pelorus Sound, South Island.

TAKING OF KAPITI ISLAND.

1823.

It would seem that even during Te Rau-paraha's first expedition down this coast with Nga-Puhi in 1819-20 he had cast covetous eyes on the island of Kapiti, separated from the main land by a narrow strait about five miles wide, as a very desirable acquisition for his tribe to be used as a stronghold difficult of access and easily defended. During the first year of their residence at Ohau on the mainland more than one attempt had been made to take it; but Mua-upoko, together with some of the Rangitane tribe who dwelt there, had so far succeeded in repelling the attack. The island possesses a fairly secure anchorage for vessels at the south-east end, which a few years later than the time we are writing of was constantly visited by whalers and other ships, thus allowing Te Rau-paraha to acquire many muskets, in which he was of much need.

It was during a raid made by Te Rau-paraha on the Ngati-Apa of Rangitikei, which tribe had become involved in the quarrel with Mua-upoko, that the Ngati-Toa forces were divided—one party under Te Rau-paraha proceeding against Ngati-Apa, another under Pehi-kupe crossed by canoe to the island, which they took by surprise, for the Mua-upoko people of the island had learned of Te Rau-paraha's

proposed absence and thus felt themselves secure for the time, so took no precautions against surprise. Pehi-kupe captured the island without difficulty and put to death a large number of the people, whilst some escaped in canoes to the mainland and there joined their fellow tribesmen at Pae-kakariki.

When Te Rau-paraha and his party returned they found the island taken, and from that time forward for many years the Ngati-Toa chief took up his abode there.

ATI-AWA RETURN TO TARANAKI, 1823.

The Ati-Awa people, who had up to this time been assisting Ngati-Toa in their war against Mua-upoko, now felt that their presence was not so necessary, seeing that Kapiti Island had been secured; they therefore decided to return to their homes. There were other reasons actuating them also; they felt the overbearing conduct of Te Rau-paraha, who merely used them as auxiliaries to secure his own ends, and, moreover, the news had come through that Waikato was preparing another formidable expedition against Taranaki in order to wreak vengeance on the Ati-Awa people, who had defeated them in the battle of Te Motu-nui. Accordingly, Te Puoho and his Ngati-Tama people, Rere-tawhangawhanga and the Manu-korihi people, besides others, returned to their homes at Waitara and other places, leaving only a comparatively few of their tribesmen with Te Rau-paraha, who was thus very much reduced in fighting strength. So far as can be ascertained, they returned to Taranaki early in 1823.

Some of Ngati-Toa, however, still continued to dwell at Ohau, after Te Rau-paraha had removed to Kapiti Island. Nor did Ngati-Toa forget the massacre of Papa-i-tonga, for Mua-opoko were still attacked wherever they could be found, and a great slaughter took place at Pae-kakariki, where the refugees from the former place and Horowhenua had gathered. Here Mua-upoko again suffered a severe defeat, numbers of them being slain; "the conquerors," says Mr. Travers, "remaining in possession of the *pa* for two months for the purpose of devouring the bodies and stores of provisions found there."

Whilst here, Ngati-Toa were suddenly attacked by a party of Ngati-Kahu-nguru of Wai-rarapa and Ngati-Ira of Port Nicholson; Ngati-Toa suffering a reverse, having to retreat on Wai-kanae.

"This event," says Mr. Travers, "coupled with the threatening attitude assumed by that powerful tribe, and the fact that the Mua-upoko, Rangi-tane, and Ngati-Apa were again collecting in the vicinity of their former settlements, determined Te Rau-paraha to abandon the mainland and to withdraw the whole of his people to

Kapiti until he could obtain the assistance (which he still confidently expected) of his kindred of Taupo and Maunga-tautari (Ngati-Raukawa).’’

ATTACK ON NGATI-APA AND RANGI-TANE.

It was mentioned on last page that the Ngati-Apa tribe had become embroiled with Ngati-Toa on account of their having joined with their related tribes, Rangi-tane and Mua-upoko, in opposing Te Rau-paraha’s schemes. Mr. Travers says, “Te Rau-paraha had no sooner retired to Kapiti than the Rangi-tane erected a large *pa* at Hotu-iti, on the north side of the Manawatu river on the block of land now known as Te Awa-hou, where they collected in force and were joined by three chiefs of note of the Ngati-Apa tribe. Te Rau-paraha, hearing of this, determined to attack them, and he and Te Rangi-haeata marched to Hotu-iti with a well-appointed *tauu*, accompanied by Pikinga (the latter’s wife), who, on the arrival of the party before the *pa*, was sent into it to direct the Ngati-Apa chiefs to retire to the district occupied by that tribe on the north side of the Rangi-tikei river. This they declined to do; and Te Rau-paraha then sent messengers to the Rangi-tane tribe offering peace, and desiring that their chiefs should be sent to his camp to settle the terms. Being advised by the Ngati-Apa chiefs to accept the offer, they sent their head men to Te Rau-paraha’s quarters, where they were at once ruthlessly slain; and whilst the people of the *pa*, ignorant of this slaughter and believing that hostilities were suspended, were entirely off their guard, it was rushed by Ngati-Toa and taken after a very feeble defence—the greater number of the unfortunate people and their families, as well as the three Ngati-Apa chiefs, being slaughtered and devoured; such prisoners as were taken being removed to Wai-kanae in order to undergo the same fate.”

Tungia of Ngati-Toa was nearly losing his life here, but was saved by Te Aweawe of Rangi-tane—a deed that bore fruit in after years.

“After this treacherous affair Te Rau-paraha and his forces returned to Wai-kanae, where they indulged in feasting and rejoicing, little dreaming that any attempt would be made to attack them.”

It appears from my Ngati-Kuia informant that one of the chiefs of either Ngati-Apa or Rangi-tane captured in this affair was named Te Ao-kaitu. He was bound hand and foot and dragged to the ovens preparing to cook those who had been killed. One of the Ngati-Toa men said to him in derision, “You had better recite your own lament!” Te Ao-kaitu replied, “Is this a fit time for song when the stones are hot

for cooking me?" "Never mind," said the other, "sing your lament." So Te Ao-kaitu then proceeded to sing his death wail, as follows:—

Tenei taku poho,	Now is my heart,
Kei te kapakapa atu,	With fluttering beats,
Na Te Ahirau	(Awaiting the work) of Te Ahi-rau,
Ki te waro raia	(To place me) in yonder chasm,
Kei te turakinga ai	When I fall by the blow.
Ko te kete tu na Marino	To be placed in Marino's basket,
Kei te weranga ai o te huha	My well-cooked thigh,
Ka tu kei te tahua.	Will adorn the feast.

This my informant considers a very pathetic incident and song.

NGATI-TOA DEFEATED AT WAI-KANAE.

? 1824.

To quote Mr. Travers again, "It appears, however, that the Ngati-Apa at Rangitikei, incensed at the slaughter of their three chiefs at Hotu-iti, determined to avenge their deaths, and for this purpose had collected a considerable war-party, which was readily joined by refugees from Hotu-iti and by a number of the Mua-upoko from Horowhenua. Led by Te Hakeke (of the Ngati-Apa tribe) they fell upon the Ngati-Toa at Wai-kanae during the night, killing upwards of sixty of them, including many women and children—amongst the latter being Te Rangihiroa and three other daughters of Te Pehi-kupe, Pahi-taka, etc. At the commencement of the attack a canoe was despatched to Kapiti for reinforcements, which were at once sent, and upon their arrival the enemy fled, but without being pursued." These events occurred at Whare-mauku and Uru-hira at Wai-kanae. Toata of Mua-upoko was the last of his tribe killed at Wai-kanae—he fell in a swamp. The remnant of the tribe retreated up the Wai-kanae river and there built a small *pa* on a point of land defended on two sides by the river whilst the other was palisaded. It is called to this day "Te pa o Te Toata."

"In consequence of this attack Te Rau-paraha and Te Rangihaeata became (to use the words of Matene Te Whiwhi) 'dark in their hearts in regard to Ngati-Apa,' and resolved to spare no efforts to destroy them as well as the remnant of Rangitane and Mua-upoko. Te Rau-paraha had, of course, become aware of the defeat of Te Whata-nui (of Ngati-Rau-kawa) in their attempt to reach Kapiti by the East Coast; but immediately after the departure of Ati-Awa for Taranaki (just after the Horowhenua massacre) he had sent further emissaries to Taupo (? Maunga-tautari) in order to again urge upon the chiefs of Ngati-Rau-kawa to join him in the occupation of the country he had conquered."

“In the meantime, however, a storm was brewing that threatened utterly to destroy him and his people.”

WAI-O-RUA OR WHAKA-PAETAI.

? 1824.

After the defeat of Ngati-Toa at Wai-kanae, the whole tribe withdrew from the mainland and settled at various places on Kapiti Island with the intention of awaiting the second reinforcements from the north, from Ngati-Rau-kawa of Maunga-tautari, with which tribe, as has been said, Ngati-Toa was connected. At this period of his career, Te Rau-paraha appears to have shown a lack of diplomatic power, for his present position was one of considerable danger, and he had practically been driven from the mainland by his treacherous conduct against the local tribes, who had, at first, held out the hand of friendship to him—no doubt through fear. He had alienated the friendship of the Taranaki tribes that came down from Ure-nui with him by his overbearing conduct, and they had returned home. Southward of Northern Taranaki the whole of the tribes along the coast, right away to Wai-rarapa were his bitter enemies. The branches of Ngati-Apa and Rangi-tane inhabiting the southern shores of Cook's Straits were equally inimicable to him, for their relatives had suffered at his hands on the north shore, and, moreover, these southern people were aware of Te Rau-paraha's intention to attack them at the first convenient opportunity.

Hence the time appeared opportune for a combined attack on Kapiti with the view of attempting to put an end to the depredations of the intruding Ngati-Toa before they could obtain help from Ngati-Rau-kawa. It has been stated that Te Raki had been captured at Horo-whenua. He was either Mua-upoko or Rangi-tane—both closely connected. This man effected his escape and reached the South Island in safety. Here he proceeded to preach a crusade against Ngati-Toa and succeeded in raising all the tribes from Massacre Bay (Ngati-Apa-ki-te-ra-to and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri); Pelorous Sound (Ngati-Kuia); Queen Charlotte Sound (Rangi-tane and Ngati-Apa); and also the people of Wairau (or Blenheim). Emissaries at the same time were sent to rouse the tribes on the north of Cook's Straits, and the following responded: Ngati-Rua-nui, Nga-Rauru, Whanganui, Ngati-Apa, Rangi-tane, Mua-upoko, Ngati-Ira; and it is said also, some of Ngati-Kahungunu of Wairarapa. The following is the list of leaders, as nearly as can be ascertained:—

Mua-upoko.—Rangi-hiwi-nui, Tanguru, Kotuku, Maru, Tawhati, Tu-mata.

Rangi-tane.—Mahuri, Tutai, Kai-moko-puna, Te Awa-kautere.
 Ngati-Apa.—Te Hakeke, Marumaru, Turanga-pito, Papaka,
 Tahataha, Te Ahuru (who was killed).

Whanganui.—Turoa, Paetaha, Te Anaua, Rangi-te-whata, Te
 Rangi-whakaruru, Te Kuru-kanga, Te Kotuku.

Ngati-Rua-nui.—Te Hana-taua, Tu-rau-kawa, Te Matangi-o-
 Rupe.

Rangi-tane, South Island.—Te Ra-maru, Tuki-hongi.

Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.—Tu-te-pakihi-rangi.

Ngati-Ira.—Te Kekerengu, Huru, and Ta-unuunu.

No doubt there were many other chiefs, but the above are all the old men who informed Mr. Best and myself of the names could remember. This formidable host gathered in their canoes at Wai-kanae to await a proper moment to attack the island. The fleet is stated by Maori narrators as being a very large one—indeed, one man says there were two thousand canoes (an evident exaggeration)—probably not less than several hundred. My informants say that even on their retreat the sea was so thickly covered by canoes that “the sunlight on the water was obstructed”—a bit of poetical exaggeration. Mr. Travers says, “About the fourth year after the first arrival of Ngati-Toa nearly two thousand warriors assembled between Otaki and Wai-kanae. The sea on the occasion of their attack (says one of my informants, who was present) was covered with canoes—one wing reaching Kapiti from Otaki, whilst the other started simultaneously from Wai-kanae.” The attack was made at night, and apparently Ngati-Toa did not expect it at that time. At the northern end of the island, near Wai-o-rua—where was one of the Ngati-Toa villages—“a man and two women were living in a house much higher up the hill than the main village. They heard the fleet approaching and cried out with a loud voice, ‘*E puta ki waho! Ko te whakaariki! Ko te whakaariki!*’—(‘Come forth! The army! The army!’) As the daylight began to appear we saw the enemy in thousands, like a black mass on the waters, and then we perceived the *rau-kura* and *toroa* plumes of the chiefs. They came on until they were close to the shore, and then could be heard the voice of Pararaha (a woman of Wairarapa) shouting out, ‘*Tikarohia te marama! Tikarohia! Tikarohia te marama!*’—(‘Scoop out the moon,’ etc.—meaning, select the chiefs to kill). Soon we closed in battle on the beach to oppose their landing, and the *matangohi*, or first one killed of the enemy, was thrust through by a long spear from the shore. The second one was the woman Pararaha.”

Mr. Shand says (J.P.S., Vol. I., p. 87) it was some of the Taranaki *hapus* who were living at Wai-o-rua who were first attacked, and it was they, under Tu-mokemoke and Te Pa-kai-ahi, who repulsed the enemy there. This is probably correct, for Mr. Shand had opportunities of hearing particulars of this and other events from the old Ati-Awa people who took part in them. Mr. Travers' account is largely from Matene Te Whiwhi of Ngati-Toa, who naturally gives all the credit of the affair to his own tribe. Moreover, Mr. Travers had to obtain his information through an interpreter, whereas Mr. Shand, who is one of our real Maori scholars—not a mere linguist—would get it first hand. That Tu-mokemoke of Ati-Awa was there is also proved by other information.

Amongst the details of this fight that have been handed down is a saying of Te Kotuku's, "*E Tai-whenua* e ! Kawhakina nga whetu !*"—"O relatives ! Catch the stars !"—*i.e.*, be sure to kill the chiefs of the enemy, who are likened to stars).

Contingents of Ngati-Toa now came up from Ranga-tira—a little to the south of Wai-o-rua—and attacked the enemy with fury. Te Rau-paraha was at his home at Taepiro, a little further again to the south. A messenger was sent off in all haste to summon him and his immediate followers. To quote again from Mr. Travers, "Before, however, Te Rau-paraha could reach the scene of conflict, the enemy had succeeded in landing and pushing Ngati-Toa towards Wai-o-rua—near the northern end of the island. Pokai-tara, who was in command of that party, being desirous of gaining time in order to admit of the arrival of reinforcements, proposed a truce to the enemy, which was granted by Rangi-maire-hau of Ngati-Apa, who, on his part, hoped to land the rest of his forces and then crush Ngati-Toa. Shortly after the truce had been agreed to, Te Rau-paraha and his warriors reached the scene of action and at once renewed the battle with the utmost vigour, and after a long and sanguinary conflict completely defeated the invaders with tremendous slaughter; not less than one hundred and seventy dead bodies being left on the beach, while numbers were drowned in attempting to reach the canoes that were still at sea.

"The remainder of the fleet made their way back with all speed to Wai-kanae and other points on the coast, where many of them landed, abandoning their canoes to Ngati-Toa, who had commenced an immediate pursuit. . . . The result of this battle was in every way advantageous to Ngati-Toa, for no further attempt was ever made

* Tai-whenua, I take to be the same as toi-whenua, meaning : 1st, the people of any place ; 2nd, the home and birthplace of anyone.

to dislodge them, while they, on the other hand, lost no opportunity of strengthening their position and of wreaking vengeance on the Ngati-Apa, Rangi-tane, and Mua-upoko, the remnant of whom they ultimately reduced to the condition of the merest tributaries; many of the leading chiefs, including Te Hakeke, becoming slaves."

In this fight Tawhi, a young chief of high rank from the Ngati-Toa tribe of Kapiti, was the only prisoner taken by the allies. He was a son of Te Putu, one of the principal chiefs of the tribe. We shall see later on the vengeance that Te Rau-paraha executed on these southern tribes, in which the Ati-Awa played a very important part.

One of those peculiar incidents common in Maori warfare occurred just as the battle was over and the defeated allies departing from Kapiti. Hine-wai-roro, a woman of Ngati-Toa, recognising a man in one of the canoes with whom she had formerly been intimate, swam off to the canoe, and persuaded this man to come ashore and be her husband. On reaching the shore, her father would not give his consent, and immediately tomahawked the man, who thus became the *ika-whakaotinga*, or last one killed.

Here, for a time, we must leave the wily chief of Ngati-Toa to gloat over his victory and return to Taranaki.

TE HEKE NIHO-PUTA.

1824.

The above is the name of the second exodus of the North Taranaki tribes to Otaki and that neighbourhood, near Kapiti. The word means "Boar's tusk," and we shall see why it was so called very shortly. Rangi-pito says that this *heke* took place about a year after Te Rau-paraha left Ure-nui; but this cannot be right. Mr. Shand, Mr. Travers, and Watene Taungatara all agree that it occurred after Wai-o-rua, so it must have been in 1824. They started away in the winter of that year.

Rangi-pito says, "Sometime after the battle of Te Motu-nui (about December, 1822), a man named Kainga, belonging to the Ngati-Mutungia tribe of Ure-nui, went on a visit to his relations at Waikato, the Ngati-Apakura tribe. Whilst there, Turi-manu, of the last-named tribe and a relative of Kainga's, warned him that Waikato had not forgotten or forgiven Ati-Awa for defeating them at Te Motu-nui, nor were they unmindful of the many reverses they had suffered at the hands of Ngati-Tama at and near Pou-tama." Kainga was also informed that Waikato would soon take an opportunity of avenging these losses — "Te Motu-nui could never be forgotten." Kainga replied, "Waikato

came of their own accord, and hence we fought and beat them." Turi-manu then said, "You had better all leave and go to Kapiti. Abandon your country or Waikato will eat you." From others Kainga got the same advice, and so on his return home he told Ngati-Mutunga what he had heard, which caused considerable apprehension; and after discussion it was decided to migrate and join Te Rau-paraha. This was the origin of the "Niho-puta" *heke*.

With this migration also returned to Kapiti many of those who came back to their homes after the massacre of the Mua-upoko at Horo-whenua. The Ngati-Mutunga was the tribe that furnished the largest contribution to the party, but there were also members of the Ngati-Hinetuhi, Kai-tangata, Te Kekerewai, Ngati-Hine-uru, Ngati-Tama, and others, under the chiefs Rere-tawhangawhanga (who died at Wai-kanae, 26th September, 1843), Te Puoho, Te Arahū, Te Poki, Ngatata,* and many others. Generally, most of the people from the White Cliffs to Waitara went away in this *heke*, including some from Pou-tama; but not all, some remained behind to keep "the fires burning." The movements of this *heke* had been hastened by receipt of the news that all the tribes on the coast were about to combine and attempt to annihilate Te Rau-paraha at Kapiti. This news seems to have dispelled the feeling that some of those who had accompanied Te Rau-paraha on his migration had against the latter for his overbearing conduct, and Ngati-Mutunga were again ready to help him, as they did at Motu-nui. They arrived too late, however, for Wai-o-rua had been fought and won when they got to Otaki.

This was a very large *heke*; the estimate of the armed men alone runs from four hundred to five hundred and forty, besides women, children, and old people. Before starting, Rere-tawhangawhanga of Waitara had said to Rore (Te Manihera, of the Kai-tangata *hapu*, who afterwards died at Arapaoa Island) that the opportunity should not be lost of punishing Ngati-Rua-nui and Nga-Rauru for the part they had taken in killing some of the previous *heke*, as already related. The party passed through the forest by the Whakaahu-rangi track and thence onward through the Ngati-Rua-nui territories, where they seized the opportunity of attacking one of the *pas*, and took it; but all the people escaped away inland. From Patea they travelled by the sandy beach to Wai-totara, and then went inland to Te Ihu-puku *pa* (just seaward of the railway bridge). Arrived there, some of the Nga-Rauru people were met with, who received the party in a friendly

* Uncle of Pomare (not Pomare of Nga-Puhi), afterwards so well known at the Chatham Islands.

manner and induced many of them to visit and be their guests, under the pretence of being hospitably entertained. Aware that a massacre was intended, Tama-i-akina of Nga-Rauru warned the strangers to keep together and not go to separate villages. Owing, however, to the pressing invitations of Nga-Rauru, this good advice was neglected, and the party dispersed in twos and threes to various houses. This was just what Nga-Rauru wanted; it enabled them to take their guests in detail; nor were they long about it, for directly the separation took place they commenced killing the strangers in several places at once without the others being aware of what was going on. One man of Nga-Rauru came to a house where several of the strangers were, together with a number of the local people. He said, "*Ku' patua noatia taku niho-puta* mo te rurenga.*"—"My pig-with-tusks has long since been killed for the guests"); which was the signal to the others, who then rose and killed nearly all the strangers within the house. Mr. Shand says, "An old man named Hone Potete, who heard this and escaped, in telling the story afterwards, said, 'I suspected there was treachery, and sitting beside my companion, with my big toe-nail scratched him (*kia whiwha*) to indicate that we should attack our hosts, but he was afraid to do so. They attacked and killed many of us, but the bulk escaped.' After this the escapees made their way to Ihu-puku, where the bulk of the *heke* were camped. Te Poki remained with the party at Ihu-puku, whilst Ketu was the principal man who went inland when the massacre took place."

"The *heke*," says Rangi-pito, "now went on their way, not stopping to avenge the deaths, but postponing that for the future. They reached Whanganui without further trouble, nor were they molested here, for the people of the place were all away inland up the river. Had there been any there, some fighting would have taken place." And so the migration passed on to Wai-kanae, on arrival at which place they found that the combined force of the allies had been defeated by Ngati-Toa at the fight of Wai-o-rua. On their arrival and occupation of Wai-kanae and the adjacent country, the Ngati-Toa were so strengthened that they were able again to return to the mainland to cultivate and live, a thing it had been impossible for them to do for some time past, for the remnant of Mua-upoko and Rangi-tane were always on the watch to pounce on any unwary straggler of Ngati-Toa.

Mr. Travers says that Te Puoho (whom he confused with Puaha of Ngati-Toa) came down to Kapiti to learn the truth about the attack on that island, and finding Te Rau-paraha had been entirely successful,

* From this expression the migration derives its name.

he returned to Taranaki, and then it was that the "Heke-niho-puta" started. This is quite likely, but I have no notes bearing on the subject. With them, he adds, came a party of Ngati-Whakaterere *hapu* of Ngati-Rau-kawa. This accession of force demands a little more space than Mr. Travers has given to it.

FIRST MIGRATION OF NGATI-RAU-KAWA.

TE RUA-MAIORO'S DEFEAT.

(? 1824 or 1825.)

The result of Te Rau-paraha's visit to the Ngati-Rau-kawa tribe in 1822, to try and obtain their assistance in settling the Cook's Straits country, was to be achieved at last. But the tribe was unwilling to leave the homes they had occupied so long, and apparently did not entirely believe in placing themselves so much under Te Rau-paraha's *mana*.

Hence it was that they first attempted to conquer the Hawkes Bay country with a view to settling there. The pressure of Ngati-Haua, Ngati-Paoa, and other tribes on their northern frontiers, which tribes were fast acquiring muskets from vessels visiting the Thames, Tauranga, etc., and the old enmity existing with Waikato, were all reasons why some move should be made. The tribe, in their attempt on Hawkes Bay, had been defeated at Pukenoanoa, and Te Momo (son of Te Whata-nui, principal chief of Ngati-Rau-kawa) had been killed at Te Roto-a-Tara. These causes combining seem again to have turned Ngati-Rau-kawa's thoughts towards joining Te Rau-paraha in the south. What the immediate causes of Te Rua-maioro's departure from the land of his fathers were, are not certain, for the information I have to trust to is very meagre. And as to the date, Mr. Travers' statement to the effect that part of the migration came down with the "Heke-niho-puta" is the most precise I know of. If this is right, then Rua-maioro must have left Maunga-tautari some time in 1824.

For most of what follows I am indebted to a book belonging to Hakiaha Tawhao of the Ngati-Hāua tribe of Upper Whanganui, obtained through the kindness of District Surveyor H. M. Skeet.

Hakiaha says, "The migration of Ngati-Rau-kawa, on its way to Otaki to join Te Rau-paraha, started from Maunga-tautari. The reason of this *heke* was on account of a fight which had taken place between Ngati-Mania-poto and Ngati-Rau-kawa, when Rangi-tahi was taken (? the name of a *pa*). This party of Ngati-Rau-kawa, under Te Rua-maioro, then migrated, going by way of Lake Taupo, where they attacked and took the island *pa* of Motu-o-puhi, in Roto-a-Ira

Lake, and there slaughtered a great many people, amongst whom was Whare-rangi, father of Matu-aha.*

From Te Roto-a-Ira, Rua-maiore and his party crossed the country through the forest to Makokoti *pa*, situated at the junction of the Rere-taruke with the Whanganui river. This *pa* belonged to Topine-Te-Mamaku of Ngati-Hāua, and the reason of Ngati-Rau-kawa coming to attack that *pa* was because, on a former occasion, Topine had killed two people of Ngati-Rau-kawa named Hiki-tangi and Heke-a-wai. Whilst they were attacking this *pa* the migration was joined by some of the local people under Ngaru-piki and Parata, who thus turned against their own tribe. The invaders in their turn were attacked by eight hundred of the Whanganui tribes and driven from Makokoti. Te Rua-maioro retreated to Te Whara-riki, whilst Te Ngaru-piki proceeded up the Ohura river to bring down a further division of Ngati-Rau-kawa, but (apparently) before help arrived Te Rua-maioro was attacked at Te Whara-riki by the Whanganui people under Ha-marama (who had killed the Ngati-Whatua chief Tu-whare—see *ante*) and Te Pehi, and were defeated, Te Rua-maioro himself being killed. The *taua* of Whanganui now went to meet those of Ngati-Rau-kawa who were coming down the Ohura, and on meeting they defeated them, with the loss of one of the enemy's chiefs, Te Tahī, killed, whilst two other men of note—Rangi-au-kaka and Ngai-turu—were taken prisoners. Ngaru-piki (who had turned against his own tribe) was saved by Te Anaua of Whanganui." Hakiaha's account breaks off here, as the further proceedings of the defeated Ngati-Rau-kawa had nothing to do with the matter he was describing. But the remainder surviving after these fights were saved by Te Kotuku (a Whanganui chief), and made their way from Ohura, probably down the Whanganui river, and joined the Ati-Awa people in the "Heke-niho-puta." The chiefs of this Ngati-Rau-kawa migration were Te Rua-maioro, Te Mahunga, Te Paheka (all killed), Mahoro, Te Whare, Te Puke, Te Ao, Rourou-ao, and Tupaea. The *hapus* engaged in it were Ngati-Waiu-rehea and Ngati-Rangi. On the arrival of these people in the south, they first lived at Kapiti with Ngati-Toa, but some time after and when vessels began to frequent that island, they removed to the mainland in order to be near the flax swamps, where they engaged in dressing that material to exchange for muskets.

After the defeat and death of Te Rua-maioro, his head was cut off

* The Ngati-Maru tribe of the Thames were principally concerned in this fight, which was a very disastrous one for the Ngati-Tu-whare-toa tribe.

and preserved in the usual manner, and then taken to one of the Whanganui *pas* and stuck up on a *turuturu*, or rod. Whilst there Te Rua-maioro's wife, whose life had been saved by Whanganui, came into the *marae* of the *pa* and there, unexpectedly, found herself confronted with her dead husband's head. The poor thing sat down before it and bewailed her loss in a lament, which is still sung by her people.

TE PEHI-KUPE GOES TO ENGLAND.

1825—6.

About 1823 and 1824 ships began to frequent Kapiti to trade in the prepared fibre of the flax, and as the Maoris were paid in muskets and ammunition, Ngati-Toa gradually began to acquire a good many of these arms with which to extend their conquests to the South Island, which Te Rau-paraha had apparently long desired to carry into execution. The South Island people, having joined those living on the north shores of Cook's Straits in the unsuccessful attack on Ngati-Toa at Kapiti Island when the battle of Wai-o-rua was fought, gave Te Rau-paraha a further inducement to execute his project. It was just at this time—1824—that Te Pehi-kupe, emulating Hongi, made up his mind to visit England at the first opportunity in order to acquire arms and ammunition. From the Hon. R. McNab's "Historical Records of New Zealand," Vol. I., p. 635, we are able to ascertain the exact date that Te Pehi left. Captain Reynolds, of the ship "Uranea," writing to Earl Bathurst, 18th April, 1825, thus refers to the matter:—"As I was passing through Cook's Straits on the 26th February, 1824, I was becalmed about five or six miles from the land when I perceived three canoes full of savages coming towards the ship. I then prepared the ship ready for action. The grand war-canoe then came within hail, and by motions I made them understand to keep off. The chief Tippahe Cupa (Te Pehi-kupe) showed every sign of peace, and I perceived shortly after they were all peaceably inclined. The chief, in his great war-canoe, came alongside, which I could not prevent unless I had fired into them; and if I had, a good deal of mischief might have been done. The man jumped on board naked (except a mat over his body, leaving the remainder of his dress in the canoe) and made signs for arms, and I gave him to understand I had none to give him, and then he led me to understand that he would stay on board and go to Europe and see King George, which words he pronounced plain enough to be understood. I then ordered him to go into his canoe again, but he had ordered her off and would not allow her to come near the ship. I attempted to heave him overboard so as

the canoes might pick him up. But he, perceiving my design, put it out of my power. A breeze at that time springing up he ordered all the canoes to leave for the shore, and told them he was going to Europe and that he would soon return again (as he has told me since). The next day I attempted to put him ashore near the eastern mouth of Cook's Straits, and in doing so I only just escaped losing the ship, therefore I was obliged, much against my inclination, but to his satisfaction, to make sail and leave the island for my port of destination—Lima. . . . This man, when he came on board, was a complete savage, but I have taken a great deal of pains with him to civilize him, for when I was in Lima he lived ashore with me; wherever I went he went with me. He lived on shore with me at Monte Video and at Buenos Ayres, and all the time he was on board he lived at my table, and I clothed him and kept him clothed in European fashion ever since he came under my care. He has been a heavy expense to me these thirteen months." . . . Te Pehi was very ill in England and was nursed through it by Captain Reynolds. Captain Reynolds further reports—10th October, 1825—that Te Pehi "was taken on board H.M. hired ship 'The Thames' on Thursday last, agreeable to directions forwarded to me, and that he took with him a considerable quantity of wearing apparel, carpenters' tools, agricultural utensils, with sundry other articles necessary for his passage out and comfort when at New Zealand." The British Government paid Captain Reynolds a sum of £200, and expenses incurred in connection with Te Pehi, £48.

Te Pehi returned *via* Sydney, and from there got back to New Zealand, but the date is uncertain; it has been stated as 1829, but may have been earlier. He was eventually killed at Kaiapohia in 1830. The anonymous work entitled "The New Zealanders," published as one of the volumes of the "Library of Entertaining Knowledge," for 1830, describes Te Pehi's residence in England, and gives his portrait, etc.

ANOTHER WAIKATO OPE TO TARANAKI.

(1824 or 1825.)

It was said a few pages back that Waikato was threatening another expedition to Taranaki in order to secure some satisfaction for the death of their great chiefs at the battle of Te Motu-nui. The only account we have of this is to be found in W. Te Awa-i-taia's narrative,* which is very sketchy. Nearly all the Ati-Awa had gone south, and

* A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 4.

hence we have no information from their side. He says, "Some time after Te Motu-nui Waikato again went to Taranaki, and also Ngati-Paoa (of Hauraki Gulf), Ngati-Haua (of Upper Thames), Ngati-Mania-poto (of Waipa), Ngati-Mahanga, Ngati-Mahuta, Ngati-Hourua (of Waikato), Ngati-Te-Ata (of Waiuku and Manukau); in all, one thousand six hundred warriors. They went to Mokau, Pou-tama, and on to Te Taniwha, Waitara, Nga-Motu, and even as far as Taranaki (Cape Egmont, etc.). They found no men—all had fled to the mountains. We (Ngati-Tahinga) came back without doing anything, only that some of our people were slain on the mountains. On the return home the party came to the Tonga-porutu river, where some of the Waikato were killed, amongst them the chief Te Raro-tu-tahi. The payment for him was sixty of the Ngati-Tama, and Tu-hira, a woman of high rank, was captured there.

The war-party now returned to their homes at Waikato. They still bore in mind the good actions of those of Ati-Awa who had befriended Waikato in their need at Puke-rangi-ora, and therefore remained quiet and did not return to Taranaki for some time. But, nevertheless, they longed in their hearts to obtain satisfaction for the deaths of Te Hiakai and party at Te Motu-nui."

From this absence of people it is clear the incursion of Waikato took place after the departure of the "Niho-puta" *heke*, either late in 1824 or early in 1825.

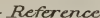
THE ATI-AWA OCCUPY PORT NICHOLSON.*

1825—6.

On the arrival of Ngati-Mutunga and others in the "Niho-puta" migration, they settled down for a time at Wai-kanae, but not for very long. Rangi-pito says they remained there for about a year and then the whole party moved on to Port Nicholson (Whanga-nui-a-Tara),

* Most of the places mentioned in the neighbourhood of Port Nicholson will be found on Map No. 6, which has been printed chiefly to preserve a large number of Maori names of places which would otherwise possibly be lost. Most of the names were supplied by old Maoris to Mr. Elsdon Best and myself, with later additions by Mr. H. N. McLeod, of Wellington, to whose researches are also due the many indications of old *pas*, villages, and other signs of former Maori occupation scattered over the Hataitai, or Whataitai (Miramar) Peninsula, and along the coast south-westerly from there, and in some other parts. In some cases the locality of Mr. McLeod's names differ from those of Mr. Best's, in which case the former are queried (?) on the map, though so doing does not necessarily mean that they are wrong. Owing to the frequently rocky nature of the soil in this neighbourhood, the old *pas* were not of the formidable nature of those in other parts and consequently their remains are much less distinct.

COOK STRAIT
(Rau - Kawā)



Remains of old Pas, or Villages shown thus---+



which country was then in the occupation of the Ngati-Ira tribe, or, at least, as many of them as had been spared after the terrible harrying they received from the former expedition of Tu-whare and Te Rau-paraha in 1819-20. Many of Ati-Awa, together with Ngati-Tama, first settled at Ohariu—a place on Cook's Straits directly west of Wellington—and whilst there they were visited by Topine Te Mamaku of Upper Whanganui, who was an old ally of Ngati-Tama. From here they moved on to Port Nicholson. On the arrival of the *heke* they settled down on the shores of the harbour, right in the centre of what is now the City of Wellington, forming a series of villages extending from Te Aro to Kai-wharawhara. The Ngati-Tama occupied Rau-rimu, which is that part around Fitzherbert Terrace, and their cultivations extended down to the stream Tiaki-wai—that ran down where the Tinakori road now is. The Ati-Awa cultivations also extended over the Otari (Tinakori) hills and beyond, that is, in suitable places, and there were several villages scattered about that part of Thorndon, such as Pa-kua—just where Tinakori road came out to the beach; Kopae-parawai, top of Hobson street; Nga-pakoko, near the present Manawatu Railway Station; Kumu-toto at the bottom of Bowen street; Pipitea, a large village fronting the beach, just under Bishops court; besides another large village at Te Aro. The present village of Nga-uranga (the landing places) bears an old Ngati-Ira name. At this time the whole of Thorndon was under cultivation—the Ati-Awa being the first to fell the bush which formerly covered the country—for the Ngati-Ira had no or very few cultivations anywhere; they lived on fern-root, fish, shell-fish, and the root of a plant called *āka*, which Rangi-pito says formerly was in great abundance growing over the hills, but has been utterly destroyed by pigs and cattle. It was like the *wharawhara* (*astelia*) in appearance, with long roots, which, when cooked in the oven, furnished a sustaining food. The Ngati-Mutunga also had a village at Maro-kai-kura—a little bay three-fourths of a mile inside Evans Bay, on the east side.

When Ati-Awa occupied these parts, the Ngati-Kahungunu and Ngati-Ira were living on the east side of the harbour, but the relations between the two parties were not very friendly, as may be imagined. In the end Ati-Awa attacked the local people at Parawa-nui (or Paraoa-nui), and drove them away to Wai-rarapa. All this time Ngati-Toa were in occupation of Kapiti and Mana Islands, many miles away, but communication was kept up between the allies, for the intervening country had been fairly cleared of the original inhabitants.

I cannot do better than quote Mr. Shand's account of the doings of Ati-Awa at this period of their history, for he has had many

opportunities of hearing the old men who actually took part in these operations describe them. He says (J.P.S., Vol. I., p. 90), "After arriving and taking possession of Port Nicholson, the Ngati-Tama section soon after moved to Wai-rarapa, but previously had assisted Ngati-Mutunga in treacherously murdering the Ngati-Ira,* a section of the Ngati-Kahungunu tribe, who were the former owners of Port Nicholson. The Ngati-Ira were destroyed at Wai-whetu (Hutt valley), Te Mahau, Whio-rau at Okiwi (by Patu-kawenga), Kohanga-te-ra (just outside Pencarrow Head), Orongorongo (a little to the east of the above, on the coast), and at Paraoa-nui."

"When the *heke* first arrived at Port Nicholson the Ngati-Ira, though taking no active measures to eject them, evidently did not like the state of affairs, but perhaps somewhat undervalued their enemies, one of them making use of the proverb, '*Kia mahaki ra ano te kauae o Poua, ka riro ai te whenua*'—('When Poua's jawbone becomes loose, then the land may be taken.') Poua, it is said, was an ancestor, as well as the name of a rock—Te Kauae-o-Poua—near Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head). Both tribes lived in their respective *kaingas* for some time apparently in friendship, constantly seeing and visiting one another."

"Meanwhile, some of the Ngati-Tama had made friends with the Ngati-Kahungunu chiefs Heke and Taka-paua, who joined them in a visit to their friends at Wai-kanae. Heke stayed with Kekerengu and his relatives on the way."

NGATI-IRA OF PORT NICHOLSON.

Here I interrupt Mr. Shand's narrative for a moment. Kekerengu, together with his father Whanake, were at that time the principal chiefs of Ngati-Ira, and the latter lived at a place called Komanga-rautawhiri—a point on the coast a little to the south of Titahi Bay, a place about one and a-half miles south of Porirua Harbour. All of the country around Porirua was Ngati-Ira land originally, and they had many settlements about the harbour, though very few *pas*; indeed, they do not seem to have used them to anything like the same extent as the tribes living a little to the north of them. The place where Whanake lived was a terrace overlooking Cook's Straits, from which he could see the vessels as they passed, and (a little later than this date) when ships began to trade for flax along this coast the sailors used to visit Whanake at his home—his *kainga-taketake*. Ships anchored under the lee of Mana Island—just opposite to Komanga-rau-tawhiri. Whanake had

* See J.P.S., Vol. XV., p. 74, for a sketch of the Ngati-Ira history.

two other names, Huka and Tai-oru-a-Tapu, and his wife was the celebrated beauty, Tamai-rangi—a lady of the Ngati-Kuia tribe of Aropaoa Island, Queen Charlotte Sound. Immediately to the south of Komanga-rau-tawhiri is a cave called after her, Te Ana-a-Tamai-rangi; again, a sand-bank in Porirua Harbour is called the food-store of this lady—Te Whata-kai-a-Tamai-rangi. She is said to have been as great a chieftainess as Hine-matiaro of Tologa Bay. When she travelled from village to village she was never allowed to walk, for her male attendants always carried her. On public occasions she was handsomely dressed in the finest mats, with plumes of albatross feathers in her hair, and a long and richly-carved *taiaha* in her hand.

Te Kekerengu (or Taiaha) was the son of these two people, and was said to have been an exceedingly handsome man. He lived a little above Te Ana-paura—a point about a mile south of Komanga-rau-tawhiri—with an outlook over Cook's Straits. Te Kekerengu was one of those who aided in the naval demonstration against Kapiti Island, already referred to, but at the time we write of, or, maybe, it was a little later on, according to Te Karihana of Ngati-Toa, there was peace between the latter tribe and Ngati-Ira; for at one time Ngati-Toa occupied all the north and north-west side of Porirua, whilst Ngati-Ira held the south side. But after a time the two tribes came to loggerheads again. Ngati-Ira were living in scattered villages and cultivations around Porirua, and had no large settlements. They used to be annoyed by their neighbours—the Ngati-Toa—helping themselves to the food, using their fishing places, and generally carrying matters with a high hand. On one occasion some of Ngati-Ira, being annoyed beyond endurance, killed some of the Ngati-Toa, and this led to reprisals on the part of the latter, ending in most of Ngati-Ira being slaughtered. When Whanake heard of the preparations of Ngati-Toa to exterminate them, he said, "*Waiho kia awatea, kia kitea hoki e taua te riri o te Pakeha*."—"Let us wait till daylight that we may see the kind of fighting of these Pakehas"—using the latter word to signify Ngati-Toa, because they fought with *Pakeha*, or European weapons. Whanake, however, was not killed at this time but a few years afterwards, in a raid on Kaikoura to avenge the death of his son.

About this same period also another great lady named Ngare-wai, who was either Ngati-Ira or Rangi-tane (my informant is not sure which), lived about Porirua, who was, like Tamai-rangi, very *tapu*, and had great influence over her people. She was taken prisoner on one occasion by Ngati-Toa, and on her captors assigning burdens to her to carry, they found she could not do the work, but was always sitting down resting, whilst the shoulder straps of flax cut into her arms. Her

fellow prisoners of her own tribe, as far as they were allowed, took all her load from her. It was then that Ngati-Toa discovered what a great lady she was. She had never in her life been accustomed to carry burdens and consequently after this they treated her better. On one occasion Ngare-wai sat on a place which belonged to Topeora, Te Rau-paraha's niece—herself a chieftainess of great rank. She was reproved by Ngati-Toa for doing so, as Topeora's seat was *tapu*. “O!” said some of Ngare-wai's people, “Topeora's *tapu* is as nothing compared to that of Ngare-wai. Topeora has to cover her eyes in passing Nga-whatu (Brothers Islets, Cook's Straits) but Ngare-wai has no occasion to do so.” It was the custom for all strangers to cover their eyes and not look at the islets in crossing the Straits, or the result would be a sudden storm. Ngare-wai's *mana* was sufficient to disregard this custom.

Tamai-rangi's influence was very great; it extended along the shores of Cook's Straits from the Ngati-Rua-nui boundaries on the north as far as Maunga-rake (near Masterton), in the Wairarapa country, where her sphere was bounded by that of Hine-matiro of Tologa Bay. The respect and almost veneration in which she was held must have been due to her character as well as her high descent. She was a direct descendant of Ira, the eponymous ancestor of Ngati-Ira.

To continue Mr. Shand's narrative: (After this visit of Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Kahungunu to Te Kekerengu and Ngati-Toa at Porirua), “Te Poki, one of the principal chiefs of Ngati-Mutunga, proposed to massacre the Ngati-Ira of Port Nicholson, otherwise they might, he was afraid, take the initiative and Ngati-Mutunga might suffer. Acting on this proposal a body of Ngati-Mutunga, with their tomahawks concealed, went to the Ngati-Ira *kaingas*, ostensibly on a visit of friendship. The moment having arrived, a Waikato chief of Ngati-Koroki, named Taiu, who had been adopted as one of the tribe of Ngati-Mutunga and had married Patu-kawenga's sister Tipi, gave the signal, ‘turn the edge’ (*huri kiko*), and in an instant the slaughter of Ngati-Ira commenced. After a number had been slain, the remnant fled to Tapu-tē-ranga—the little islet outside Port Nicholson, in Island Bay.”*

On this small islet was a *pa* in former times, and hither the remnant of Ngati-Ira fled for refuge; with them being their great chieftainess Tamai-rangi, but her husband Whanake was not there. Just before Ngati-Mutunga succeeded in capturing the island *pa*, her people carried

* See Plate 13 which shows the islet, but it is probably reduced somewhat in size since it was occupied as a *pa*.

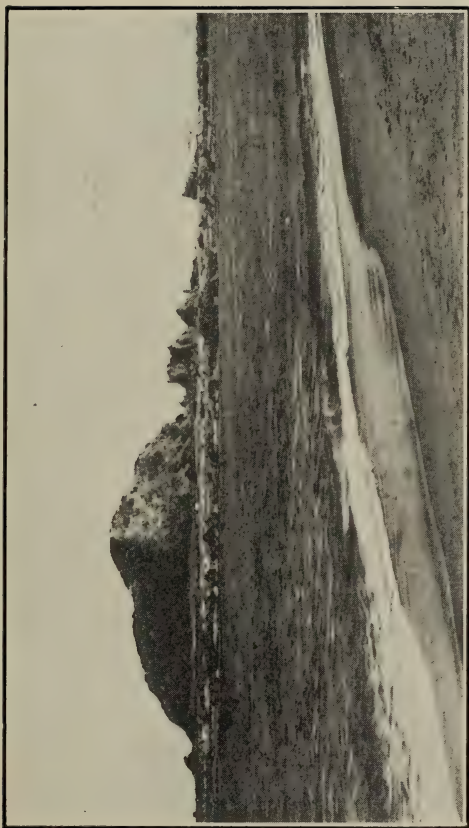


Photo. by M. C. Smith.

PLATE No. 13.

Tapu-te-ranga Island—an old *pa* formerly.

her off by canoe round Cape Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head) and Cape Te Rawhiti to a little bay named Ohariu, on Cook's Straits, due west of Wellington. Whilst here, she and her party were captured by some of Ngati-Mutunga, with some of her children, but they were not put to death. Dreading, however, that the usual fate would meet her, she asked her captors to be allowed to sing a farewell to her people and her lands. This lament was of so pathetic a nature* that it appealed to Te Rangi-haeata of Ngati-Toa, who begged Ati-Awa that she might be given to him, and, on their compliance, she and her children were taken to Kapiti Island, where they lived for some time, but eventually fled to the South Island.

Mr. Best has a note to the effect that when the island *pa* of Tapu-tē-ranga was besieged by Ngati-Mutunga, there was a chief of Ngati-Ira there named Te Wera, who effected his escape by canoe and eventually made his way as far south as Raki-ura, or Stewart's Island, where he died. I cannot say if this man is identical with the noted Te Wera who so distinguished himself in Otago; but Ngati-Ira and Ngai-Tahu of those parts were closely related. Ngati-Ira had two *pas*—the first on the south side of Titahi Bay, just to the south of Porirua Harbour, named Koro-hiwa; and Te Pa-o-Kapo, just to the north side of that bay, the *maioro* of which are still to be seen.

In Ngati-Ira times there dwelt at O-te-rongo, between Island Bay and Cape Te Rawhiti, a famous *ngarara*, or *taniwha*, who, however, was not of the man-eating variety. Whenever any traveller lit a fire near its abode, the monster came up from the sea and extinguished the fire and always, directly afterwards, arose a great *tonga* or south-easter. Such is one of the old-time stories that give an interest to these places when they are known.

Te Kume-roa tells me that Ngati-Ira killed a Ngati-Kahungunu chief at a spot a little to the east of Pencarrow Head, and in the fight a valuable greenstone *mere* was lost there. It has often been searched for but never found.

The details of the relations between the various tribes at about this period are somewhat difficult to make out, but it is clear that Tamai-rangi's son, Te Kekerengu, lived in friendship with Ngati-Toa whilst his people were being massacred by Ngati-Toa's allies, and it was probably due to this friendship that his mother, Tamai-rangi, was saved.

*Enquiries have failed to obtain a copy of this lament.

SECOND MIGRATION OF NGATI-RAU-KAWA.

1825.

It was not long after Ati-Awa occupied Port Nicholson that a second party of Ngati-Rau-kawa, under Te Ahu-karamu, one hundred and twenty strong, came down from Maunga-tautari to see how Te Rau-paraha was getting on. Mr. Travers says they arrived shortly after the battle of Wai-o-rua. Readers are referred to Mr. Travers' account of the subsequent proceedings of this period;* all that is necessary here is to say that Te Ahu-karamu, finding matters going well with Te Rau-paraha, returned to Maunga-tautari and brought down another reinforcement of Ngati-Rau-kawa; with which party came Te Whata-nui, principal chief of that tribe, and Te Heuheu, of Taupo, head chief of Ngati-Tu-whare-toa, on a visit. It was at that time Te Whata-nui decided to remove to the shores of Cook's Straits—a project which he subsequently carried out.

THE DEATH OF TE KARAWA.

1826.

We must return to Taranaki for a time to relate some trouble that occurred just at this period between the Ati-Awa, Taranaki, and Ngati-Rua-nui tribes, that eventually brought Waikato down on another of their great expeditions. We have the means of fixing the period of this event through the fact of Nga-tata's journey to Waikato, where he arrived the second time just after the Nga-Puhi chief Pomare had been killed on the Waipa river in May, 1826.

Te Whare-pouri, one of if not the principal chief of the Nga-Motu *hapu* of Ati-Awa, whose residence was at the Sugar-loaf Islands, near New Plymouth, for some reason with which I am not acquainted, went with a party of his people to the country of the Ngati-Rua-nui, to Putake *pa*, situated between the Tangahoe and Mangarata streams, one and a-quarter miles north-east from Te Ruaki, or four and a-half miles north-east-by-east of Hawera. This is a celebrated *pa* and one of the largest in the district; it is described as over half a mile long and had an immense *marae*. In this place Te Karawa's skin was used on a hoop. The chiefs living here were Ngeru and Whare-matangi. With Te Whare-pouri were Rangi-wahia of Ngati-Mutunga and Te Karawa, a son of Te Moe, sister to Raua-ki-tua (another of the high chiefs of Ati-Awa, Nga-Motu *hapu*). Te Karawa was a very fine, handsome young man of the best blood of Ati-Awa. Whilst here, Te Karawa and another young man went into the Ngati-Rua-nui *pa* with the object of plundering, and were caught red-handed by the owners of the *pa*.

* Transactions New Zealand Institute, Vol. V., p. 68, *et seq.*

After consultation it was decided to kill the two young men, and this was done, it is said, on the advice of Te Hana-taua, head chief of Ngati-Rua-nui.

When the news of this reached Te Whare-pouri's party, it was decided to attack Ngati-Rua-nui at once. But the latter advanced to meet them, and in a fight that ensued Ngati-Rua-nui were beaten, losing some of their chiefs, but the *pa* was not taken. After this the Ati-Awa *ope* returned home.

It is obvious that Ati-Awa were not so successful in the above fight as they say they were, for in order to obtain further revenge for Te Karawa's death they invited the Waikato tribes to help them. There was great lamentation over Te Karawa's death, for he was certainly one of the high chiefs of Ati-Awa.

The Ngati-Rua-nui people adopted a very peculiar method of showing their feelings towards Te Karawa's relatives, for after killing and eating him and his companion, they skinned the *rape*, or tattooed part of his buttocks, and stretching the skin over a hoop of supple-jack, they used this as a hoop, and trundled it backwards and forwards in the *marae* of the *pa* amidst the shouts and jeers of the assembled people. The bones of the victims were also made into fish-hooks, which were used to catch fish at Opunake.

NGATATA GOES TO WAIKATO.

When Raua-ki-tua, Tautara and Nga-tata heard of this most grievous insult to the body of their relative, they determined on revenge; and it was decided to send messengers to Waikato to ask their aid. Doubtless, Ati-Awa felt that Ngati-Rua-nui and Taranaki, which latter tribe seems to have been drawn into the quarrel, would be too much for their diminished forces, after so many warriors had gone south in the "Niho-puta" *heke* to join Te Rau-paraha. Ngatata,* says my informant, although a man of influence, was not a chief of supreme rank. He was the father of the late Pomare of Ati-Awa; but Raua-ki-tua was a man of great power and influence, a very tall, fine-looking man, with a large nose. It was arranged that Ngatata should visit Waikato and endeavour to enlist the help of that tribe. He went to Mote-poho to interview Te Wherowhero and Te Kanawa, and then on to Nganga-toatoa to see Pehi-Tu-korehu (of Ngati-Mania-poto), where all the chiefs of Waikato assembled. At the latter place, at the meeting held to hear his message, he appeared as a suppliant before the assembled

* Ngatata (if the same) went down in the "Niho-puta" migration. But they were always returning back again in small parties, and, probably, Ngatata came home with one of these.

tribe dressed in a kilt made of the dried husks of Indian corn, with a whalebone *mere* in his hand, and there sung his *tau*, or lay, expressive of his wishes. This was a common method of enlisting the aid of a strange tribe in the quarrels of another. The *tau* has been preserved; it is as follows:—

TE TAU A NGATATA.

Moe mai E Tama, i runga te onepu,
 Ko te kainga tena o Toa-rangatira,
 Me ko Maui toa i whano kia hinga,
 I komia atu ai te waha, ko nga iwi,
 Me ko "Kura-hau-po" te mate ra koe,
 Ka wewete te taura, ka tuku i to punga,
 Ka hou i tona hou, ka tau ki te moana—e—i
 E iri, E Koro ! i runga i a Iwi,
 Ko te waka tena o Tahatuna.
 Te waka o Manaia, ko Nuku-tama-roa,
 Te Ika-hui-rua, pokina ki roto Whatu-te-ihi,
 Huna e Whiro, ko Ngana-i-te-irihia,
 Ka kapo i te kai, ko kona ko kai-kino,
 Tenei au, e te hoa ! te whakataua pa-eke-ipu,
 Taia atu Kopiri i a Maru-uhi,
 I wehi i a Maru, rukurau to mate na—i.
 Waiho me tatari te ruru pae-nui,
 Ki te pu o te tiu, i te hau mata kaha,
 Kia kimihia atu kei whea ra koe,
 Kei tua o Tamaki ; e kore e kitea,
 E pokipoki ai te umu o te hau,
 Kei puaki to hounga—e—i.
 He kawa ta te taua e—i, e whata ana ra,
 Ki te whanau a Rangi na—i,
 Tikina atu ra ko te kahui-po,
 Oho ake ki te ao, ka rongo te tangata
 Ka hotu te taua e, i, e hotu ana ra,
 Ki te ika wareware.
 Waiho atu riri, waiho atu nguha,
 Ka noho Tu-kai-taua e—i.

KIKI-WHENUA AND MARU.

1826.

The song of Ngatata had the desired effect of rousing Waikato, who probably thought it also a good opportunity of wiping out some of the scores they had against the southern tribes. Te Awa-i-taia says (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 4) not a *hapu* of Waikato remained behind. There are said to have been four thousand warriors in the *ope*. This large party was under the principal leadership of Te Pae-tahuna, Te Kanawa (of Waikato), Te Waharoa (of Ngati-Haua), Kaihau (of

Ngati-Te-Ata), Tarapipipi (of Ngati-Haua), Te Awa-i-taia (of Ngati-Tahinga, Waikato), and Te Kohu-wai—who was subsequently killed by Te Kongutu-awa (of Taranaki) at Kapuni river, near Orangi-tua-peka. As they came through Northern Taranaki they were joined by some of Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Mutunga (of Ure-nui). They stayed a while at Manu-korihi, Waitara, and whilst here Te Awa-i-taia and all his tribe (the Ngati-Tahinga of Raglan) dug a pit in the earth and placed in it a canister of powder and one hundred bullets, by which action they intended to lay claim to the country. Thence they went on to Puke-tapu, where Te Manu-tohe-roa joined them. Rangi-pito says that Waikato attacked Ati-Awa at Puke-tapu, but I can conceive no reason for this, especially as it was some of the Puke-tapu *hapus* who had assisted Waikato at the siege of Puke-rangi-ora in 1821. At Nga-motu, Raua-ki-tua, Tau-tara, Te Whare-pouri, and Titoko joined the Waikato forces, and then the whole party went on to the Taranaki territories to O-komako-rau, where in a fight the Taranaki people were defeated. The Taranaki people call this fight “Kiki-whenua”—it is near Pungarehu—and say that they inflicted heavy loss on Waikato and Ati-Awa, but the strength of the invaders was too much for them, and they had to flee to the forests and secret hiding places at the base of Mount Egmont and the gorges of the Okahu river. Te Kahui of Taranaki says: “But long ere the forces of Waikato had appeared in the district, the news had spread that such a war-party was coming, and the various *hapus* of Taranaki centering round Cape Egmont—from the Koru *pa* (on the Oakura river) to Papaka-ka-tiro (at the mouth of the Punehu river, two miles south of Opunake, near Pihama)—had agreed to retire to Maru, at the base of the mountain, and there provide a place of safety for the women and children. The Ngati-Haupoto *hapu* was appointed to decide upon the place, and when this was done the other *hapus*, as follows, proceeded thither: Ngati-Haupoto, Ngati-Rangi, and Ngati-Tama-kumu under Mouri-o-rangi, Porora-iti, Rakei-moko, Pu-ki-waho, and Tu-tahau, who occupied Ahu-kawakawa; Ngati-Tama-kumu were under Rua-te-whatawhata*; Ngati-whare under Tutere and Kere-papaka, who also occupied Ahu-kawakawa, Te One-hahau, and Pakihere; Ngati-Hine *hapu* under Iwi-maire and Tama-rapa; the Ngati-Rongo, Ngati-kura, and Ngati-Tama-iwi *hapus* occupied Whatitiri-nui and Pakihere; others occupied Ahi-titi, Te Kaha-roa, Puke-kokako, Ahi-tutuku-rua, and Nga-koaoao. A specially secret and secure place called Te Puna-o-okahu was selected as a retreat for the women and children when the time came. This place was situated

* Taimona was his later name.

in the deep gorges of the Okahu stream, on the slopes of Mount Egmont. Houses were erected and bush felled to start cultivations. One old man of Ngati-Tu-heke-rangi, named Te Ao-moko, together with Taimona, took up their abode far up the mountain. The name Maru was given to this series of settlements because of the shelter (*maru*) they afforded to the tribes in their time of trouble. It was after Kiki-whenua the places were occupied by the men, and this latter name was derived from a word used in a *matakite*, or vision, of one of the Waikato *tohungas*, who therein saw, and afterwards declared, the fall of the Taranaki people when the battle should take place and the subsequent flight of the people to a place of safety."

"This people of Taranaki all gathered at Maru on the news of the advance of Waikato armed with guns, which they had obtained from the Nga-Puhi together with other European property. When our people were attacked at Maru, Taranaki was badly beaten; how could it be otherwise? How could our native weapons approach near enough to be effective against the guns? What could the *pou-whenua*, the *tai-aha*, the *teuhateuha*, the *koikoi*, the *kurutai*, the *mere-pounamu*, or other Maori weapons do against muskets? Hence great were the losses of Taranaki; many were killed, many taken prisoners and made slaves of and taken back to Waikato.* Our people thought that in thus assembling at the base of Mount Egmont and in our forest hiding places that we should escape death, but the guns were too much for us and great were our losses. Had it been as of yore when all fought with native weapons, Waikato would have been defeated; we should have cut them off in detail as they wandered by unknown paths in the forest between the Punga-ereere and Okahu, with which they were unacquainted, though intimately known to us. But by aid of the fear instilled by the muskets they discovered our unprotected paths and secret places, so that probably not more than fifty men of Waikato were killed by our people, whilst the guns did their work so effectually that our people were *opehia taewatia* (gathered up as crops of potatoes are in the cultivations). Some of Waikato were not armed with guns, and these occupied themselves in chasing our people in the forest to catch them for slaves—that is, those who were sufficiently fleet of foot to do so. Sometimes one hundred or less were caught together in this manner. Thus it was that the Taranaki people were enslaved—men, women, and children; only those who were sufficiently fleet managed to escape to the gorges and fastnesses of Okahu, from whence, after a time, many fled southward to Oao-iti and Oao-nui,

* We shall see one of the results of this slavery at the taking of Puke-rangi-ora in 1831.

subsequently assembling at Rimu-piko (a very fine old *pa*, situated in a bend of the Wai-au river, within the township of Opunake). From here, not very long after, the majority migrated to Kapiti and Port Nicholson, for the fear of Waikato was great. A few remained at Te Namu, and in after years there defeated Waikato. Some hid themselves in the secret places of the upper waters of the rivers on the slopes of Mount Egmont.

“Waikato were many days hunting our people, and at last finding that no more were to be found retired to the coast, and thence back to their own country, taking with them numberless prisoners. Waikato did not proceed further south on this occasion.”

Te Awa-i-taia, however, who was with the Waikatos, says (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 5) after the occurrences at Maru that the remnant of Taranaki fled to O-rangi-tuapeka and Wai-mate *pas* (three miles south-east of the town of Manaia, on the coast), which were taken by Waikato, after which they went in pursuit of Te Hana-taua of Ngati-Rua-nui (by whose advice Te Karawa had been killed—an incident that gave rise to this expedition of Waikato and Ati-Awa). But they did not succeed in catching him. The party then went on to Wai-totara and fell upon the people there, many of whom were killed, whilst Waikato lost Tupuna, Te-Uru-korari, and Te Ahiahi. This avenged the death of Te Karawa, nephew of Raua-ki-tua, and after that Waikato returned to their homes. This is corroborated by Wi Karewa of Ati-Awa, who says that Waikato took O-rangi-tuapeka on this occasion, and Ngati-Rua-nui lost the chiefs Te Pewa and Te Ahuru. W. Karewa adds, “One of the principal chiefs of Puke-tapu *hapu* named Te Huia was with the Ati-Awa contingent, and when they reached the Ngati-Rua-nui country a battle was fought out in the open, where Te Huia distinguished himself by killing two of the enemy. He was without any arms, but seized and killed these men with his hands and then shouted, ‘*Ko te tangata o te ringa mau*’—(‘The work of the left-handed man.’) Hence was the death of Te Karawa avenged.”

Te Kahui continues, “When the Waikato forces reached their homes, the chief women of Taranaki were taken to wife by the chiefs of Waikato. Hence originated two classes of descendants—those born of free women (Waikato) and those born of the slave women of Taranaki—who were thus *tutuas*, or common people—*i.e.*, of no consequence. Some of the men slaves also formed connection with the Waikato women; some even went to Nga-Puhi and there formed connections, both men and women. Here, again, another feature was developed; the enslaved women were given to the Europeans that came there in the whale-ships in exchange for guns, powder, balls, etc. The favours of others again were sold by

their masters for pots, tobacco, biscuits, etc.—some of the girls were even given to niggers who were on board the ships at the same price as the others. Hence there sprung up another description of people in New Zealand, the half-caste, making three—*i.e.*, Maoris, half-caste Europeans, and half-caste Negroes.* But it was not the slave women alone who were thus treated, for the free women of Nga-Puhi and Waikato were also sold to the Europeans of the ships in the strong desire to possess the foreigners' goods. Guns, pots, biscuits, tobacco, etc., were the inducements to these connections, so that the tribes might possess weapons to use against others. Thus Hakirau (Love) and Tiki Parete (R. Barrett) of Nga-Motu, who had wives from the Ati-Awa women, supplied that tribe with guns, and from the same source Taranaki obtained some muskets in later years, prepared flax being the payment. Hence came the musket of Wiremu Kingi Matakatea, which he used in the defence of Te Namu in 1834. Those of Taranaki who migrated to Kapiti and Port Nicholson acted in the same manner, and from the connection of the women with Europeans our people became possessed of guns and half-castes. Hence were they able to cope with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.

“It was in after years, after Wiremu Kingi Matakatea had defeated Waikato at Te Namu (in 1834), that our people came back after exile at Port Nicholson and Kapiti, and each family again occupied its own lands.”

During this campaign Tama-whereo of Ngati-Rua-nui was killed by some of the Ati-Awa and in revenge for the death of Te Karawa; his *rape* also was brought back and placed on the eel wiers—a great insult.

The migration of Ngati-Haumia and nearly all the other *hapus* of Taranaki to Kapiti, or rather to the coasts adjacent to that island, and Port Nicholson, occurred not very long after the return of Waikato to their own country. It was probably in 1827. But a small band of one hundred and twenty warriors and their families determined to remain at their homes, and they took up their residence in Te Namu *pa*, a very

* It must not be supposed from Te Kahui's remarks that the Negro element in the Maori population is great—on the contrary it is only seen very rarely. Perhaps there are more half-caste Maori-Negroes in the Taranaki tribe than elsewhere. But these are nearly all the descendants of old Black Davis, who lived at Oakura in the early fifties of last century (and probably long before). This old fellow, who was as black as soot, used to say that he was the first *white* man! who ever visited Kawhia. As a rule the Maoris have a dislike to Negroes and ridicule their black colour, so different to the light brown colour of their own skins.

Te Kahui, in referring to the offspring of sailors and Maori women, used to call them *utu-pihikete*—paid for with biscuits!

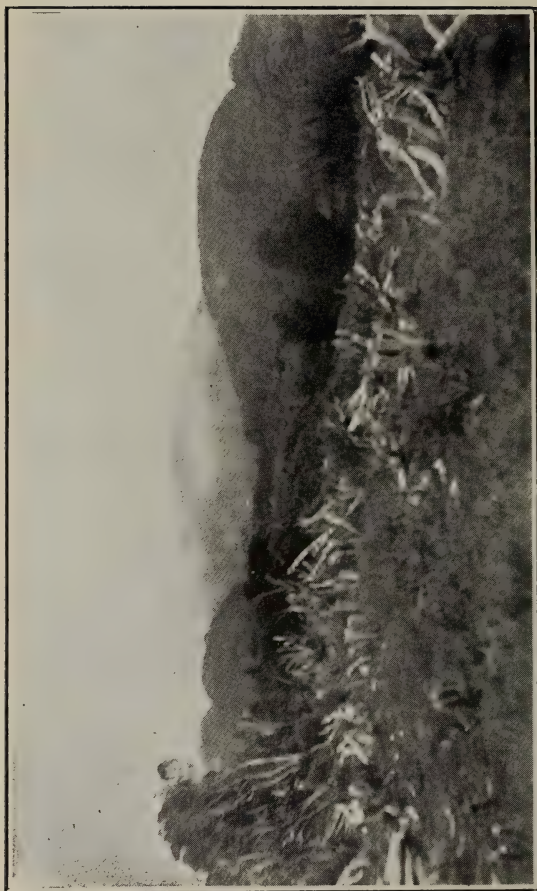


PLATE No. 14.

Maru Hill, on slopes of Mt. Egmont.

strong place about a mile west of Opunake township, on the coast. Wiremu Kingi Matakatea (or Moki) was their chief; and here they remained many years, as we shall see later on. They said they preferred to die on their own lands rather than in a strange country, though Paku-ahi, a chief of Taranaki, was most urgent that they should accompany the migration.

Te Kahui, in his account of the slaves taken back to Waikato, states that some of them went (or were sold) to Nga-Puhi. The "Missionary Record" often refers to these slaves, and I remember myself seeing several in Kaipara in 1859. At this time they were treated kindly, but it was not always so, as the following extract from Rev. Mr. Hamlin's Journal, whilst at Manga-pouri (on the Waipa), 24th September, 1836, will show—see "Church Missionary Record," 1836, p. 239. "Tidings of a dreadful murder which was committed within a mile of this place about an hour before I arrived. The murdered man was a slave from Taranaki; he lately met his wife who has been recently brought from that place a captive, but the property of another master. Love to the partner of his bosom and false hopes of being able to escape home inclined them both to take to the bush, where they were found this morning—not by their proper master but by another native, who immediately brought his piece, and in spite of the heart-touching appeal, '*Aua au e kohurutia*'—('Don't murder me') and in the presence of his wife, sister, and father-in-law of the deceased, this ruthless brother of Cain fired a ball through the body of the unhappy man, who fell dead at his feet."

Since the account of the incidents at Maru printed above, I have had the opportunity of visiting the slopes of Mount Egmont, where that and other places are situated. Plate No. 14 shows the site of the Maru settlement, which was on the rounded hill on the right of the picture; Pakihere is a little further to the right, across the Okahu Gorge, which is here nearly five hundred feet deep, with perpendicular cliffs falling directly from Pakihere. When the Waikatos took both Maru and Pakihere they descended on to them by the spurs of Mount Egmont (indistinctly seen in the picture through the mist). Te Ahu-kawakawa is the name of the swamp lying between Mount Egmont and the Pou-a-kai Ranges, the drainage of which forms Bell's Falls, or Te Rere-a-Tahurangi—named by Tahurangi, who first ascended Mount Egmont, as related in Chapter IX. Puke-kokako lies to the south-west of Pakihere, and the other places mentioned a few pages back in connection with Maru are all in this neighbourhood,

and all are at an elevation of some three thousand to four thousand feet above the sea. It is a broken forest-clad country, very picturesque, with the noble peak of Mount Egmont forming the back-ground. On some of the flat spurs the Maoris grew both *kumara* and *taro*. The site of Te Kahui Mountain House (from which the photo No. 14 was taken) was cultivated at the time of Maru. The people who first owned and lived in this country were the Ngati-Kaikaka tribe—probably a branch of the Kahui-maunga aboriginal tribes. They were exterminated by the Taranaki tribe.

CHAPTER XVI.

SOUTH ISLAND RAIDS.

THE accession of a number of the Taranaki tribe who fled from their own territories after the events at Maru, as related in the last chapter, to the ranks of the fighting men under Te Rau-paraha at Kapiti, together with further contingents of Ngati-Rau-kawa from Upper Waikato, which came under their chiefs Taratoa and Te Whata-nui, and settled down at and around Otaki, rendered Te Rau-paraha's scheme for the invasion of the South Island easy of accomplishment. The increasing number of vessels also that began to frequent Kapiti Island for the purpose of trade in flax was the means of adding materially to the store of fire-arms so ardently desired by the Maoris. So far as can be made out, it was in 1828 that Taratoa and many of Ngati-Rau-kawa joined Te Rau-paraha, and either at the end of the same year or very early in 1829 Te Whata-nui followed his tribesmen to Cook's Straits.

It was also about this period—*i.e.*, 1827 or 1828, that the Mua-upoko chief Tohe-riri, who had issued the invitation to Te Rau-paraha to visit him at Horo-whenua, that led to the massacre of the latter's children, met his death at the hands of Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Rau-kawa at Horo-whenua—to which place he had returned from the Ngati-Kahungunu of Wai-rarapa, with which tribe he had taken shelter.

NGATI-TAMA DEFEATED AT TOKA-KAWAU.

? 1827.

These various tribes did not always live in peace with one another in their new homes, though allied in their general policy. It was somewhere between 1826 and 1828 and after the arrival of some of the Ngati-Rau-kawa that this latter tribe fell out with Ngati-Tama, and some fighting ensued at Toka-kawau, Ranga-tira (? on the banks of the Manawatu), where the latter tribe got the worst of it, losing a chief of note named Pehi-taka and an Ati-Awa chief named Te Kaurapa, killed by Te Ao of Ngati-Toa; whilst Ngati-Toa (who were assisting Ngati-Rau-kawa) lost Kahu-pake and Moe-araara. The dispute was about some of the conquered lands, but Te Rau-paraha, after a time, persuaded the disputants to make peace. It was in consequence of this

trouble and the fear that such turbulent tribes might in the future disturb the harmony of their alliance, and thus frustrate his further schemes of conquest, that Te Rau-paraha (on the advice of his sister Wai-tohi—says Mr. Travers) finally arranged that all the Ngati-Rau-kawa people should settle and own the lands to the north of Kuku-tauaki stream, whilst Ati-Awa should hold those to the south, including Wai-kanae.

Some lady of the Ngati-Tama composed the following *Kai-oraora* against Ngati-Toa on account of the losses of her tribe at Toka-kawau :—

Kaore te hukihuki ki te hoa kua riro,
Ko te waiho atu ki te puta whakakapi,
Ki Toka-kawau—e,
Ka whakapae te riri, e piri mai,
Homai nga ure nui ki au mau ai,
Kia whakaturia te komenga i raro nei,
Kia tuwhera te hakē hei rui i nga roro,
No Ngati-Rau-kawa, no Ngati-Whakatere,
He rerenga mai hoki—e, te umu a Te Huia,
Kai rawa atu au to tumuaki rahi,
No Paringa-tai, no Te Whawharua,
Na Kahu-nui—e, ka kita aku niho,
Mene rukuruku te kare o 'Rarua,
Ki roto ki taku ipu, e koropupu nei.

TRANSLITERATION.

Alas! the startled heart for my departed friends
Left on the desolate battle-field
At Toka-kawau.
Wrath may turn aside, but still be felt.
Give to me those great ones to keep,
To be used as a feast for those below;
Let the bowl be open to receive the brains
Of Ngati-Rau-kawa, of Ngati-Whakatere,¹
Collect them all into Te Huia's oven.
I will thy sacred heads consume—
O Paringa-tai! O Te Whawharua!²
At Kahu-nui will I gnash my teeth,
And gather the beloved of Ngati-Rarua³
Into my gourd that is boiling there.⁴

NOTES.—1. Ngati-Whakatere, a *hapu* of Ngati-Rau-kawa. 2. A chief of Ngati-Toa. 3. Ngati-Rarua, a *hapu* of Ngati-Toa. 4. Water was boiled in a gourd by placing red-hot stones therein.

TE RAU-PARAHA STARTS FOR THE SOUTH ISLAND.

1828-29.

The captured canoes, taken from the allies at the battle of Whaka-paetai or Wai-o-rua, Kapiti, in 1824 (see last chapter), now came into use to further Te Rau-paraha's schemes of conquest, by enabling him and his allies to cross the rough waters of Cook's Straits. "Te Ahu-a-Turanga" was the name of Te Rau-paraha's own canoe used in many of his southern expeditions; it still lies rotting away at Motu-hara (Porirua Harbour), says Mr. Best. It probably came from Manawa-tu originally, for its name is that of a place on the old track over the southern spurs of the Rua-hine mountains, the origin of which will be found in Chapter VIII. Another famous canoe of this period was "Te Ra-makiri," originally captured from Ngati-Kahu-ngunu of Wai-rarapa by Ngati-Tama, and presented to Te Rau-paraha. "It is,"—says Mr. Best—"exceedingly *tapu*, where it still lies on Mana Island. If anyone breaks off the smallest fragment a dreadful thunderstorm will ensue, and the lightning destroy the offender! 'We know that this is true'—says Mr. Best's informer—'because when the canoe was hauled up at Kapiti many years ago the carved *ihu*, or bow, was broken, and instantly a violent storm arose!'" Such is the old-time belief!

The expedition which started in 1828 for the southern side of Cook's Straits was an extensive one, consisting of Ngati-Toa under Te Rau-paraha, Te Rangi-haeata, Rawiri Puaha, and many another noted warrior of that tribe and their related *hapus* of Ngati-Rarua and Ngati-Koata. With them were some of Ngati-Mutunga (of Ure-nui), Puke-tapu (of Bell Block), Manu-korihi (of Waitara), and Ngati-Tama (of Poutama) under Te Puoho, Ngati-Rau-kawa, under the chiefs of that tribe; Te Whata-nui, head chief, joining the force later on. This formidable force crossed the Straits from Kapiti Island, having, no doubt, made sure that this dangerous transit was safe, by observations at Omere—the point south of Ohariu Bay, as the old song says:—

Ka rou Omere ki waho,
He maunga tutainga aio.

Where bold Omere projects outside,
The mount where calms are watched for.

and which was the invariable custom before crossing. Equally would these superstitious people comply with ancient custom in the case of those who had not crossed the Straits before, and avoid looking at the Brothers rocks, for so surely as they did so would a violent storm arise and swamp the canoes—so says the old tradition.

They made for Te Tao-o-Kupe (Kupe's spear), named on the maps Koamaru, or Jackson's Head (so called after an old whaler of that

name who took up his residence under Te Rau-paraha's protection, about the time we are writing of), the eastern entrance to Queen Charlotte Sound. Here a division of the forces took place, for a time, and the Ati-Awa portion proceeded up Queen Charlotte Sound, killing or driving away to their mountain fastnesses the original inhabitants, who were part of the Rangi-tane, Ngati-Apa, and other tribes, about whom we know very little. It was this people that cut off Captain Ferneaux's boats' crew in 1773 at a little bay in Arapaoa Island, which lies to the east side of the Sound. Ati-Awa went on to the head of the Sound to Te Wera-a-Waitohi, which is the name of the place where the town of Picton now stands, and is so named on account of a big forest fire that occurred many years ago, which was lit by a man named Waitohi, from whose time the place has been open land. Here the Ati-Awa took possession of the country, but I am not quite clear whether any of them settled down there permanently at that time, or whether it was later. In after years they occupied the little island of Moioio as a *pa*, which is situated at the junction of Queen Charlotte Sound and Tory Channel. My notes say, "They did not occupy Wairau Valley at this time because it was under a state of *tapu*, consequent on the death of some of Ngati-Toa there;" which is the only note we have in reference to some raid of Ngati-Toa across the Straits prior to this great expedition.

HIKAPU.

Te Rau-paraha and his division of the fleet, which is said to have carried three hundred and forty warriors mostly armed with muskets, proceeded along the coast to Pelorus* Sound, up the beautiful reaches of which they paddled, destroying the unfortunates who fell into their hands, or enslaving them.

The tribe they met with here was Ngati-kuia—an offshoot of Ngati-Apa (of the north shores of Cook's Straits). They take their name from Wai-nui-a-ono, the wife of Koanga-umu, who are said to have come from Hawaiki in the Kura-haupo canoe.† Their boundaries were restricted to the Pelorus Valley and Rangi-toto Island. They were great fishermen and bird-hunters, but did little cultivation. At the time of Te Rau-paraha's invasion Pakau-wera and Maihi were the principal chiefs of Hikapu, the headquarters of the tribe. This was a semi-fortified village situated at the junction of the Kenepuru Sound with that of Pelorus. Eruera Wirihana Pakau-wera, who died at

* Named after H.M. Brig "Pelorus," which discovered the Sound in September, 1838. The native name is Te Hoihere.

† Ngati-kuia means the "descendants of the old woman"—i.e., Wai-nui-a-ono.

the age of about seventy-eight in the late "nineties," told me that the news of the Ngati-Toa invasion into their peaceful waters was only received at Hikapu a very short time before the fleet was seen approaching, coming on at a very great pace, as the canoes were urged through the water by many hundreds of muscular arms. Ngati-kuia were distracted, and did not know what to do when the cry of "*Te Iwi hou e! te iwi hou!*"—"The new comers! the new people!" was heard warning all of the approach of the war-party. Ngati-Toa landed and dashed into the village, and commenced slaughtering right and left. The unfortunate inmates had nothing but their native arms to defend themselves with, and were so panic-stricken that they became an easy prey to the invaders. My informant was a child of about eight or ten at the time, and was led away by his father, who managed to make good their escape to the forest. "What are those lights and the smoke we see at the village?" asked the child. His father replied, "That is Ngati-Toa burning your ancestors and our houses!" The boy's mother, Kunari, whom he described—as he saw her some time afterwards—as a most beautiful woman, with long chestnut curls hanging down her back—was taken prisoner by Te Whaka-rau with a large number of other women, and shortly afterwards was married to Apitia (senior) of Ngati-Mutunga of Ati-Awa.*

It is said that the slaughter at Hikapu was very great indeed; it was a massacre pure and simple. Outside the mere desire of man-slaying, Te Rau-paraha had the additional motive, so dear to the Maori, of revenging on this people the part they took in the naval

* E. W. Pakau-wera described to me how in after years, when Apitia lived at Rangi-toto Island, he and his father used to visit Kunari, the boy's mother. This was when peace had been made. The following little bit of family history illustrates some features of Maori life in the early nineteenth century:—"Apitia (senior) was of the Ati-Awa tribe of Waitara; he first married Wehe, a woman of the same Taranaki *hapu* as the well-known chief Kukutai. They had a daughter named Ripeka Te Urunga-pingao and a son Apitia. When Apitia (senior) joined the expedition under Te Rau-paraha he captured and took to wife Kunari, former wife of Pakau-wera of Ngati-kuia. They afterwards lived at Wai-ariki, Te Rimu-rapa (Sinclair's Head, near Wellington), which country fell to Apitia's share at the conquest (1825). It was here that Apitia took Kunari to wife, much to the anger of his first wife Wehe. When Ati-Awa removed to the Chatham Islands in 1835, Apitia went with them, leaving Wehe and her daughter at Wai-ariki, but taking the boy Apitia with him. Shortly after the death of Te Hiko (of Ngati-Toa) at Porirua, Wehe died at Wai-ariki. When Apitia heard of this he returned from the Chatham Islands, and for a time lived with us all at Wai-ariki. Now about Kunari: When Apitia first went to the Chatham's, it was not long after that Kunari had a daughter, who grew up to be a fine woman. When the tribe of the first wife saw

attack on Kapiti in 1824, when Whaka-paetai or Wai-o-rua was fought, and also for the assistance that some of them rendered to Ngati-Apa in that same year—for which see *ante*.

NIHO-MANGO.

1829.

After killing or driving to the forests all the inhabitants of Pelorus, the Ngati-Toa fleet returned to the mouth of Pelorus Sound, and whilst here (says Mr. Travers) they were joined by Te Pehi-kupe and further reinforcements of Ngati-Toa from Kapiti. It will be remembered that Te Pehi-kupe had, in 1825, invited himself on board a whale-ship bound for England, whither he desired to proceed in order to procure arms for his people, in which he was partially successful. He returned to New Zealand in January, 1829,* and, no doubt, joined Te Rau-paraha directly afterwards, so we have a date for the further proceedings of the *taua*.

With this increased force Te Rau-paraha returned on his tracks for a time without going through the French Pass, and then coasting down the east side of the South Island proceeded to punish a Ngai-Tahu chief named Rere-waka, who, on hearing of the defeat of the allies at the attack on Kapiti in 1824, had said that he would rip up Te Rau-paraha's belly with a *niho-mango*, or shark's tooth. But as Mr. Travers has fully described this expedition (Transactions and Proceedings New Zealand Institute, Vol. 5, p. 72, *et seq*). I will only say that after this attack on Kaikoura itself, Takahaka, a *pa* a little north of Omihi and south of the former place, was also taken.

We left Ati-Awa at the head of Queen Charlotte Sound. My notes are not clear as to whether this tribe joined Te Rau-paraha again, before the latter started on his way down the east coast as described

her they bewitched her, and she died. A son was also born to Kunari and Apitia, and he was also killed by *makutu* (witchcraft). Immediately afterwards Kunari died through the same means, and had not been buried a month before Apitia himself succumbed to the same influence—all on account of his taking a second wife, which is a serious offence amongst us Maoris" (Te Whetu, 1894). There must have been circumstances in this case which differed from the ordinary—probably Wehe, the *wahine-matua*, or senior wife, was entirely displaced by Kunari; for it was no uncommon thing for a Maori chief to have a dozen wives, one always being the principal one.

* Te Pehi, says Judge Mackay, came back direct to New Zealand from England, and then made a voyage to Sydney. It was in 1829 he returned from the latter place.

above. But probably they did so, and it was then decided that Ati-Awa should take the west coast of the South Island and conquer that country. However, this may be, the fact is that it was Ati-Awa, assisted by some of Ngati-Rarua (of Ngati-Toa), who made the conquest. The particular *hapus* of Ati-Awa that contributed most largely to this expedition were Ngati-Mutunga, Puke-tapu, Manu-korihi, and Huti-wai, besides Ngati-Tama under Te Puoho. The chief men engaged were Niho, Te Puoho, Takerei, Te Manu-tohe-roa* (of Puke-tapu), Te Keha, Te Koihua; Te Puoho and Te Manu-tohe-roa appear to have taken the leading part. We know few details of this raid. The tribes that were now to fall under the weapons of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rarua had not as yet experienced the full effects of warfare as conducted by the savage northern tribes, nor were they in possession of firearms. These tribes were the Ngati-Apa-ki-te-ra-to (or Ngati-Apa-of-the-sunset) and the few remaining people of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, living amongst them as slaves or vassals. I extract from Judge Mackay's work† a brief account of these people, for the book is scarce, though often quoted—not always with due acknowledgments.

NGATI-TU-MATA-KOKIRI.

After the first settlement of the crew of the canoe "Taki-tumu" in the Middle Island, "a branch of the Ngati-Hau from Whanganui, under a chief named Tauira-pareko, were the next to cross over to the Middle Island; a section of whom called Ngati-Wairangi, with their chief Tawhiri-kakahu, settled at Arahura (near Hokitika), on the West Coast. . . . Next in point of time was a tribe named Pohea, also from Whanganui; they settled in the neighbourhood of Whakatu, or Nelson, where they built a large *pa*, called Matangi-awhea. The tribe Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri were the next to arrive and spread themselves over the Whakapuaka, Nelson, Waimea, Motueka, Roto-iti, Roto-roa, and Massacre Bay districts and the West Coast as far south as the river Karamea. They are said to be descended from a chief named Tu-mata-kokiri,‡ and to have come originally from Taupo to Whanganui, in the North Island, where, after dwelling for a while, they crossed over to the Middle Island and settled at Arapaoa (Queen Charlotte Sound), from whence, in course of time, as their descendants

* Afterwards killed at the battle of Te Kuiti-tanga, 1839.

† A compendium of official documents relating to native affairs in the South Island, by A. Mackay, Native Commissioner, Government Printer, Wellington, 1873.

‡ It is said by the Whanganui people that Te Ahuru led the first migration to the South Island, followed not long after by Tu-mata-kokiri.

increased, they spread themselves over to the westward, occupying the shores of Blind (or Tasman) and Massacre Bays; and it is supposed, according to native accounts, that it was a few of this tribe who attacked Tasman's boats' crew on the 18th December, 1642, on his visit to that part, which he describes in his voyages as having named Massacre Bay in consequence of this unhappy affair; in corroboration of which the locality pointed out by the natives as having been the scene of the first unfortunate meeting between the European and native races, is situated in close proximity to the Tata Islands, in what is now known as Golden Bay."

After describing the irruption of the Ngai-Tahu tribe into the Middle (or South Island) about the year 1575-1600, and their collision with the Ngati-Mamoe tribe, Judge Mackay continues, "About this time a division of the Ngai-Tahu proceeded to Ara-hura, on the West Coast, for the purpose of getting the greenstone, or *pou-namu*. . . . In those days the West Coast of the Middle Island was inhabited by a tribe called Ngati-Wairangi. . . . A large body of Ngai-Tahu travelled across the Island to the West Coast, where they speedily overcame the Ngati-Wairangi, most of whom were killed, with the exception of a few women and children, who were spared by and embodied in the Ngai-Tahu. The Ngai-Tahu had not long been in possession of the West Coast before they were attacked by the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri (of Tasman Bay, etc.), but, as the attacking party was not large, no advantage was gained by them, and they withdrew to Mohua (native name of the northern part of the Middle Island). The Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri seem to have had occasional fights about the right of catching the *weka*, *kiwi*, and *kakapo* in the Upper Grey and Buller districts, but nothing of any moment took place during the first century of the occupation of the Middle Island by Ngai-Tahu. . . . The pursuit of bird-hunting and eel-catching at the sources of the Maruia (a branch of the Buller), the Clarence (Wai-au-toa) and Wai-au-uwha" (which is the proper name—not Waiau-ua, as the maps have it) "led to frequent skirmishes between the East and West Coast Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri. This latter tribe appears to have held possession of the country to the north of the Buller river" (and extending to Cape Farewell) "for over a century after the first settlement of Ngai-Tahu in the Middle Island, when their territory was invaded by a division of the Ngati-Apa tribe from the neighbourhood of Whanganui, in the North Island, who partially conquered them, but after a time withdrew again to their own district."

"The Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, with a view to avenge themselves on this tribe, determined to cross the Straits and attack them at Kapiti,

where they then resided, but in attempting to do so large numbers were drowned, and the remainder who landed were so few in number that they fell easy victims to their enemies."

"No further attempt at conquest appears to have been made by the Ngati-Apa until about sixty years ago (*i.e.*, 1810), when, taking advantage of a war then raging between Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, they crossed over to Massacre Bay and again attacked the latter tribe. The Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, about this time, unfortunately killed a Ngai-Tahu chief named Pakeke at Maruia; it was determined by both Ngati-Tuāhu-riri (of Ngai-Tahu) and the Poutini (West Coast) Ngai-Tahu to take revenge. Two fighting parties started unknown to one another almost simultaneously—one from Kai-apohia (on the East Coast), and one from Arahura (on the West Coast); the former headed by Te Whare-kino, an influential chief, travelled by the Hurunui river to Lake Sumner; thence by the sources of the most northerly branches of the Wai-au-uwha and the pass of Kai-tangata to Maruia, following this river down to its junction with the Kawa-tiri, or Buller. They then proceeded, after crossing the Buller, in a northerly direction by the valley of the Matiri—a tributary of the Buller—to the sources of the river Karamea, down which they proceeded to the West Coast, where they remained some days eel-fishing."

"The party of Poutini Ngai-Tahu, headed by their principal chief Tuhuru (father of the late Tarapuhi-Te-Kaukihi of Mawhera"—and, I may add, a descendant of Mango-huruhuru, the magician who brought the sands to the Taranaki coast, see Chapter VIII*), "travelled by the West Coast and reached Karamea at the time that Whare-kino and his people were there engaged eel-fishing. Seeing tracks of men on the sands at Karamea they supposed that it was some of the

* Tuhuru had only lately become a resident of the West Coast. The following is translated from a document written in Maori by an old man named Hakopa (of Hokitika) in 1898 for Mr. G. J. Roberts (now Chief Surveyor of Westland). He says, "Tuhuru came originally from Kaekae-nui (? Ngaengae-nui), near Kaiapohia north of Christchurch. He did not come to make war, but rather to hunt birds to make a return for a feast given to his people. These birds were *kakapo*, *kiwi*, and *weka*, besides eels, which his men carried back over the mountains from Poutini to Kaiapohia, and from there were distributed even as far south as Tau-mutu (south end of Lake Ellesmere) and to Arowhenua (near Timaru). After this, Tuhuru came back to Poutini (the West Coast) with his people and dwelt at O-Hine-taketake, in the Mawhera, or Grey Valley. Here he lived with some of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe until a quarrel arose, in consequence of a woman named Kakore having been taken forcibly as a wife by Tainui, Tuhuru's son, against the wishes of her tribe, and then troubles commenced between the two parties, ending, as Judge Mackay relates, in the text above.

Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, of whom they were in quest. Tuhuru and another native cautiously approached the Ngati-Tuāhu-riri camp. Tuhuru's companion being in advance came suddenly on Te Whare-kino (who was engaged baiting an eel-basket), and, taking one another for enemies, a scuffle ensued, when the Poutini man was thrown down and would have been killed by Te Whare-kino but for the timely arrival of Tuhuru; he at once, without ceremony, made a stroke at Te Whare-kino with his spear and ran him through the arm, at the same time giving him a push forward on his face. But before he could rise he was siezed by the hair by Tuhuru, who intended giving him a finishing stroke with his club, when he suddenly recognised him as Te Whare-kino and a cousin of his own. The Ngati-Tuāhu-riri, attracted by the quarrel, had by this time assembled round their leader; whereupon the mistake was explained and they at once agreed to join forces and proceed to West Whanganui, led by Tuhuru. There they attacked the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri and killed large numbers of them, but after a time retired to Arahura, from whence Te Whare-kino and his people returned to Kaiapohia, on the East Coast."

"The Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri were shortly after again attacked by the Ngati-Apa, from the North Island, and driven on to the West Coast; and the last of them, consisting of Te Pau and Te Kokihi, two of the principal chiefs, and a few followers, were killed by Tuhuru and his people on the Paparoa range, dividing the valleys of the Grey and Buller. The Ngati-Apa had now entire possession of the country formerly occupied by the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri; but events were taking place in the North Island amongst the tribes there, which eventually led to their being dispossessed of their newly-acquired territory. . . ."

Practically, the above is all that is known of the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe, as they were destroyed root and branch, always excepting some of the women who were taken prisoners by their conquerors, and it is through some of them that the following old song was learnt by some of the Ngati-kuia and Ati-Awa people. It is very ancient:—

Nau mai, E te tau! ki roto nei taua,
 Titiro iho ai taku tonga-rerewa
 E tomo, E Hine! ki Mirumiru-te-po,
 Ko Te Tatau-o-te-po,
 Ko te whare tena o Rua-kumea
 O Rua-toia, O Miru ra e!
 No Tu-horo-punga, no Kai-ponu-kino
 Nana koe i maka i te kopae o te whare
 Ki te ata ki a Te Kamu.
 Ka huri mai hoki to wairua-ora,
 E Hine! ki a au.

He motoi taniwha no roto i te kopa
 Na to whaea, na to tuakana, na Hine-korangi,
 He awe toroa no runga i a Karewa,
 Nana i unu ake, tukua mai kia rere,
 E Tama ma e ! tauwhirotia mai
 Te waka o te makau
 Me tuku kia whano nga mata kurae,
 Ki Rua-taniwha e—
 Kia wawe ia te ihu
 Ki Otama-i-ea
 Tahuri atu ki tua ki One-tahua—e—
 Te whenua ra e, kihai au i kite,
 E takahia mai ra, e Tu-ki-Hawaiki.

TRANSLITERATION.

Thou hast entered, O Lady ! Mirumiru-te-po,
 By the door of Hades, place of departed spirits.
 There is the house of Rua-kumea—
 (Where spirits are dragged to their doom)
 Of Rua-toia, spirit-holder—of Miru,¹ goddess of Hades.
 There also is the house of Tu-horo-punga of Kai-ponu-kiro
 (The powerful gods of sorcery and spells).
 'Twas Miru¹ that cast thee into the corner,
 To the shade of the firmly-grasped ;
 From thence did turn thy living-spirit,
 O lady ! unto me.
 Welcome back, my love ! to this our home,
 And let me gaze on my treasure found—
 My precious one from the treasure-bag ;
 Once thy mother's, thy sister's, even Hine-korangi's.²
 Thou art like the albatross plume, from Karewa,³
 Plucked from its wing and hither brought.
 O my friends ! welcome with beckoning hand
 The canoe that bears my loved one,
 And let it pass on by the many capes
 That lead to Te Rua-taniwha ;⁴
 Quickly shall the bow reach the strand
 At famed Otama-i-ea.⁵
 Then turn away to One-tahua,⁶
 To that land I have never seen,
 Where Tu-ki-Hawaiki⁷ goes to and fro.

NOTES.—This is the lament of Riri-koko, who, on the death of his daughter, followed her to the Reinga, or place of departed spirits, and brought her back. She was the sister of Hine-korangi. But see the *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. VII., p. 59, and Vol. V., p. 118, for the story on which this lament is founded. 1. Miru, goddess of Hades. 2. Hine-korangi, sister of the departed. 3. An island off Kawhia, home of the albatross. 4. Rua-taniwha, a point a little to the north of West Whanganui. 5. Te Tahuna i Otama-i-ea is the boulder bank that forms Nelson harbour. 6. One-tahua is Cape Farewell Spit. 7. Tu-ki-Hawaiki was formerly the principal chief of Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri of Tasman Bay.

In Judge Mackay's account it is inferred that the whole of Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri were exterminated. No doubt, this was so, as a tribe, but many of the women were saved, as also some of the men—all of whom subsequently became slaves to Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rarua.

CAPTAIN D'URVILLE'S VISIT TO TASMAN BAY.

1827.

It will be of interest to say a few words just here about the visit of the celebrated French Captain, Dumont D'Urville, in the corvette "Astrolabe," which occurred early in 1827, and which, so far as is known, was the first visit of an European ship to that bay since Tasman in 1642. It was on the 18th December of that year that the Dutch navigator anchored off Separation Point, which divides Tasman from Massacre (or Golden) Bay, and, as is well known, one of his boats was attacked by the Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri tribe and four of the sailors killed. Hence Tasman gave the name Murderers' (or Massacre) Bay to the place. It would have been of interest to have learnt the Maori account of this affair, but, unfortunately, the tribe that committed the murders was practically exterminated by the Ngati-Apa tribe about the beginning of the nineteenth century, so we have nothing from native accounts but the bald fact of two ships having visited the bay, where they were attacked by the Maoris and some of the crew killed. This information comes down through some of the women, or slaves, spared when Ngati-Apa conquered the country.

And as to Captain Cook's three visits to Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770, 1773, and 1777, for the same reason we have no native accounts. The people with whom Cook had intercourse, probably Ngai-Tara or the Rangitane tribes, having also been exterminated. One would have thought that such a notable event as Cook's visit would have been retained in the traditions of the Ngati-kuia tribe who inhabited the Pelorus Sound, but my old friend Pakau-wera, from whom I obtained much information as to his tribe, absolutely knew nothing of Cook's visit.

Captain D'Urville left Sydney on the 19th December, 1826, and after a very stormy passage made the West Coast, near the mouth of the Grey River, on the 10th January, 1827. From there he coasted along to the north, round Cape Farewell, and anchored off Separation Point, not far from Tasman's anchorage, on the 14th January. It was then that he ascertained that Tasman's Bay was of far greater size than Cook had supposed. On the 16th January D'Urville was off Mackay's Bluff, a few miles north of Nelson, and here he first communicated with the natives, who visited the ship in two canoes

from a settlement pointed out as being situated near the north end of Nelson Haven (which D'Urville never saw) and called, according to D'Urville, Skoi-te-hai (which may be, perhaps, Kohi-te-whai, or some such name).^{*} D'Urville thought he recognised amongst these people two distinct classes—the fine, stalwart tattooed men who were evidently chiefs, and some untattooed men who appeared to be slaves, or of the lower orders. There is no doubt these people were members of the Ngati-Apa-ki-te-ra-to tribe, who conquered Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, and probably the lower class were slaves or vassals of the latter tribe held in bondage after their conquest by the first named. The same day the Astrolabe anchored under the lee of Adèle Island, on the west shore of the bay, in a fine, sheltered place, which received the name of Astrolabe Bay. They remained here several days, the natives from the head of the bay coming to visit them and remaining camped on the shore whilst the ship was there. D'Urville remarks that these people were unacquainted with iron, and put no value on it; but much preferred clothing in exchange for their mats, etc., etc. He says they had potatoes, but possibly he means the *kumara*, or sweet potato. They complained of the effects of fire-arms in the hands of some neighbours who came from the north-west, evidently alluding to Ngati-Toa and Te Ati-Awa, with whom these people had come in contact in 1824 at the attack on Kapiti Island already described.

D'Urville, after four days at Astrolabe Bay, sailed for the French Pass, which he discovered, and after a very great many difficulties managed to take the Corvette through, with the loss of part of her false keel, for the terrible current of the Pass carried the ship on to the rocks. It was a very narrow escape. D'Urville's description of these exciting times is of very great interest.

^{*} This place name cannot now be identified; the subsequent conquest of the country by Ngati-Toa and Te Ati-Awa having destroyed those people who might have known. But Judge Mackay tells me there were to be seen, when Mr. James Mackay first occupied the country to the north of the Nelson Haven in 1845, a very large number of *papa-whare*, or house foundations, all along the Boulder Bank, and that at the head of this place "there are numerous *papa-whare* to be seen in close contiguity and of all shapes, as also along the bank for several miles, along the margin of the flax swamp which formerly existed there. . . . The site of this swamp was previously occupied by a forest of mixed timber, which was ultimately destroyed by fire, and a growth of flax took its place. The site of the mixed forest was originally covered with a growth of *kahikatoa* (manuka), the remains of which were discovered when digging ditches to drain the swamp laying on a clay surface at a depth of six feet below the level of the swamp. There must have been a great subsidence there; for the present surface of the swamp is very little above sea level."

His officers requested him to allow his name to be applied to the island that lies to the north of the French Pass. The Captain's remarks thereon are worthy of being quoted, as showing that he had the true spirit of the discoverer, and did not wish to deprive the first explorers of their right to name their discoveries. The Maoris, of course, were the first to visit the island. He says, "The name of D'Urville Island, therefore, will remain until the epoch when we shall learn the name it has already received from its inhabitants." The Maori name of the island is Rangitoto, but D'Urville's name still takes precedence, and it is as well in this case that it should remain, for the name of the distinguished French navigator is not signalized in any other part of New Zealand, although he did so much to make its coasts known.

They saw several villages about the Pass and Admiralty Bay, and even some of the natives in their canoes at a distance, but held no communication with them. These were some of the Ngati-kuia people of Pelorus Sound, who at that time owned Admiralty Bay and Rangitoto Island.

After this long digression we return to the

CONQUEST OF TASMAN BAY.

1828.

We left the Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rarua expedition at Rangitoto (or D'Urville's) Island bound for the conquest of the Ngati-Apa of Tasman Bay. The fleet passed along down the east coast of the bay, attacking all the people they found as they went along. At a place named Te Ana-toto—a point on the mainland just to the west of the French Pass, they first fell in with some of the local people, and here succeeded in killing Te Nge and captured his wife Whakaata. Passing down the coast they killed or drove inland all the people at Croiselles Harbour (so D'Urville, its discoverer, spells it—the native name is Whangarae) and then on to Whakapuaka, where they fell on the people there, killing a great many, amongst them the wife of Tekateka, a Ngati-Apa chief, who, himself, climbed on to the top of a house and shouted out, whilst the massacre was going on, "*Ko au tenei! Ko Tekateka!*"—"This is I, Tekateka!" This man being a brother-in-law of Tu-te-porangi (one of the Ngati-kuia or Ngati-Apa prisoners of Ngati-Toa and now friendly with them) was therefore saved by Te Manu-tohe-roa of Ati-Awa. Tu-te-porangi's grandson is Hoani Makareka of Blenheim. The expedition then went on to Nelson, Motueka, Takaka, and as far as Te Tai-tapu, or Massacre Bay, killing or enslaving the unfortunate Ngati-Apa. Having conquered all this

extensive stretch of country, embracing the whole of Tasman Bay, with a coast line of about one hundred and twenty miles, many of the conquerors settled down there in the choicest spots.

But the manslaying already accomplished did not suffice for these bloodthirsty warriors, now habituated to a diet of man's flesh and with the lust of killing on them. Apparently, the offence given by Ngati-Apa in joining in the attack on Kapiti Island in 1824 was not to be expiated by the conquest of their country and the enslaving of their people. The strong desire also to obtain greenstone was another reason why a portion of the conquerors under Niho (or Nga-Niho) of Ngati-Tama (or perhaps Ngati-Rarua—both tribes closely related), and Otu of Ati-Awa, decided to raid the West Coast and attack the Poutini Ngai-Tahu, in whose country the greenstone was to be found. The course which this expedition took along the West Coast is one of the most difficult to travel in all New Zealand. The mountain ranges are nowhere very far from the coast, down to which the spurs come in precipitous slopes, all clothed with very dense forests, and intersected by numerous rivers and streams running in precipitous gorges. A writer in the "Karere Maori," No. 16, 1849, says, "Along this coast the Ngati-Tama chief Nga-Niho led his people in the year 1827 (? 1828) against the Ngai-Tahu people of the greenstone country, whom he defeated in every battle. The assailants had all of them guns, and although, amidst the almost inaccessible rocks and fastnesses of their coast, the Ngai-Tahu might have defied any enemy similarly armed to themselves, yet the fear of the fire-arms brought against them, together with their deadly effect, caused them in every instance to give way. The localities of the fights are yet pointed out, and scorched stones, which formed the *umus*, or ovens, are still discernable. It is very doubtful if these valleys—between West Whanganui and Karamea—were ever at any time peopled. The Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Tu-matakokiri tribes that formerly inhabited the Middle Island occupied chiefly the Northern and Eastern Coasts and only visited the Western Coast in quest of greenstone and sealskins. A section of these latter people retreated to the rocky fastnesses of the Karamea country upon the invasion of the Ngati-Tama and Kawhia (Ngati-Rarua) tribes. Thence, after a succession of fights in which their strength was broken, they dispersed, going yet further to the south-westwards, where, at Arahura river and towards Milford Sound (Waka-tipu, *sic.*) a community of about seventy persons, half of whom are of the Kawhia tribe, intermarried with the Ngai-Tahu, are all that remain of them, and the only inhabitants of a coast country of four hundred and seventy-five miles in length. . . . The incessant wars which seem

to have engaged the Ngai-Tahu, Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri, and Rangitane tribes, even before the northern tribes crossed the Straits, prevented the population of the Middle Island increasing to such an extent as these valleys could be peopled."

Judge Mackay says (*loc cit*, p. 46), "Leaving Te Puoho and Te Koihua in charge of the conquered country (Massacre Bay, etc.), Niho and Takerei, with their followers, proceeded down the West Coast as far as the river Hokitika, conquering all the country before them. Amongst the prisoners taken was Tuhuru, the chief of the Poutini Ngai-Tahu, who, on peace being restored between the contending parties, was ransomed by his people for a greenstone *mere* called "Kai-kanohi," which is now (1872) in the possession of the descendants of Matenga Te Au-pouri. After this, Tuhuru and some of his people, as an act of submission, went to visit Te Rau-paraha and the Ngati-Toa at Rangitoto; and Takerei and Niho, with some of the Ngati-Toa, settled at Mawhera (Greymouth) on the West Coast." My notes add to Judge Mackay's the fact that Niho married Tuhuru's daughter—a very fine, handsome woman.

From Mr. G. J. Roberts' notes, already referred to, I abstract the following account of the capture of Tuhuru, as obtained by him from Te Kere, an old Maori of about seventy-eight years of age:—"When Te Niho started for the West Coast (from Patu-rau*) Te Rau-paraha told him to spare Tuhuru (Hakopa says, 'but Pu-aniwaniwa was to be killed.') At West Whanganui he killed Te Weka, but no others, and at Mawhera killed five or six others. From there he came on to Hokitika. At this time Tuhuru was at Kokatahi—a few miles inland of Hokitika. The party reached the latter place in the evening, and Tukai (who appears to have been the guide) persuaded the war-party to wait till morning as Tuhuru and the men would be away fishing. Tukai wished to save Tuhuru if possible. Arrived at the *pa* at Kokatahi in the morning all the men were away and only women at home (and some of Tuhuru's sons, says Hakopa, who escaped into the forest, whilst the women were captured). When Tuhuru approached the *pa* he saw the war-party, and fled to the Kokatahi river, and after crossing stood there with his long spear (*huata*). Niho followed him and called out, telling Tuhuru he did not want to fight. After this, Niho crossed the river and rubbed noses with Tuhuru, and then both

* Judge Mackay tells me "Patu-rau is the name of a stream a short distance south from the entrance of West Whanganui. Niho (Te Whare-pakaru), Takerei, and some of the Ngati-Tama used to live there when the Massacre Bay district was first conquered."

returned to the *pa*. Hakopa here says, '*Ka poia ki te atua kia kitea e Tuhuru te ara mona ki te ora.*'—('Tuhuru made offerings to his god to disclose to him the course he should take to save himself,') and that he explained to Ngati-Tu-mata-kokiri what was to be done.' Hakopa's ill-written, badly composed narrative leaves the matter there and goes off on to a different subject. Mr. Roberts continues, "Tainui, his sister, and Tarapuhi (Tuhuru's children) were in the bush, but the latter came back (? before Niho left). Next morning Niho and his party left, and went on southwards as far as Okarito. Kahu, for whom Niho was seeking, was up the big Whanganui river at Lake Matahi, or Ianthe, engaged in fishing. He and his party came out to the coast to Whataroa, and next day Niho arrived at Okarito. Kahu was standing by a *whata*, or store-house, whilst Niho's people were taking food from it. Kahu tried to drag towards him with his foot a tomahawk lying on the ground; but Niho's men saw him, so killed him, also his wife and daughters.

"Te Niho then marched back to Arahura, and from there back to Patu-rau, taking Tuhuru and the other local Maoris with him, and here they stayed five years, after which Te Niho brought them back to their own homes. On this occasion Te Niho went right down the coast as far as Tahu-tahi (Cascades), from whence he returned home. There was no one killed in this expedition, but Kahuwai, one of his party, was drowned in the Wai-a-toto river in trying to save another man. His body was burned, and the ashes buried at the head of the lagoon where 'Castle Douglass' now stands."

Te Manu-tohe-roa, of the Puke-tapu *hapu* of Ati-Awa, was one of the principal chiefs engaged in these raids, and, as my informant says, it was he and his people took the Waimea and Motueka valleys, and there captured Te Kotuku, the principal chief of those parts.

It will be remembered that at the battle of Wai-o-rua, or Whaka-paetai, in which these Ngati-Apa people had assisted those of the North Island in attempting to destroy Ngati-Toa at Kapiti in 1824, a boy named Tawhi—son of Te Putu of Ngati-Toa—was the only prisoner taken by the allies. He was carried away by Ngati-Apa to their homes in Tasman Bay. When Ngati-Toa were engaged in their Pelorus Sound raid in 1828 they took prisoner at Rangitoto Island a chief named Tu-te-porangi (belonging, I think, to Ngati-kuia), who was conveyed to Kapiti. Some time after this, and evidently after the conquest of Tasman Bay, this man requested that he might be allowed to return to his tribe, urging as a reason therefor that he could secure the return to his parents of the boy Tawhi. Ngati-Koata, a branch of Ngati-Toa, to which tribe the boy belonged, agreed to the

proposal, and they fitted out an expedition from (I believe) Rangitoto, where some of them were living in order to accomplish this. They proceeded by canoe through the French Pass (Te Au-miti, native name) and along the coasts of the bay to Motueka, but on their arrival there they found the place deserted. The expedition then turned back to Waimea, where they found Te Hapuku, chief of that branch of Ngati-Apa. With this chief Ngati-Koata made a formal peace, says my informant, which seems to show that some at least of Ngati-Apa still retained their independence. But the child was not to be found. Whilst there they saw the head-piece of a very celebrated canoe named "Te Awatea," which had been taken there for safety, whilst the other parts had been left at Motueka. This canoe was presented to Ngati-Koata by Te Hapuku, and was brought away to Kapiti on their return. The boy Tawhi never returned to his people, but died a natural death at Pelorus.

After this, a second expedition was made by Ngati-Koata, which went to Rangitoto Island, Kaiaua (at Croiselles), Whaka-puaka, and Waimea, and at these places made peace with Ngati-kuia and Ngati-Apa. This expedition went especially to make peace with the remains of the above tribes, and it occurred shortly before the death of Te Pehi-kupe, or in 1829.

Although peace was made between the conquering northern tribes and the remnant of Ngati-kuia and Ngati-Apa, they did not always live up to it, as the following incident will show, as told to Mr. Best and myself by old Te Paki of Ngati-Koata, who had taken part in Te Rau-paraha's raids and had settled at Otara-wao, on the west side of Rangitoto Island with his tribe soon after the conquest:—On one occasion two chiefs of Ngati-kuia, named Ruru and Tu-maunga, came on a visit to Ngati-Koata. As they landed from their canoe, Te Paki, having some grievance against Ruru, made up his mind to kill him, but on attempting to do so was prevented by Tu-maunga. During the evening Te Paki got some of his friends together in his house to persuade them to help him carry out his design. In the house was a woman named Rangī-kukupa, who, pretending to be asleep, overheard the scheme prepared for Ruru's death. She took an opportunity to go outside, and warned Ruru, who thus escaped the death intended for him.

OMIHI.

DEATH OF TE PEHI-KUPE.

1829.

After Te Rau-paraha's return from the Niho-mango expedition, as alluded to a few pages back, and whilst residing at his island home at

Kapiti, an incident occurred which again took him to the South Island.

In Chapter XV. the capture of the Ngati-Ira chieftainess Tamai-rangi and her family by Ati-Awa, and the subsequent protection afforded to them by Te Rangi-haeata of Ngati-Toa, has been described. Tamai-rangi's son, Te Kekerengu, who was an adult man at that period, was a fine, handsome fellow and somewhat of a "gay Lothario." Whilst living at Kapiti an intrigue took place between this man and the wife of Te Rangi-haeata (or Moka, which was his other name), the news of which, as is invariably the case amongst Maoris, soon became public property. Tamai-rangi and Te Kekerengu, fearing the result of this might be their destruction, procured a canoe and escaped from Kapiti one night, with all their relations. Crossing the stormy Straits they proceeded to Aro-paoa Island, in Queen Charlotte Sound, and stayed there for some time; but still fearing the wrath of Ngati-Toa they departed from there and went on south to somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kai-koura, and joined their distant relatives of the Ngai-Tahu tribe.

When the news of this intrigue reached Te Rau-paraha's ears, he was much incensed, but saw in the incident an excuse for a further expedition against Ngai-Tahu, who, by thus giving shelter to Te Kekerengu became, according to Maori custom, equally guilty. There is no doubt he was also actuated by the lust of conquest and the desire of obtaining more greenstone, of which the people of the large *pa* at Kai-apohia, near the present town of Kaiapoi, were known to possess large quantities.

With these objects in view, the Ngati-Toa chief collected his tribe and started towards the end of 1829 for the South Island. After calling in at Wairau (Marlborough), they coasted on to Kai-koura, where it was found the people had fled, many of them assembling at Otama-a-kura, near Omihi—a river some fifteen miles south of the former place. Here Ngai-Tahu suffered a very severe defeat—the remnants scattering to the mountains and many fleeing to Kai-apohia. Te Pehi-kupe, Pokai-tara, and many other chiefs, with a considerable force of Ngati-Toa, leaving Te Rau-paraha at Omihi, followed after the fugitives to Kai-apohia, where Te Pehi-kupe and some others, after deceiving the people of the *pa* as to their intentions, were allowed to enter the fortifications and barter for greenstone. Residing with Ngai-Tahu at that time was a Nga-Puhi (or rather Te Roroa of Northern Wairoa) chief named Hakitara, who suspected Ngati-Toa's intentions, and warned his hosts to take advantage of the presence of their enemies in the *pa* to kill them.

According to Rangi-pito—a well-informed Ati-Awa chief—Hakitara

had been on a whaling cruise, and landed somewhere on Banks Peninsula, probably much disgusted with the rough life at sea, and made his way to Kai-apohia. When he saw the arrival of Ngati-Toa he said to Ngai-Tahu, "This is the tribe of Te Rau-paraha who was the cause of Te Waero's death at Motu-tawa, Roto-kakahi Lake, Rotorua district."* Hakitara had thus some idea of avenging the death of his own people as well as warning Ngai-Tahu. The Ngati-Toa had been induced to enter the *pa* by some one holding out a *mere* of greenstone—*hei whakapataritari*, or bait, says Rangi-pito.

This advice was acted on, and Te Pehi-kupe, Pokai-tara, Kiko-tiwha, and Te Ara-tangata of Ngati-Toa were slain. As Pehi was struggling with those who were trying to kill him, he said, "*Kaua e hoatu ki te atua, me homai ki te Kaka-kura.*"—"Do not give it to the god, but to the Kaka-kura"); from which last word Wi Parata of Waikanae, who died in 1905, took his name Kaka-kura. What the real meaning of Pehi's speech is, I cannot say.

The subsequent attack on Kai-apohia *pa* and its failure need not be repeated here, for the Rev. J. W. Stack has fully described it in his "Kai-apohia." Thus died Te Pehi-kupe, a chief of high rank in the Ngati-Toa tribe, who, with the determination to procure fire-arms for his tribe had submitted himself to the rigorous discipline of a whale-ship in 1826, and made a voyage to England and subsequently to Port Jackson for that purpose. His death occurred in the latter end of 1829.

The end of Te Kekerengu, whose *liaison* with Te Rangi-haeata's wife had been made the pretence for this expedition, was equally disastrous to himself. He fled from Otama-a-kura *pa* at Omihi with his relatives directly he saw Te Rau-paraha's fleet outside, and made his way to a place on the coast twenty-two miles from Cape Campbell. How long he and his relatives remained here is not known, and the cause of his death is somewhat obscure. The strong probability is, however, that Ngai-Tahu, looking on him as the immediate cause of their disastrous defeat at Omihi, determined to be avenged on him, and for this purpose followed the fugitives and killed them all at the river now known as Kekerengu, which is so named after Te Kekerengu.

Before fleeing from Otama-a-kura, but after Te Kekerengu had recognised the oncoming fleet of canoes as belonging to Ngati-Toa, he exclaimed, "*E kore e ki nga tauari a Hine-i-awhea!*"—"The thwarts of Hine-i-awhea will not be filled!"—meaning, I presume, that he

* See "Wars between the Northern and Southern Tribes," p. 90.

would not wait to allow of his body being piled up in one of the canoes, so he made off.

It may well be imagined the wrath and sorrow of Te Rau-paraha at the death of his relative, Te Pehi-kupe; and that he would take measures to fully avenge it was only in keeping with his character. How he accomplished this is related in considerable detail by Mr. W. T. L. Travers (Transactions New Zealand Institute, Vol. V.) and by the Rev. J. W. Stack in "Kai-apohia." I will therefore content myself here by adding a few notes of matters not apparently known to those gentlemen.

TAMA-I-HARA-NUI'S DEATH.

1830.

This occurred in November or December, 1830, for Mr. Montefiore, a merchant of Sydney, was trading for flax at Kapiti in December of that year when the "Elizabeth" (Captain Stewart) arrived there from Port Cooper having on board Te Rau-paraha and his party, returning with their prisoner Tama-i-hara-nui, whom they had captured by treachery at Port Cooper. He was handed over to Te Pehi-kupe's relatives and widows, who put him to death in a most barbarous manner.

In 1894 I got the following brief account of Tama-i-hara-nui's death from Mr. Jackson, son of an old whaler and trader, who was at Kapiti when the "Elizabeth" arrived. He was at that time—December, 1830—with a shore-whaling party stationed at Evans' Island—just off the south-east end of Kapiti Island. These people used to visit the "Elizabeth" as she laid at anchor there with the prisoner on board. Tama-i-hara-nui used to complain bitterly against his captors because they had suspended him to a beam on board the vessel by a hook under his chin. The shore-whalers used their best endeavours with Te Rau-paraha to allow them to take the prisoner back to Banks Peninsula, but to no avail. Tama-i-hara-nui offered these men the whole of the Peninsula if they could succeed in saving his life. The prisoner was finally taken ashore to Otaki and tied up to a tree, where the chief persons of Ngati-Toa cut open the unfortunate man's body at the naval, when each taking a part of his entrails, pulled them out, and thus killed him. His wife, Te Whe, was hung up by the heels, her jugular vein cut, and then the widows of Te Pehi drank the blood until she died. The infamous Captain Stewart (who had allowed the ship's coppers to be used for cooking some of the prisoners) never got the cargo of flax which had been promised him, for the whalers were all so incensed against him that they formed a plan to take the ship and

detain her and her captain until a man-o'-war could be communicated with. Stewart, getting to know of this, cleared out one night and sailed for Sydney. His fate is believed to be unknown; he sailed from Sydney for England *via* Cape Horn, but was never heard of afterwards.

This story was confirmed to me by another old whaler named Workman, who came to New Zealand in the brig "William Stowell" (Captain Davidson) in 1835, and heard the story then current amongst the whalers at Kapiti.

KAI-APOHIA PA.

1831.

Not satisfied with the vengeance already taken for Te Pehi-kupe's death, in December, 1831, Te Rau-paraha proceeded south again and laid siege to Kai-apohia—full details of which are given in Mr. Stack's work already quoted. In both his account and that of Mr. Travers, Te Rau-paraha's allies of Ati-Awa are practically ignored, but they really formed quite a large contingent, under the following well-known chiefs:—

Te Puoho, of Ngati-Tama	Te Tupe-o-tu
Huri-whenua, of Ngati-Rahiri	Manu-kino
Rere-tawhangawhanga, of Manu-	Kapuia-whariki
korihī	Wharepo
Te Manu-tohe-roa, of Puke-tapu	Mohi-Ngawaina
Ngatata (father of Pomare)	Riwai-Taupata
Te Poki	Raharuhi-Te-Taniwha, of
Te Arahu	Ngati-Tama
Te Awe	Te Waka-Tiwha (brother
Takaratahi	of Pomare)
Te Hau-te-oro	

They were all absent on this expedition when Puke-rangi-ora fell in December, 1831.

There was in those days a somewhat noted *Matakite*, or seer, named Kuku-rarangi; the following is a *mata*, or vision, composed by him, used as a *ngerī*, or war-dance, by Ngati-Toa as they left their homes for Kai-apohia:—

Aha te hau e pa mai nei?	O te waka o Maui ki raro, ha!
He uru, he para-awa!	Tuituia ha!
Ko nga hau e tu	He rere a ha!
Ki te rae i Omere ra ra!	Taku pokai tara—
Hi! Ha!	Pokai tarapunga
Ka kite koe, E 'Raha!	E tu ki te muriwai

I te ahi papakura ki Kai-apohia,	O Waipara rara,
Ma te ihu waka,	Hi! Ha!
Ma te kakau hoe	Ka whakapae te riri ki tua.
A, ka taupoki te riu	

TRANSLITERATION.

What is the wind that hither blows?
 'Tis the west, the breeze from the sea!
 The wind that beats
 On the point at Omere!¹
Hi! Ha!
 Wouldst thou behold, O 'Raha,²
 The lurid flame at Kai-apohia;
 Then let the bows of the canoes
 Be onward forced by strength of paddle.
 Thus shall overturned be
 The canoe of Maui, *ha!*
 Sew on the top-sides, *ha!*
 Fleet be their course, *ha!*
 And then my little flock of terns—
 My flight of black-capped gulls,
 Shall stand at the river's mouth,
 At Waipara³ stream shall land,
Hi! Ha!
 And angry war be seen beyond.

NOTES.—1. Omere, the bold point just south of Ohariu, the look-out place before crossing the Straits. 2. 'Raha, short for Te Rau-paraha. 3. Waipara, the river a few miles north of the Ashley, where the party was to land prior to the attack on Kai-apohia.

The Ngati-kuia people of Pelorus Sound, who had suffered so severely at the hands of Te Rau-paraha when Hikapu fell (see *ante*), were forced by Ngati-Toa to join in this expedition. They went by the old Maori trail over Manga-te-wai, or Tophouse Pass, and so through the mountains to join Ngati-Toa at Kai-apohia. They returned the same way.

CHAPTER XVII.

BARRETT AND LOVE SETTLE AT NGA-MOTU.

IT is necessary now to turn our attention again to the North Island, where events of considerable importance were happening. In order to preserve the continuity of Te Rau-paraha's doings in the South Island, we have got in advance of our proper dates.

As far as can be made out from several references in what is irreverently called "The fat book," being the early reports of the officers of the New Zealand Company, Richard Barrett, Love, and a party of men from Sydney arrived at Nga-Motu (or the Sugar-loaf Islands) in 1828 or early in 1829, probably the former. Their object was trade with the natives and the establishment of a shore-whaling station—but probably this latter was a subsequent project. According to Maori accounts the name of their vessel was the "Tohora" (or whale); she made several trips in the course of the following years, taking produce to Sydney and bringing back trade. On one of these voyages to Sydney many of the principal natives of Nga-Motu accompanied the vessel to that port, and returned home by way of the Bay of Islands. The names of these people were: Te Puni, Te Whare-pouri, Tu-te-rangi-haruru, Oue-tapu, and Te Keha (who afterwards died at Motueka, South Island). Another early vessel that traded to Nga-Motu from Sydney was the "Ameriki Wāti"—a name which looks like "American Watch." A reference to the shipping records of Sydney would no doubt show the real names of these two vessels.

Old Watene Taungatara, who has often been quoted, gives the following account of the early settlement at Nga-Motu: "As the *heke* ('Heke-whiri-nui') reached the Whanganui river, Hakirau (Love), in his vessel the 'Tohora,' of which Tiki Parete (Richard Barrett) was mate, arrived at Nga-Motu. The *hapus* that lived about there at that time were Ngati-Rahiri, Ngati-Tawhiri-kura, Ngati-Te-Whiti, and Ngati-Tu-pari-kino. Directly the ship was seen sailing along outside, two large war-canoes were launched—named 'Te Pae-a-huri,' belonging to Ngati-Rahiri, and 'Te Rua-kotare,' the property of Ngati-Te-Whiti. They followed in all haste after the vessel, which was south-ward bound, and overtook her off Cape Egmont. After coming alongside

the chiefs and people went on board. Then Te Whare-pouri stood forth and said, 'You must take your ship to Nga-Motu, where there is plenty of *muka* (prepared flax) and numerous pigs.' Hakirau (Love) consented to this, and then the ship put about and anchored off Nga-Motu. When the white men came ashore, a very fine, handsome woman named Hika-nui was given to Love as a wife, whilst another (afterwards) named Rawinia was given to Barrett. They were both high-born women of Ngati-Te-Whiti.

After this the goods on board were brought ashore; they consisted principally of three cannons, six thousand small-arms! six thousand!* casks of powder, and large quantities of bullets and flints, besides blankets and other goods of the white people.

Then all the people of the Ati-Awa assembled at Nga-Motu to construct a very large house to contain the goods of the white men, which house was named Patarutu. This was the period during which these tribes sold large quantities of *muka* and pigs for guns, powder, and other things. Right away down the coast to the Taranaki tribe extended the commerce in these articles. The pigs were converted into bacon to be taken to Port Jackson. The vessel was now loaded; she was quite full of *muka* and pork. According to my idea it took three months to fill the vessel, and then she sailed for Port Jackson, taking several chiefs (mentioned previously) with her to see the wonders of the white man's country.

Not a very long time elapsed, and then the 'Tohora' returned to Nga-Motu. On this occasion all the crew came ashore except one man, and during the night a gale of wind arose, the anchor broke, and the vessel was driven ashore. But she was not much damaged, for she came ashore on the sandy beach at O-tai-kokako, at Nga-Motu. Everything was now taken out of the vessel, and then there gathered over two thousand men, who, by aid of skids overlaid with seaweed, dragged her into the water again, and then she anchored outside to take in her cargo. Whilst this was being done, a heavy cask of pork fell out of the slings into the hold and broke the ship's bottom, so that the water rushed in. Now was the vessel completely wrecked.

No very long time elapsed, however, before another vessel, named 'Ameriki Wati,' arrived at Nga-Motu, and she continued to trade between Nga-Motu and Port Jackson for a long time, making many voyages." (Here, unfortunately, ends Watene's first volume; the second was lent by his heirs, and is now lost—a great loss, for the old man was one of the best writers that I have laid under contribution.)

* Probably Watene's figures require dividing by a hundred.

The settlement of these white men at the Sugar-loaf Islands—or rather on the mainland just inside the islands—made a considerable difference to the natives of the district, for Nga-Motu became a small centre of civilization and trade, and a mart for local produce; but above all, the local people were now in a position to obtain muskets, so long and ardently desired by them. The important part these white men played in the course of the ensuing years will be seen as this narrative progresses.

TE HEKE-WHIRI-NUI.

It was just a little before the time that Barrett and others settled at Nga-Motu that a further migration of Ati-Awa took place to the south. This migration was called “Te Heke-whiri-nui,” because of the large twists or curls put on their *koka*, or mats, by way of ornament, says Mr. Shand.* Whilst this party was at Whanganui, the news of Love and Barrett’s arrival reached them at that place, and as many of the people forming this *heke* were engaged in the conquest of Tasman Bay, referred to in last chapter, it would seem that the party left Taranaki say late in 1828. Mr. Shand says (*loc. cit.*) “that it included the people who lived between Waitara and Puke-tapu, whose chief was Te Manu-tohe-roa . . . and also the *hapus* named Puke-rangiora, Manu-korihi, Otaraua (of which Te Tupe-o-Tu† was chief), and finally the Puke-tapu *hapu*, besides stragglers from the districts of Onaero and Urenui.” It is not to be understood, however, that the whole of the tribes mentioned left at this time, for many remained in their old homes. Watene Taungatara says, “thousands went and thousands remained.” Nor did they all stay in the neighbourhood of Kapiti when they reached there, for there was a constant going backwards and forwards of small parties.

As to the immediate cause of this migration, my Taranaki notes are silent; but it was probably due to a fresh inroad of Waikato, which so far as can be made out must have occurred just about this period. Te Awa-i-taia, in his account‡ of the Waikato incursions, refers very briefly to this particular expedition. He says, “Waikato continued to bear in mind the death of their great chief Te Hiakai at the battle of Te Motu-nui (see Chapter XIV.), which was still unavenged. When Te Ao-o-te-rangi and his party of sixty went to Taranaki, many of them were murdered (so translated by Mr. White, but *kohuru* equally means treachery, and it is probable it was some unexpected attack that

* Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. I., p. 88.

† Killed at Hao-whenua in about 1834.

‡ A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 5.

caused Waikato's loss). It was Te Whare-pouri (of Nga-Motu) who saved the life of Te Ao-o-te-rangi and the others." Beyond this brief note, nothing further is known of this invasion, but that Waikato had neither forgotten nor forgiven their defeat at Te Motu-nui is manifest; indeed, as we shall see, it was only a couple of years after this that they took a most signal revenge for their losses, at the fall of Puke-rangiora.

PUTIKI AT WHANGANUI.

1829.

The next event that must be placed in this year was the attack on Putiki-whara-nui *pa* at Whanganui. Mr. Travers refers to this incident, but indicates no date; but several circumstances seem to concur in indicating 1829 as the time.* Rangi-pito, to whom I am indebted for so much information as to these times, says it occurred four years after the arrival of the "Heke-niho-puta" at Otaki (see Chapter XV.) or in 1828, but 1829 seems to agree with other data better.

It will be remembered that the *heke* referred to above had been attacked by the Nga-Rauru tribe of Wai-totara river, and that a party of Ngati-Raukawa under Te Rua-maioro had been nearly all cut off on the Upper Whanganui (see page 402). It was to square the account for their losses in the above places that the tribes interested decided to attack Whanganui. At this period several large parties of Ngati-Raukawa had migrated from their homes between Cambridge and Taupo, and were living in close alliance with Ngati-Toa and Ati-Awa in the neighbourhood of Kapiti. Te Rau-paraha had also his own reasons for assisting the two other tribes; so it was decided to make a combined attack on Putiki-whara-nui *pa*—situated just opposite the present town of Whanganui, on the south bank of the river.

Rangi-pito (referred to above) gave to Mr. Shand and myself the following account of this expedition: "They (Ati-Awa) had been three years settled at Port Nicholson (besides one at Waikanae) when, after discussion, an *ope* or war-party was collected at Otaki in order to retaliate on Nga-Rauru for the losses suffered by the 'Niho-puta' *heke* when they came down from Taranaki. This was consented to by all (*i.e.*, Ati-Awa, Ngati-Toa, and Ngati-Raukawa), so they started. At this time Te Rau-paraha had some quarrel with the Ngati-Tu *hapu* of Ati-Awa (related to the Kai-tangata *hapu*, now of Onaero), and wanted to punish them on the way; but this was overruled by the other allies,

* I observe since writing the above that the Rev. R. Taylor, in "Te Ika-a-Maui," p. 371, states that Putiki was taken two years before 1831, which agrees with my date.

and so the whole force—‘nearly one thousand men,’ says Mr. Travers (*loc. cit.*, p. 84, but Rangi-pito says nine hundred *topu*, or eighteen hundred)—started on their way to Whanganui from Otaki. The chiefs of the force were Te Rau-paraha of Ngati-Toa, Te Whata-nui of Ngati-Raukawa, Rere-tawhangawhanga,* Te Manu-tohe-roa, Ngatata (father of Pomare), Te Poki, and Te Arahua—all of Ati-Awa. At Whanga-ehu river the *ope* was stopped by the people of that place for a time. From here two messengers, Taki-rau and Te Kapu-ahu, were despatched on to Whanganui to tell Pehi-Turoa of Upper Whanganui to keep away from the *pa*, as they wished to save him. He was ‘*Kaua e tutaki i te huarahi*’—(‘Not to stop up the road for the war-party.’)

When the messengers arrived at Putiki *pa*, Pehi said to them, ‘*Whitia te korero, ka pehea?*’—(‘Deliver your message! What is it?’) The two men replied, ‘*Kia haere koe ki uta; kaore i haere mai ki a koe; engari ki te takitaki i taku mate.*’—(‘It is, that you go inland; we have not come against you, but to avenge our losses by Nga-Rauru.’)

Then arose Te Whaingā of Ngati-Apa, and said, ‘*A! he tane koe; he wahine ahau?*’—(‘A! Art thou a man, and I a woman?’) He was desirous of fighting the on-coming war-party. He went on, ‘*Whenera ke koe apopo me te punga-tai nei—kongakonga ana!*’—(‘By this time to-morrow you will be like this piece of pumice stone—utterly crushed!’) taking up at the same time a piece of pumice and crushing it.

When the messengers returned to the *ope*, they reported the above conversation. Te Rau-paraha said, ‘*Ae! ae! ae! Kei kona a Te Rua-maiono!*’—(‘Yes! Yes! There lies Te Rua-maiono to be avenged!’)

It was enough. The war-party arose and marched for Whanganui and commenced the siege of Putiki by making an assault on it. It was broad daylight at the time of the attack. Putiki was a very large *pa* defended by *pekerangi*, or palisades. The *ope* dashed straight at these defences, and by aid of tomahawks cut the lashings and then entered the *pa*. Thus was the place taken, and those of Whanganui who were not killed fled away inland. Te Pehi-Turoa, Topine-te-mamaku, Te Anaua, Rangi-tauria,† and other chiefs escaped, but a great many people were killed, both men and women—the latter during the firing at the *pa* before it was taken, and besides the deaths a great many women were captured and brought away as slaves. The *taua* followed after the fleeing Whanganui for some distance and caught many of

* Rere-tawhangawhanga was father of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangi-take, the originator of the Maori war in 1860. The former died at Wellington, 26th September, 1843.

† Died at Whanganui, 16th April, 1850.

them outside the *pa*. There were great numbers of people in the *pa*. Topine was chased, but was not caught. ‘*Mei i mate a Topine kua waiho hei ingoa mo Te Rau-paraha,*’ ”—said Rangi-pito—(If Topine had been killed it would have been great fame for Te Rau-paraha.)

Although Rangi-pito seems to imply that the *pa* was taken soon after the war-party reached the place, Mr. Travers says the siege lasted upwards of two months, and this is most likely to be correct.

The party went no further, and did not carry out their intention of attacking Nga-Rauru. Their action had, however, given Whanganui abundant reason for reprisals, which they were not slow to act on when the time came a few years later.

During the time that the *taua* was besieging Putiki, a woman of Ati-Awa, who was somewhat out of her mind, suddenly appeared in the midst of the council of warriors, and shouted out so as to call the attention of the whole assembly, “*Katahi au ka kihia! kihia!*”—(“Now am I utterly cut off, destroyed!”) The assemblage all took this as an *aitua*, or evil omen, and anticipated some calamity befalling them. The very next day arrived messengers from Otaki with the news of the massacre of some of the Ngati-Tama at Te Tarata, South Wai-rarapa, where this brave little tribe suffered very severely at the hands of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu. But as that incident falls in here, and as Ngati-Tama are one of the Taranaki tribes, it is necessary to describe the matter more fully.

TE TARATA AT WAI-RARAPA, 1829.

The date of Te Tarata depends on that of Putiki, described in the last paragraph.

It will be remembered that soon after the arrival of the “*Niho-puta*” *heke* from Taranaki, and after they had removed to Port Nicholson in 1825, as related in Chapter XV., page 408, many of the Ngati-Tama tribe removed over to the Wai-rarapa valley into the country belonging to the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tribe. What the relations were between these two tribes from 1825 for the next few years, I know not, but undoubtedly at first they would be at enmity. I have only a brief note of this period to the effect that one Tamatoa of Ati-Awa was killed at a place named Okorewa, and that soon after Ngati-Tama came into the district, they killed a high chief of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, named Te Tire-o-te-rangi, which induced some of his particular people to flee to Nuku-taurua on the Mahia peninsula, north of Napier, for safety, for the fear of the invaders was great. This was the first movement of this people to Te Mahia, to be followed in

later years by a great many of that tribe. But by 1829 or 1830, matters had changed so much that intercourse between the two tribes had commenced and a transient peace reigned. It was during these times that the celebrated canoe Te Ra-makiri was taken from Wai-rarapa by Ngati-Tama, and presented to Te Rau-pa-raha as already related.

At the time we are about to refer to, Ngati-Tama and some members of Ati-Awa were living at a place named Te Tarata, on the west side of the outlet to Wai-rarapa lake, but a little way inland from the sea. This old *pa* still remains in fair preservation, and not far off is Kakahi-makatea,* a good specimen of the old *pa*, at that time occupied by Paenga-huru, chief of Ngati-Tama. The site chosen by these invaders for a home was a good one, for close to them was the Wai-rarapa lower lake with abundance of eels, and on the west the forest ranges of Remu-taka† from which a supply of birds could be obtained. Here they decided to build a fortified *pa*, and as peace now prevailed with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, the owners of the soil, Ngati-Tama prevailed on the local people to assist them by cutting *raupo* rushes on the borders of the lake, with which to build houses. Ngati-Tama, in the meantime, occupied themselves in felling timbers in the forest to be used as palisades and for the framework of the houses. The principal chiefs engaged in these operations were Paenga-huru, Te Kahawai, Pehi-taka, and Tuhi-mata-renga. No doubt, one of the reasons why these people were anxious to possess a fortified *pa* was (as Mr. Shand says, Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. I., p. 91) that they had been warned by “Te Poki, who was closely related to Paenga-huru—one of the head chiefs of Ngati-Tama—with others of the old men, to be on their guard.” Apparently, this warning came about the time they had commenced operations, for at that time Paenga-huru called a meeting of their tribe at Te Tarata to discuss the situation, “when it was decided,” says Mr. Shand, “to send Pukoro,‡ —wife of Paenga-huru and a sister of the celebrated Tupoki§ a woman

* A brief history of which is given in Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. XIII., page 126.

† Usually spelt Rimu-taka; but the above is correct; *remu* means the border of a garment, and probably the name originated in someone having the border of his mat torn off there.

‡ I learnt from Manihera Maka of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu that Pukoro was not a wife, but a near relative of Paenga-huru's.

§ See account of Tupoki's death at the battle of Para-rewa in 1821—Chapter XIV.

of rank—to Otaki to get Ngati-Mutunga, Ngati-Tama, and other allies to come over and exterminate Ngati-Kahu-ngunu.”

The time was propitious for the realization of such a scheme. Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were known to be engaged cutting *raupo* for the new houses, and were expected shortly at Te Tarata with their canoes laden with rushes.

Mr. Shand says (*loc. cit.*, p. 91): “Unfortunately for the success of the plot, an old Ngati-Kahu-ngunu cripple named Hapimana Kokakoka* was in the house at the time of the meeting apparently fast asleep, and who, on discovering the subject under discussion, feigned sleep to the utmost.” The Maoris are very fond of minute detail, hence we learn from old Kokakoka’s descendants that the attention of the meeting was called to “strangers within the house.” Some one went and shook the old man by the shoulder; but he only snored the louder, so it was decided to leave him alone. The consequence was that he heard the whole of the details of the plot. In the morning Kokakoka communicated with his people, informing them of the design to massacre them, also that reinforcements had been sent for. Messengers were at once despatched with all speed to Rangi-whakaoma (Castle Point) to the chief Te Po-tanga-roa; to Matai-kona, on the east coast; and to Maunga-rake (near Masterton); in fact, to all the settlements of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu within a day’s travel by a swift runner. Distant as these places are—forty-five, sixty-five, and seventy-four miles in a straight line from Te Tarata—the message was delivered in the same day, for time was of consequence, seeing that reinforcements were expected by Ngati-Tama. Within two days a large force of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu had assembled at the camp of the *raupo* cutters under the following chiefs:—Te Hamai-waho of Ngai-Tahu (Wai-rarapa), Te Po-tanga-roa, Nuku-pewapewa (so called from the peculiar tattooing across his face), Nga-hiwa, Tu-te-pakihi-rangi, Te Kaukau, Te Oko-whare, Pihanga, Te Hika, Te Warahi, Pirika-te-po, Te Toru, Nga-Rangi-e-rua (father of Manihera), Te Noho (or Hapopo), Te Huri-po (or Tawaroa), Tama-i-hikoia, Tama-i-whakakitea, Ngairoa-a-puroa (or Takataka-putea), Pu-angiangi, Te Korou, Kokakoka, and Te Rahui. With the party were also women, amongst them Hine-mauruuru, wife of Tu-te-pakihi-rangi. This large party proceeded down Lake Wai-rarapa in canoes and *mokihis* (rafts) laden with *raupo* for Ngati-Tama, but with the additional object of driving the latter tribe out of their country.

* Uncle of Te Kume-roa, one of the members of the Polynesian Society. He got his name, Kokakoka (or limper), from the fact that in his boyhood he was wounded in the groin by a spear, which caused him to limp ever afterwards.

There were two settlements then occupied by Ngati-Tama—Te Tarata and Whare-papa—the latter not far from the former, but situated in the forest at the foot of the mountains, over a spur of which the path to it led. At this time Tuhi-mata-renga of Ngati-Tama was the chief of Whare-papa. When the hostile forces drew near Te Tarata, they divided, one party going direct to Te Tarata, the other over the spurs to Whare-papa.

When those at Te Tarata beheld the fleet of the enemy approaching they prepared to receive them with the usual welcome in order, as they thought, to put Ngati-Kahu-ngunu off their guard, for they had now determined to fall on them without waiting for reinforcements. As the party landed and approached, Paenga-huru sung the following *ngeri* as a welcome :—

Te po i tuku mai,
 Mai runga i a Te Pori ra
 Ko Nuku-pewapewa,
 Ngau mai taua ki te miti—
 Ngau mai taua ki te hongī
 Kia tu honoa ki roto ki te harakeke,
 Ai i te kai aku tapa
 To kikoki' kiki tere kaha.

The guests were now ushered into a long *wharau*, or shed, where their hosts were temporally lodging, and preparations were made to give them a feast, and mutual interchanges of their women took place. All seemed peaceful. Paenga-huru, who carried a celebrated *mere** round his neck, gave the signal, and the hosts rose on their guests and commenced killing. But Te Oka-whare, who was sitting next to Paenga-huru, warded off the blow made at him by the latter, and made a thrust at Paenga-huru with his *koikoi* (short spear) at the same time grasping the *mere*, which he succeeded in securing, with which he made a blow at Paenga-huru and killed him with his own weapon. By this time the fight had become general, and Ngati-Tama, being outnumbered and demoralised by the death of their chief, were very badly beaten; great numbers being killed, whilst others made their escape. Amongst these latter was Pukoro, the wife (or relative) of Paenga-huru, who, together with some other women, fled away along the forest track to Whare-papa, hoping to be in safety there.

* This *mere* was named “Tawa-tahi.” Although, as my informant says, it was made of jade—it was light in colour, indeed, just the same tint as the *mere-paraoa*, or white whale-bone *mere*. From Te Oka-whare it passed into the hands of Karaitiana—one of the principal chiefs of Hawke's Bay—and at his death his widow secreted it in some place that is now unknown.

In the meantime, the other party of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu had proceeded by an inland track over the ranges to attack Whare-papa. As they descended a steep spur just above the village, a large stone was detached accidentally, which, rolling down with great noise, gave warning to Ngati-Tama that strangers were approaching, for none of their own people were out in that direction. Finding their purpose of surprising the village thus frustrated, Ngati-Kahu-ngunu advanced in friendly guise to the settlement. Here they were welcomed by Tuhi-mata-renga of Ngati-Tama, and asked into the village to have something to eat. Whilst they were waiting, Hine-mauruuru (wife of Tu-te-pakihi-rangi, chief of the visitors) sang the following song, as a *whakawhare*, to put Ngati-Tama off their guard :—

Kowai koe e haere nei,
E hara koe i a Mokau,
E tiki mai ana koe i ahau,
E hiki taua ana
Kei Rua-puke e—i.

Preparations were now made by Ngati-Tama to feed their unexpected guests. Tuhi-mata-renga was busily engaged at the *whata*, or store-house handing out some baskets of potatoes* when the signal was given, and the slaughter of Ngati-Tama commenced. He jumped down from the *whata*, but was immediately slain by a blow on the forehead with a *mere* (? by Tu-te-pakihi-rangi), and then the affair was soon over. The few that escaped rushed off in the direction of Te Tarata. On their way they met Te Pukoro, who, as stated above, was on her way to Whare-papa in hopes of finding shelter there. As the parties met, she cried out, “*Heoi ano, ko maua anake te morehu!*”—(“There are only us two left alive!”) After lamenting their losses, the survivors made the best of their way to Port Nicholson to the rest of their tribe living there. “About ten or more of the best men of the tribe of Ngati-Tama escaped, but the majority were killed, a few only being taken prisoners with the women,” says Mr. Shand.

Paenga-huru's daughter, Te Whakarato, was taken prisoner at Te Tarata by Takataka-roa, who afterwards married her. She bore him Te Naira-Rangatahi, who married Rēta, and they had Peti, who married a Pakeha and had Tamati Te Naira.

Takaroa of Ati-Awa was also killed at Whare-papa, besides a great many others.

* My informant, Maniera Māka, on being questioned, is not sure if they were potatoes. The question is of interest, because it is said Ngati-Toa first introduced this tuber to South New Zealand in 1822-3. The Wai-rarapa people never grew much *kumara*, or *taro*, but largely used the *korau*, or native turnip.

Thus the schemes of Ngati-Tama to massacre the Wai-rarapa people fell to the ground, and they in turn became the victims of those they had planned to kill. Mr. Shand (*Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. I., p. 92) gives some further details of this affair, to which the reader is referred.

PEHI-KATIA PA, WAI-RARAPA.

? 1830.

As has already been stated, page 449, Te Ati-Awa were engaged in the siege of Putiki when the news of this disaster to Ngati-Tama reached them. Naturally, it created considerable excitement and a determination to avenge on Ngati-Kahu-ngunu the losses they had afflicted on Ngati-Tama at Te Tarata. Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, in the meantime, knowing full well that the blow they had inflicted on Ngati-Tama would not pass without an attempt to secure revenge for it, had all retired inland, and had fortified a *pa* on a high hill called Pehi-kātia, situated a few miles from Greytown. How long a time elapsed before steps were taken to raise a *taua-hikutoto*, or avenging party, is uncertain. Mr. Shand (*loc. cit.*, p. 93) says, "Immediately the massacre of Ngati-Tama became known, Te Kaeaea (or Taringa-kuri*) came over to Wai-rarapa from Kapiti and Wai-kanae with one hundred and forty (*hokowhitu*) of the Ngati-Tama (and Ngati-Toa) as well as Ngati-Mutunga of Port Nicholson; in all, three hundred and forty men" (? six hundred and eighty, for men are always counted in pairs).

Whilst Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were still engaged in fortifying Pehi-kātia the Ati-Awa, Ngati-Tama, and Ngati-Toa force appeared on the scene, and immediately proceeded to attack the place. Mr. Shand says (*loc. cit.*, p. 93), "The attack commenced early in the morning, and shortly after noon the *pa* was in possession of the allies. They killed all they could get hold of, following the fugitives for a long distance, and in so doing overtook and rescued most of the Ngati-Tama captives taken at Te Tarata. Not one, however, of the chiefs mentioned in Pukoro's *kai-oraora* (*loc. cit.*, p. 92) fell into the hands of her tribe; they all escaped at the fall of Pehi-kātia. Ngati-Mutunga, evidently well aware of what they might expect from the incensed and powerful Ngati-Kahu-ngunu so soon as the news of the fall of the *pa* reached the ears of their friends, said, 'Let us get the stars (chiefs) out of sight—*me kowhaki nga whetu*.' This they did with effect, but only two chiefs, however, were taken prisoners. One named Te Ohanga-aitu† was suspended by

* Died at Pito-one, near Wellington, 5th October, 1871, of a very great age.

† A *teina*, younger brother or cousin of Tu-te-pakihi-rangi.

the heels, his jugular vein pierced, and then each of his captors imbibed a mouthful of his blood, a thumb being placed on the wound until the next man was ready to take his share."

I learn from Taiata, a very old man of Ngati-Tama, that in the fight at Pehi-kātia the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu lost the chief Te Noho-mai-tua (? Te Ohanga-i-tua—see the lament), the elder brother of Tu-te-pakihi-rangi, whilst the latter with Kai-a-te-kokopn, Te Uaua, Nga-Tuere, and Kawe-kai-riri—all high chiefs—escaped up a river bed, and so in process of time to Nuku-taurua at Mahia Peninsula, which place became a refuge for many of the East Coast tribes during the troubles of these early years of the nineteenth century. All the women and children, says Taiata, were captured at Pehi-kātia. The celebrated canoe, Te Ra-makiri, was taken during this expedition at Pahaua, and then presented to Te Rau-paraha, as already related.

The following is the lament for Te Ohanga-i-tua, killed by Ngati-Tama at Pehi-katia, for which I am indebted to Mr. T. W. Downes:—

TE TANGI A NUKU I TE MATENGA O TE OHANGA-I-TUA, ME
TE RANGI-TAKU-ARIKI, I PEHI-KATIA.

Haere atu ra, E Tama ma ! e.
I te mate o te rakau, E Tama ! e.
Tau eanga i patua ai Kaupeka
I roto o Kau-whare-toa.
Ka tangohia te manawa,
Ka poia ki a Aitu-pawa—
Ki a Rehua, ki a Tahu-rangi,
I te mata takitaki i tupea ai a Rangi,
Ki te poho o Rangi-tamaku i Tahua-roa.
I hikaia e Tupai, e Tamakaka,
Ki te ahi tapu na Rangi-nui.
I takahia ki Tauru-rangi ata mai,
Ka tu tona ahi, koia te ahi tapu—
Koia te ahi toro, koia te ahi tipua
Ka puta ki te hou-mata-pu
Ka ea ki te ao, E Tama ma—e.

Haere ra, E Tama ma e !
I te ara ka takoto i Taheke-roa,
Kia karangatia mai koutou
Ki te Muri ki te Wai-hou,
I to koutou tipuna, i a Ruai-moko
E whakangaoko ra i Raro-henga.
Ka puta te hu ki te tai-ao
Koia Hine-puia i Hawaiki
E tahi noa mai ra i te kauhika
Ki waho i te moana.

Ka tere Hine-uku, ka tere Hine-one
 Ka tere Para-whenua-mea
 Ki a Hine-moana e tu mai ra,
 I Tahora-nui-atea.
 Ka whakapae ki uta ra
 Koia Hine-tapatu-rangi
 E haere atu na korua,
 E Tama ma ! e.

NOTE.—This lament is so full of references to ancient beliefs and teachings that no translation without a volume of notes would do it justice. It refers nearly all the way through to the great wars of the gods after the separation of heaven and earth, and when some of them ascended to join the sky-father Rangī, whilst others descended by Taheke-roa to Raro-henga, or Hades, led by Whiro-te-tipua, the embodiment of evil and death, and the resulting earthquakes originated by Ruai-moko—youngest of the heavenly offspring. All of this is emblematical of the wars in which the two chiefs were killed, and the introduction of this ancient simile is intended to honour them.

TE WHARE-POURI'S ADVENTURE.

After the *pa* was taken, says Manihera Maka, Ngati-Kahu-ngunu fled northwards up the river valley and over the forest-clad hills, finally assembling at some of the distant villages, where, after some time spent in discussion (and probably after the Wai-kanae massacre), it was decided to migrate to Nuku-taurua, at Te Mahia Peninsula, where some of their tribesmen had preceded them. Thus the greater part of the Wai-rarapa valley was for a time without inhabitants, though some few lingered in their old homes. It was not for some years afterwards that they returned, being induced to do so by Te Whare-pouri of the Nga-Motu *hapu* of Ati-Awa, who went specially to Nuku-taurua to make peace and induce them to return. Te Whare-pouri was at that time one of the principal chiefs of Ati-Awa, and afterwards the great friend and protector of the immigrants sent to Port Nicholson by the New Zealand Company in 1839. He was induced to undertake this peace-making with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu largely owing to the following circumstances: Not long after the fall of Pehi-kātia, Te Whare-pouri was at Wai-rarapa with a party of Ati-Awa, somewhere near Te Tarata, engaged in making canoes; for the fears that Ngati-Kahu-ngunu would soon return to take revenge for the fall of Pehi-kātia were not realized at once, which gave confidence to some of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Tama to return from Port Nicholson and again occupy part of Wai-rarapa. It is said also that some of Ngati-Toa also came over and occupied part of the country near where Featherston now is; but after Te Whare-pouri's adventure, as detailed below, they returned to Kapiti.

Whilst engaged in the canoe-building, some of the women were out on the lake in a canoe engaged in eel-fishing, and amongst those on board were Pare-kauri, Te Whare-pouri's sister, Tama-tuhi-ata (mother

of Rau-katauri), and others. Just at this time the celebrated *taniwha*, Pupu-kare-kawa* (according to Maori accounts) caused the lake to break out to sea, as it occasionally does. At first the waters cut a subterranean channel through the shingle, then, as the water increased in power, it rushed out with great force, drawing with it the canoe in which were the women, which was thus carried into the breakers, where all were drowned. Not very long after this, and before the new canoes were completed, a party of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu under Nuku-pewapewa came down to ascertain if Ngati-Tama and Ati-Awa were still in occupation of the country, and discovered by the smoke of their fires the whereabouts of Te Whare-pouri's party. Te Whare-pouri was at this time engaged in building a house, and when Ngati-Kahu-ngunu attacked his party he was inside. The attacking party attempted to spear him by thrusting their long spears through the sides of the house; but he climbed up to the roof, and there held on to the rafters until help came from his own party by way of diverting the enemy's attention, and he was released from his awkward position, and so escaped.

Mr. Downes tells me that Nuku, the leader of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, was anxious to save Te Whare-pouri in order that peace might be made between the two tribes, and that when the latter escaped from the house Nuku and two fleet runners pursued him in order to catch him. But Te Whare-pouri was too quick for them; he flew into the forest, and finally jumped over a cliff and escaped, his pursuers not daring to follow him.

But Ngati-Kahu-ngunu did not go back empty-handed, for they captured and took away to Nuku-taurua with them Wharawhara-i-te-rangi, a daughter or niece of Te Whare-pouri's, who, however, was very kindly treated by her captors, and eventually returned to her tribe.

Mr. Downes also says that Te Ua-mai-rangi, Te Whare-pouri's wife, was captured at this time, and with the desire of cementing a peace between these two tribes, she was sent back to Port Nicholson with an escort, and handed over to her husband, followed later on by the return of Te Whare-pouri's daughter to her father. Mr. Downes gives the name of this young woman as Te Kakapi.

It was this kind action that induced Te Whare-pouri afterwards to make peace with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and for that purpose he went to Nuku-taurua, on the Mahia Peninsula, by sea—it is said by a sailing vessel—and then concluded a peace with the tribes there, not long after which they came back and occupied their old homes at Wai-rarapa.

* The Maoris say this *taniwha* used to live in the sea near the mouth of the Wai-rarapa, but when the lake was closed for any length of time, he used to migrate to the Wairau river, Marlborough District.

The date of this event is uncertain, but probably it was between 1830 and 1834.

Te Whare-pouri's visit to Nuku-aurua was followed by a return visit of the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tribe, who came to Pito-one, Port Nicholson, where Te Whare-pouri and Ati-Awa were then living, when this peace was cemented. An old Maori describes the event as follows: "At the peace-making held at Pito-one, soon after which the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu tribe returned from Nuku-aurua to their homes in Wai-rarapa, Tu-te-pakihi-rangi (one of the principal chiefs of the latter tribe) said in his speech, 'The people from Taranaki and Maunga-tautari (Ngati-Raukawa) need not return to their own lands. Although I gave you no reason to come against me from those distant parts to kill and rob me of my lands, do not be anxious about it. Live, all of you, on this side of the bounding mountains (Remu-taka)—you on this side, I on the other. I will call those mountains our shoulders; the streams that fall down on this side are for you to drink, on the other side for us. Behold! Here is Te Kakapi, daughter of my friend Te Whare-pouri, who will act as a go-between—she and Wai-puna-hau; they both are *he ika toto nui no te whatu-kura-a-Tāne, piki ake, heke mai*.* The god of the white man shall be our god. Although they are a new people we will cherish them, notwithstanding that their weapons, the muskets, are evil. I judge them to be an evil people by their weapons. I have now set up our daughter Te Kakapi as a go-between. Hold on to this rope!' To this speech Ngatata, Te Puaha, Pakau, Te Puhi, Te Kawakawa, Kuru-kanga, and others, consented to this peace made with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu."

MASSACRE OF NGATI-KAHU-NGUNU AT WAI-KANAE.

The particulars of the above massacre are as follows, but I am unable to say exactly when it took place—probably before Ngati-Kahu-ngunu migrated to Nuku-aurua, and indeed their losses at Wai-kanae may have been one of the causes inducing the migration. The following note is supplied by Mr. Shand: "Subsequent to the great defeat of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Tama at Te Tarata, and after they and Ngati-Toa had defeated Ngati-Kahu-ngunu at Pehi-katia, the two tribes were still *pouri* on account of their dead, as they did not consider they had had enough *utu* for them. Some time after, a peace was patched up with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and then an invitation was given to that tribe to cross the mountains and come over to Wai-nui and Wai-kanae to

* This expression refers to the high rank of the two women, who are compared to the *whatu-kura*, or treasures brought down to earth by the god Tāne, when he visited the supreme god Io, in the twelfth heaven.

partake of a feast. The invitation was accepted, and a considerable party came over. A large house had been specially built in which to receive the guests. With the treachery so common at this time—much of it learned from Te Rau-paraha, as the Maoris say—a decision had been arrived at to murder their guests. When the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu were assembled in the house, their suspicions of foul play were aroused; but too late. When they beheld their hosts assembling outside the house all armed, some said, ‘We shall all be killed;’ others replied, ‘No, it is only the women bringing food.’ Ati-Awa and Ngati-Toa now entered the house and gradually placed themselves in favourable positions amongst their guests. At a given signal they arose and commenced the massacre, and it was not long before nearly the whole of the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu party were dead or dying. One of the doomed men, casting off all his clothes, rushed outside, and would have effected his escape, but remembering that many of his younger relatives were still in the house, returned there to die with them. Te Aweawe of the Rangitane tribe, who was with Ngati-Kahu-ngunu, and who was the younger brother of Mahuri and a son of Tokipoto, was saved alive by Tungia of Ngati-Toa, because the latter had been preserved from death at the fight at Hotu-iti, Manawatu, by Te Aweawe (see page 394). This is the only redeeming feature about this dastardly affair, which is so much in keeping with other doings of Te Rau-paraha’s that it is possible he was the author of it. He had, however, very apt pupils.

FALL OF PUKE-RANGIORA PA.

1831 (second siege).

We now approach the time of one of the most momentous events and the greatest disasters that ever happened to the Taranaki people, resulting eventually in the practical abandonment of the whole coast from Mokau to Patea, with the exception of a small number of the Taranaki tribe who remained in their own country near Opunake, and an equally small party of Ati-Awa at Nga-Motu.

The battle of Te Motu-nui, fought near Ure-nui in 1821 (see Chapter XIV.), in which the Waikato tribes had suffered so severely and lost so many of their great chiefs, was not by any means forgotten, nor the Taranaki people forgiven. Waikato had by this time acquired many stand of arms through the fact of traders having become established at Kawhia, Tauranga, and other places, and consequently felt themselves more able to cope with their southern enemies. W. Te Awa-i-taia (A.H.M., Vol. VI., page 5) says, “Waikato were continually thinking about those deaths (*i.e.*, of Te Hiakai, Hari, Mama, and others) and the

matter of seeking *utu* for them was referred to Pota-tau Te Wherowhero. The Waikato assembled together to discuss the matter, but nothing was done. This was continually repeated, but it never resulted in anything. Te Hiakai was uncle to Potatau and also to W. Te Awa-i-taia, or, in other words, he was 'a father to them,' and it consequently devolved upon them and their particular *hapus* to wipe out the disgrace attaching to them for Te Hiakai's death. "When the council of Te Ao-o-te-rangi (who had been defeated by Ati-Awa, see page 446) and Muri-whenua was not heeded, the latter applied to his relative Te Awa-i-taia. He said, "Son! Are you not willing that the death of Te Hiakai should be avenged?" The reply was, "I am willing!"

It was probably after this consent of Te Awa-i-taia that the incident related by Thos. Ralph, quoted by Polack in his "New Zealand," Vol. II., p. 290, occurred: "In November, 1831, some Waikatos, under the pretence of purchasing some dried fish of a particular kind, only to be found on that part of the coast, arrived in two canoes at Taranaki (? Waitara). They were well received, and prior to their departure their canoes were repaired and filled with presents of dried fish and other provisions. These Waikatos were sent as spies to ascertain the strength of the defences of Taranaki."

There is no reason to doubt this account, and, if true, the spies would easily ascertain from the local people of the many migrations that had left the district. But many thousand people of Ati-Awa still remained, as we shall see.

In consequence of this consent of Te Awa-i-taia, Ngati-Tipa (of Waikato Heads) arose, together with Ngati-Tahinga (of Raglan), Ngati-Hourua, Ngati-Mahanga, and Ngati-Wehi (all of Waikato) with Ngati-Haua (of Upper Thames), in all, three hundred and forty men (*i.e.*, six hundred and eighty). They went from Raglan to Aotea, where they were joined by Te Hutu; then to Kawhia, where Te Kanawa and Tu-korehu also joined them; and from the latter place they went straight on towards Taranaki. When they reached Mokau they heard that other Waikatos had joined them in the rear. At this time, which was about November, 1831, a young man named Thos. Ralph was living at Mokau, acting as agent for Montefiore and Co., of Sydney. He estimated the numbers of this great war-party at four thousand men. They were joined by the Ngati-Mania-poto people of Mokau in the proposed expedition. Either this same party on their return, or another from Aotea, took Mr. Ralph prisoner and helped themselves to about twenty tons of goods.*

* See Sherrins' "Early New Zealand," p. 218. Mr. Ralph is probably the man known to the Mokau people as Tame (or Thomas), and according to them he

“ Our party of Ngati-Mahanga now started on ahead from Mokau, and killed some of the enemy a little way beyond. We advanced as far as Pari-ninihi—that is, to Wai-pingao stream, where others were killed, and Nga-Rape (a chief of Ngati-Tama) taken prisoner. The attacking force still advanced—one party going inland, and the other by the principal coast road. Those pursued by the inland party were overthrown with very great slaughter. Te Ao-o-te-rangi (a chief of Ngati-Tama) was killed there; he was shot by Te Awa-i-taia. Those who were pursued by the coast party were also overthrown, and the slaughter did not end until they reached Urenui. Tu-tawha-rangi was taken prisoner, whilst Manu-ka-wehi was allowed to escape (probably of the Ngati-Mutunga tribe). We, Ngati-Tahinga, then returned (a few miles) and stayed at Ara-pawa-nui (a *pa* on an isolated hill, near the mouth of the Mimi river, south side—see Plate No. 9). The Waikato forces now came up to us for the first time and found that we had routed the enemy.”

The foregoing account of the advance of the great *taua* shows that some few of Ngati-Tama had remained in the Pou-tama country, though the bulk of the tribe with their principal chiefs had left for the south,

was there at the time of the attack on Mōtu-tawa in 1832 (see *ante*). He had two Maori wives—Manu-te-wai and another, whose father was killed by Ati-Awa on the south side of the river at the time of Motu-tawa. Tame was landed at Mokau by the vessel already referred to, named “ Ameriki Wāti.” Another white man who resided at Mokau in early days was Pero, who lived at the west side of the present village of Te Kauri—near the present wharf. He was one of the crew of the “ Harriett,” wrecked at Cape Egmont in 1834. Tiaki Kari (Jack Guard, captain of the “ Harriett,”) also visited Mokau, coming overland from Nga-Motu in the winter time, and his bare feet were terribly cut by the frost. Takerei Waitara, the then chief of Mokau, took him in charge, and by kind treatment restored the captain to health.

The present village of Te Kauri is a very small one, but in former days the flat was covered thickly with houses, as was the top of the terrace up which the present road ascends. Some long time ago a serious accident happened here, which was the cause of a great many deaths. A large *totara* tree formerly stood in the curve of the terrace behind the village. One night the tree and the whole side of the hill came down in an avalanche and buried a large part of the village, killing many people.

Te Kauri is so named from a large log now (1906) lying on the beach there, and which has been there beyond the memory of man. It is a *totara* tree, not a *kauri*, and is a *tipua* (or endowed with uncanny powers). According to my informant, not very long ago a man, daring the *tipua*, cut a notch in the tree with an axe. The next morning he was found lying dead on the beach; such is the power of the *tipua*, says my informant. My friend says that when a young man he was diving near the present wharf with another youngster, and at the bottom he saw the *totara* that caused the landslide, “ e kura ana ” (glowing there), and was so frightened thereat that he never has dived in the river since. Such is superstition.

and where, as we have seen, they lately suffered in Wai-rarapa. Had they remained in their ancient homes, this strong force of Waikato, large as it was, would not have passed the "gateway of Taranaki" with so much ease.

Te Awa-i-taia says that after the assemblage of the whole force at Ara-pawa-nui, "The party now urged an attack on Puke-rangiora; the cause of this was that they learnt from slaves in that *pa*, who belonged to Rangi-wahia (of Ngati-Mutunga) and Hau-te-horo (of Nga-Motu), that the latter had said, 'This act of kindness shall be the weapon to destroy Waikato'" (meaning the assistance rendered by Puke-tapu and other *hapus* to Waikato when the latter tribe were besieged in Puke-rangiora in 1821. But the application is not very clear.) From Ara-pawa-nui the *taua* started on their work of destruction.

Mr. Skinner, whose narrative of the siege of Puke-rangiora will now be followed, says, "The first intimation the Ati-Awa had of the presence of the Waikato *taua* in the district was by observing the numerous fires of the invaders, who were engaged in cutting off small parties of the tribe living round Urenui and Onaero, etc. It appears that the invaders made a night attack on Poho-kura *pa*, situated on the north bank of the Urenui river, a fourth of a mile below the present bridge, on an isolated hill rising from the river flats. The inmates were quite taken by surprise and the *pa* easily fell into the hands of the *taua*, with scarce a struggle. Whakapuke of Ngati-Mutunga, chief of the *pa*, and a few others escaped in the darkness, and swimming the river managed to reach Kai-pikari—a *pa* on the wooded heights about two miles south-west of the mouth of the river. From here he probably sent messengers warning the people further south, and I believe was one of those who afterwards harried this *taua* on its return northwards after the defeat at Nga-Motu.

"The various northern and central *hapus* of Te Ati-Awa immediately gathered together to give battle to the enemy; but when the strength and numbers of the invaders were discovered, a panic seems to have taken Te Ati-Awa, and all who could, fled to the great fighting *pa* of Puke-rangiora, overcrowding it to a frightful extent. The total number of people in the *pa* was about four thousand.* So precipitate had been their flight that they quite neglected to gather the crops of potatoes and

* Watene Taungatara, who was one of the garrison of this *pa*, and otherwise a reliable man, told Mr. Percy Smith and myself that there were eight thousand people (men, women, and children) shut up within the *pa*. We thought this an exaggeration. Other estimates supplied by old natives vary from three thousand to five thousand. Ralph, already quoted, gave the population of the surrounding districts as three thousand who gathered into their fortifications. So if we estimate the population at four thousand it will not be far from the truth.—W.H.S.

other foods now nearly or quite ripe, thus weakening themselves in proportion as they strengthened the enemy, who had thus abundance of food, whilst the inmates of Puke-rangiora were soon in a state of starvation. This was due to the provisioning of the *pa* being quite inadequate for the purpose of a siege, owing to the unexpected nature of the attack, and the fact that the ordinary provisions within the *pa* at this time was at its lowest ebb, due to the previous season's crop of potatoes, *kumara*, etc., being just about finished prior to the gathering in of the new season's harvest. Unfortunately for Te Ati-Awa this latter had not been done. This, together with the fact that the supply of water within the *pa* was only sufficient for the daily use of its ordinary population, led to early and most disastrous results to the various *hapus* gathered within the *pa*.

“The first prisoners taken by the invaders as they came along—about the Urenui district—were offered as a sacrifice to their *atuas*, or gods. They next captured a party of twenty-five persons who were returning from an inland settlement, and who were unaware of the presence of the invaders in the district; these people were all slain and devoured by the leaders of the Waikato party. They laid waste the whole of what is now known as the Urenui, Onaero, Waihi, and Tikorangi districts, occupied at that time by the Ngati-Mutunga, Ngati-Rahiri, Otaraoa, and other *hapus* of Te Ati-Awa, burning the sacred cemeteries and committing with impunity every barbarity a savage is capable of.

“As the *taua* approached Puke-rangiora, the depredations were plainly to be seen from the *pa*, which commanded an extensive view of the surrounding country. To attack the place, the invaders had first to cross the Waitara river, and an excellent opportunity was then offered for Te Ati-Awa to attack their foes whilst the large straggling party was fording the river and climbing the steep hill that commanded the crossing on the southern side. The ford used is about seven hundred yards down stream from Puke-rangiora and in full view of the *pa*.* An immediate attack on the fort was made by the invaders, but they were repulsed with the loss of four chiefs and several others, and obliged to retire from Te Arei plateau†—the north-west division of the *pa*—to the

* Map No. 5 shows the Puke-rangiora *pa*—this was the second and final siege.

† Te Arei was the *marae*, or piazza of the *pa*, and was a level piece of ground defended by bank, ditch, and palisades. It is better known as the stronghold of Hapurona—the fighting chief of Te Ati-Awa—who defended the place against the British troops in the Maori war of 1860-61. Te Ati-Awa were assisted in the defence by the Waikato and Ngati-Mania-poto, the very tribes that were fighting against them in 1831. For a description of Puke-rangiora *pa*, see Chapter XIV.

low ground some six hundred yards to the north, where they camped for the remainder of the siege.

“ On the following morning a more determined assault was made by the whole of the invaders, which was directed against different parts of the *pa*. This also was successively repulsed and the enemy defeated with considerable loss. In the two days’ fighting the invaders lost forty killed and double that number wounded.

“ After these repulses the invaders contented themselves with closely investing the *pa*, and awaited the effect of starvation on its over-crowded occupants. Very soon the besieged were suffering the horrors of a dreadful famine. The provisions, originally but scanty, had been early consumed with the usual Maori improvidence. Their condition was truly wretched, and a deplorable state of affairs existed within the *pa*. To save the strength of the garrison, it was decided to send away a large number of the old and infirm people, together with many women and children, who all helped to consume the food but were no help in the defence. This was accordingly done under cover of darkness with the hope that they would make good their escape into the forest to the southward. But the enemy, ever on the watch, soon discovered what had been done, and following up this helpless crowd, fell upon them near Pekatu, killing and taking prisoners about two hundred of their number. Several smaller parties left the *pa* at various times, some of which effected their escape.

“ The siege had now lasted three months, and starvation had reduced the besieged to the lowest ebb of despondency, and their ultimate fate was hastened by their own foolish action. Every morsel of food having now been consumed, famine drove them to leave the shelter of the *pa*; but instead of doing so under the cover of darkness, they evacuated their stronghold in daylight and in full view of the enemy; all running away in all directions and in the greatest confusion. The vigilant enemy at once gave chase and soon came up with the famished wretches, who had neither strength nor power to defend themselves. Neither age nor sex was considered in the general massacre that ensued. To save their children from the brutality and lust of the conquerors, numbers of parents threw their offspring over the precipice on which the *pa* stood—some three hundred feet high—and then leapt over after them, hoping in this way to end their woes. But their inveterate foes followed them even here by making a long detour and creeping along the face of the cliff above the Waitara river. Many of the unfortunates were still alive, saved from being dashed to pieces by the bodies of those who had leapt over before them, which thus formed buffers or pillows to break the fall. Some of those who were but slightly injured

escaped by following up the banks of the river, which were wooded in that part; the remaining bodies were examined, and those who were still alive, if not too seriously injured to be of service as slaves, were at once despatched and their bodies taken up to the plateau to be devoured." (The Taranaki slaves of Waikato were very active in this work—see *infra*.)

"It is said that twelve hundred of Te Ati-Awa and their allied *hapus* were killed or captured in the final overthrow of the *pa*. The greater part of the prisoners were women and children, and these were driven back into the *pa* to be killed or tortured at leisure. That day Waikato glutted themselves on the bodies of the slain lying in gore around the *pa*.

"The next morning the prisoners were brought out, and those amongst them whose faces were well tattooed were decapitated on a block of wood, with the view of making *mokaikai*, or preserving them, as trophies to be taken back to the country of the Waikatos. Others, with little or none of this decoration, were immediately killed by a blow on the skull. It is asserted that Te Wherowhero*—the head chief of Waikato and principal leader of the invaders—sat in the gateway of the *pa*, and as the prisoners were brought to him he killed one hundred and fifty of them by a blow on the head with his jadeite *mere* named 'Whakarewa,' and that he only desisted because his arm became swollen with the exercise. The headless bodies were thrown across a trench, which was dug to carry off the blood lying in pools about the plateau on which Puke-rangiora stood. Others, less fortunate, were killed with every conceivable form of torture; some again were cast into the ovens alive, to the amusement of their sanguinary foes. Young children and lads were cut open by incisions made hastily down the stomach, eviscerated and roasted on sticks placed round large fires, made of the palisading of the *pa*.

"A similar massacre to that in the morning took place in the afternoon. It is said (by Polack) that many of the invaders died from the effects of their abhorrent gluttony. These cannibal feasts were held whilst the heads of the slain, placed on sticks stuck into the ground, faced the victors, whilst the most insulting expressions were addressed to the lifeless heads. In all, some two hundred prisoners had been killed on the day after the capture of the *pa*; and this seems to have satisfied the victors, for the remainder of the captives were led away as slaves, and had on the return journey to carry the preserved tattooed

* Afterwards the first (so called) Maori King.

heads of their unfortunate relations, which heads were to be hung up as trophies of war in various northern villages.

“Amongst those killed by Waikato were some of the leading chiefs of Ati-Awa—viz.: Whatitiri, Pekapeka, Maru-ariki, Pahau, and Taki-waru. The two first were the head chiefs of the Puke-rangiora *hapu*, and the leaders who had taken under their protection, and defended them against great odds from the overwhelming numbers of their own tribe, these very Waikato chiefs who had now brought about their destruction. The prime mover in this base ingratitude and treachery seems to have been Tu-korehu—the man who Whatitiri and Pekapeka rescued from imminent peril in the fight at Nga-Puke-tu-rua—see Chapter XIV.

“The heads of Whatitiri and Pekapeka were placed on poles in front of the great council house of the *pa*, called ‘Te-waha-o-te-marangai,’ and facing towards the mouth of the Waitara river, which flowed at the base of the precipice three hundred feet below. A most striking and lovely panorama is to be observed from this spot . . . and here for the last time the now sightless eyes were gazing on the view so familiar to them. But, alas! the glory of Puke-rangiora had departed, and all was death and horror around.

“Into this mute circle of the former leaders of the tribe came a woman of high rank of the Puke-rangiora *hapu*, bowed and emaciated with trouble and want. She crept up and sat beside the poles that supported the heads of Whatitiri and Pekapeka and began the *tangi* for the dead. This woman was Kanga-rangi (? Hekenga-rangi, S.P.S.), sister of the two chiefs. Some of the northern leaders, drawn to the spot by the woman’s lamentations, began to taunt and jeer at the broken-hearted sister, saying, ‘Cry! Cry, old woman, to your brothers who are taking a last good look over their country towards the mouth of the river.’ Thus taunted, Hekenga-rangi turned on them fiercely, saying, ‘*Hei Whatitiri aha? Hei Pekapeka aha? Ka pa ko aku pikitanga, ko aku heketanga, ko Te Arei-o-Matuku-takotako; titinga heru o tenei iwi, o tenei iwi*’ (a free translation of this is: ‘What of Whatitiri? What of Pekapeka? Why consider them? When you do not remember my ascendings and my descendings at Te Arei’, the place where were seen the dress-combs of various people—where my people saved yours from death in former times!’) Waikato was silenced and ashamed at this covert reproach for their base ingratitude and treachery. ‘They had no respect for the old woman; they were ashamed at her words, for they knew they were true. They took her and cast her at once, alive, into an oven, and afterwards devoured her. This great evil of Waikato is known to all the tribes,’ says the native history.

“ With this tragic story ends the history of Puke-rangiora, for it was never occupied again, and with its fall ended the federation which made up the great Ati-Awa tribe—the most renowned, perhaps, of all the greater clans of New Zealand. The whole of the surrounding country was deserted, with its great *pas* and innumerable plantations and gardens. To quote the words of Ihaia Te Kiri-kumara—the late chief of Otaraua, and one of those who escaped from Puke-rangiora : ‘ All was quite deserted—the land, the sea, the streams, the lakes, the forests, the rocks, the food, the property, the works ; the dead and the sick were deserted ; the land marks were deserted ’ (Wells, p. 11).

“ Of those who escaped, numbers led a wretched, hunted life in the dense forests around the base of Mount Egmont, but the greater part made their way through the forest and sought protection among the Ngati-Ruanui people ; some even going on and joining their fellow tribesmen already settled round Wai-kanae and Kapiti. Others made their way to Nga-Motu, and eventually helped in the siege of Otaka, whither the great Waikato *tau* had decided to proceed.”

So far, Mr. Skinner’s account. I have a few notes to add. Te Kope, Horo-atua, and Te Punga of Ati-Awa, and Rangi-wahia of Ngati-Mutunga were some of the chiefs besieged in the *pa*, but (it is believed) escaped. Amongst the leading chiefs of Waikato were, besides those mentioned, Poro-koru, Rewi-Mania-poto (of Ngati-Mania-poto), Tai-porutu (of Ngati-Haua), Te Kanawa (of Kawhia), and Kuku-tai (of Ngati-Tipa). The latter distinguished himself by following up and killing many a fleeing party of Ngati-Maru of inland Waitara.

It will be remembered that at Maru, when Waikato defeated Taranaki in 1826 (see Chapter XV., page 416), that vast numbers of slaves were taken back to the north ; and also, the fact was noted that Ati-Awa had assisted Waikato in that campaign. The result of this was that the most intensely bitter feeling was engendered in these Taranaki slaves against Ati-Awa, who were really the cause of Waikato undertaking the Maru expedition. It was these slaves who kept alive the animosity of Waikato, and urged them to avenge the defeat of their own chiefs at Te Motu-nui. Hundreds of these slaves came down with Waikato against Puke-rangiora, and there they glutted their revenge on the unfortunate inmates of the *pa*. They caught many an Ati-Awa man on their approach to the *pa*, and insisted upon their acting as guides ; if they showed any disinclination, they were tomahawked at once.

After the fall of the *pa*, many of these Taranaki slaves went up the river bed and secured numerous bodies of those who had been thrown, or jumped, over the cliff. And this was how they cooked the bodies: They made a great big native oven—*he umu-tao-roroa*—in which the bodies were laid on the hot stones, all radiating from the centre, the heads outwards, which latter were left uncovered by the usual covering of earth. When the *hupe*, or exudation, from the nose, mouth, and eyes began to run freely, it was known that the food was properly cooked!

The following is one of the laments for Whatitiri, Pekapeka, and others that fell at Puke-rangiora. It is by Uruhina:—

Tera te pokeao whakakuru i Okakawa,
He raro mihinga atu ki te iwi ka ngaro—i—
Kati ano au i konei mihi ai,
Kohu ka tairi ki Honi-paka ra ia
Kei raro iti iho ko koe nei—e—
He kamo i maringi a wai
Te roimata ki waho ra
Kowai rawa ra he tuahine moku?
Ko “Hewa” te rakau i patua ai koe—i—
Ko “Mata-te-kaikai” he rakau anini.
Kati E Parara! te tuitui te waka,
Te tangi ai ra ki nga oranga nei
He whakahemonga mate ki Tau-whare ia.

Behold the dark cloud dashing on Okakawa¹
Emblem of grief for the tribe now lost.
Leave me here in solitude to grieve,
Overwhelmed like the mists on Honipaka,²
Near where art thou, O beloved!
Like running waters my tears gush forth;
Who now shall be a sister to me?
“Hewa” was the weapon that felled thee,
And “Mata-te-kaikai,” the headache giver,
Cease, O Parara!³ binding the canoe sides,
And lament over those who are left alive,
For like are they to the fainting ones at Tau-whare.

NOTES.—1. A place near Puke-rangiora. 2. The country near Cape Albatross. 3. Parara was one of the men in Puke-rangiora. The song was dictated by old Watene Taungatara of Te Ati-Awa, who supplied much of the information in this work. He died at Mata-rikoriko, Waitara, in 1895, aged about 80 years. He was held in much respect, and latterly was considered by the Maoris as a good doctor, many people coming from as far as Hawera for the benefit of his advice. He was one of the native police engaged by Sir George Grey at the capture of Te Rau-paraha, 23rd July, 1846.

Old Taiata of Ngati-Tama tells me that a very few of his tribe assisted in the defence of Puke-rangiora, but none of their principal chiefs. During the siege, Te Puoho—the head chief of Ngati-Tama—came down from the north with a party and occupied the hills on the north bank of the Waitara river, near Tikorangi. Their intention was to succour the Ati-Awa in the *pa*; but they found Waikato too strongly posted and too well armed with muskets to make their help effectual, and so they returned home.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE DEFENCE OF OTAKA OR NGA-MOTU *PA*.

February, 1832.

Mr. W. H. Skinner describes the above event as follows (the Otaka *pa*, sometimes called Nga-Motu *pa*, is mostly built over by the Freezing Works) :—

AFTER the capture of Puke-rangiora, described in Chapter XVII., a discussion arose amongst the leaders of the invading *taua* of Waikato. Tu-korehu (of Ngati-Mania-poto) strongly advocated the following up of their recent advantage, as his revenge had not yet been satisfied. His plan was to push on and capture Otaka, where the head chiefs of Ati-Awa and the remnant of the tribe had sought shelter with Te Whare-pouri and his *hapu* and the English traders. Others of the Waikato confederation said—Puke-kohatu being the chief spokesman—the *utu* was sufficient, and that the men whom Tu-korehu was so eager to destroy had befriended him and saved him and his followers from extermination on a previous occasion.¹ Tu-korehu was obstinate, and eventually gained his point.

Leaving Puke-rangiora, the invading host came on to the beach at Puke-tapu,² which was quite deserted. Halting for a while at the mouth of the Wai-whakaiho river, they sent scouts forward to spy out the land. Among other chiefs of note in this *taua*, not already mentioned, were Porukoru, Rewi Mania-poto,³ Wetini Tai-porutu,⁴ Te Kanawa, and Kukutai (of the Ngati-Tipa tribe, from the mouth of the Waikato river).

At Nga-Motu all was activity and preparation. Warning had been

1. At Nga-puke-turua—see Chapter XIV.

2. Puke-tapu is one of the oldest and most extensive of the Ati-Awa *pas* on the sea-coast, Bell Block district, five miles north of New Plymouth.

3. Rewi died in 1894. He is best known as the defender of Orakau in the Waikato war of 1863-4 against the British troops under General Cameron.

4. Wetini was the leader of the Waikato party at Mahoe-tahi (near Waitara) in November, 1860, in the engagement against the British. He was killed here, and his remains were interred in St. Mary's Churchyard, New Plymouth.

3

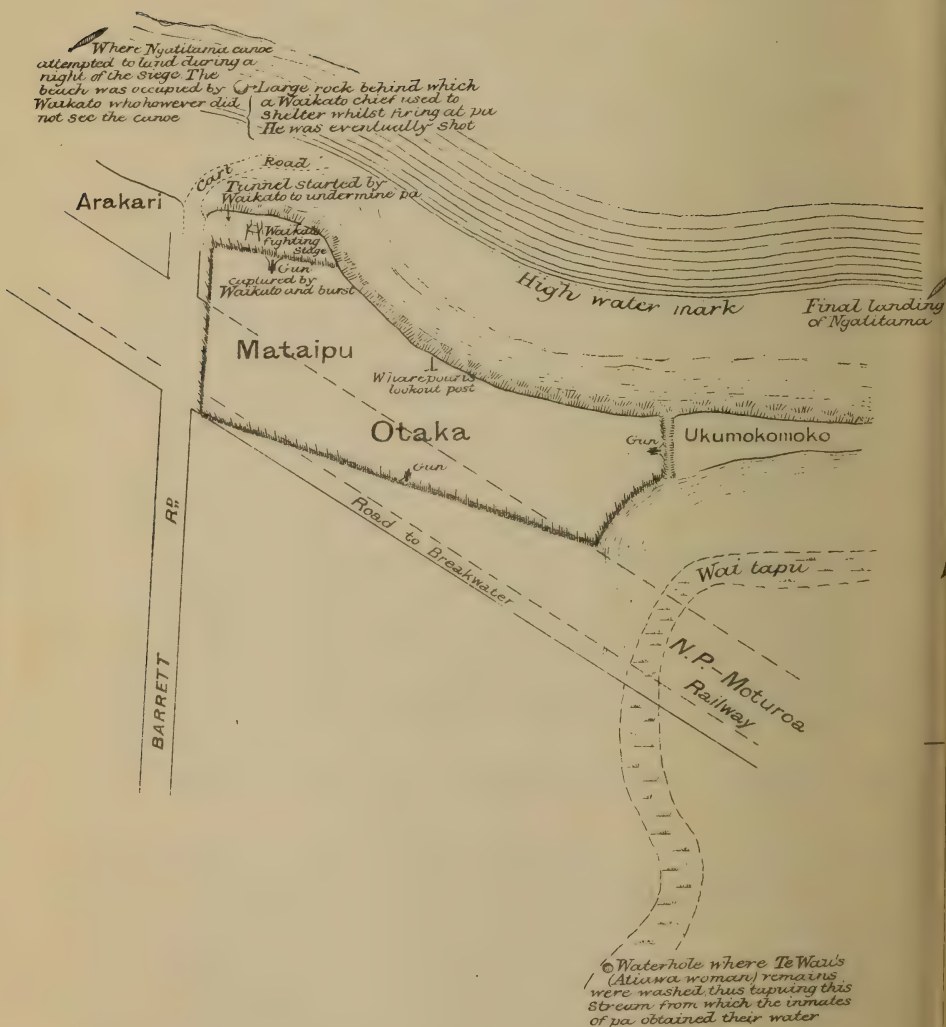
Map N^o 7

Otaka

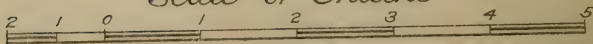
or

Ngamotu Pa

Sketched by W.H. Skinner



Scale of Chains



W. F. Gordon del

received of the invading *taua* by a messenger^{4a} from the Ngati-Tama, and the fate of Puke-rangiora had been known for some time, as numbers of those who escaped from that *pa* had been coming in from day to day, and finally when the invaders decided to go on and attack the people at Nga-Motu, they sent messengers forward to warn the chiefs of their intention.

Leaving the Wai-whakaiho river, the *taua* advanced along the seashore until they came to the Hua-toki stream—the present site of the Railway Station, New Plymouth. Here the party divided for a while—part of them continuing by the beach, but the main body turned inland and proceeded by the old native pathway that led up about the present line of Brougham Street and through St. Mary's Churchyard, and on by way of O-tu-maikuku (Hospital Grounds) to Tukapo (Westown), thence crossing the Manga-o-tuku valley and eventually making their appearance on the Maunga-roa hill.⁵

Ati-Awa advanced to meet them from Otaka, but after a slight skirmish retired into the *pa*. The original small fishing or trading villages of Otaka and Matipu had been hurriedly enclosed within a single encircling line of palisading so as to give more room for the storage of canoes and accommodation for the fugitives that were constantly coming in from Puke-rangiora and other *pas*.⁶ The defences, consequent on their being rushed up in such haste, were very indifferent and scarce worthy of the name, and Otaka would have met the fate of Puke-rangiora had it not been for the determined stand made by the eight British traders and whalers living with the tribe under the leadership of John Love and Richard Barrett. The names of the traders as given by the natives were Haki-rau (John Love), Tiki Pareti (Richard Barrett), Piri (Billy Bundy), Harakeke (John Wright), and Tame-riri, Tiemi, Hari Pataraki, and E'Tori (or Lee), the cook (a man of colour)—the English names of whom were Bosworth, Oliver, William Keenan, and another. Love and Barrett

4a. This messenger was Kau-parera of Mokau, a man of some rank, related to Ngati-Mania-poto, Ngati-Tama, and Te Ati-Awa; hence was he sent on to give notice of the intended fighting in accordance with Maori custom. Kau-parera had a modern name—Hone Pumipi—by which he was known to Europeans. When he died, his jadeite *mere*, or club, was broken by his relations and cast into a deep hole in the Mokau river, near the South Head, for it was considered that none were worthy to use the weapon after Pumipi's death. He died in 1897.

5. Maunga-roa, the hill just westward of the junction of South and Blagdon roads.

6. The great *pas* of Puke-ariki (Mount Eliot) and Pu-kaka (Marsland Hill) were deserted at this time, the inmates taking refuge at Otaka.

are well-known names in the early history of the Colony. Amongst the others, John Wright and Billy Bundy stand out conspicuously, and are spoken of with affection and admiration by the natives. Wright was a great fighter and the hero of the siege. He was one of the first Europeans to live at Nga-Motu, landing there in 1829. Of Bundy, it is told that some time prior to these events, and whilst whaling on the New Zealand coast, he had fallen into the hands of the natives. Lashed to a post within the *pa*, he watched the savages making preparations for his cooking. The oven was heated and ready, and he was on the point of being killed and cast into it, when the daughter of the chief rushed forward and, casting her mat or mantle over him, made him by this act *tapu* and his life was saved. This brave girl soon after became the wife of Bundy. Of Tame-riri, it is said he was "*he rangatira o nga hoea*"—a big man, a *toa*—and the big guns were worked by him. He married a daughter of Tara-mai-nuku, and after the siege went to Sydney and did not return. In the great *heke* (see Chapter XIX.) that went south in the June following this event, fighting occurred at Whanganui, and in the feast that followed, Keenan inadvertently partook of some human flesh, greatly to his disgust. The natives were highly diverted at this mistake and Keenan came in for a great deal of "chaff" over it.

The northern tribes having driven the Ati-Awa within the *pa* a regular siege was commenced. The besieging forces being disposed as follows: Ngati-Mania-poto occupied the ground on the south-west side of the *pa*, from the lower slopes of Puke-whiro along the Hongi-hongi and thence by that stream to the beach, and advancing by the lower terrace along the coast to within a short distance of the north-west angle of the *pa*. Waikato took up their position to the eastward, starting from the mouth of the Waitapu, and then curved back, following the course of that stream around the inland side of Otaka. Ngati-Apa-kura (of Kawhia) occupied the ground immediately inland of the *pa*, connecting with the wings of Waikato and Ngati-Mania-poto.

In carrying out their plan of defence, the besieged made use of three small cannon, in the possession of the traders. No. 1, called Rua-koura, commanded the eastern side of the *pa*; No. 2, named One-poto, faced inland; No. 3, or Pu-poipoi, occupied the north-west angle of the *pa*, but was moved freely about to various parts as occasion demanded—it being, from its description, a small field-piece, mounted on wheels.⁷

7. Two of these guns—Rua-koura and One-poto—are now in the Puke-kura Park, New Plymouth, the breech of the third, Pu-poipoi, was discovered in 1900

Whare-pouri,⁸ the Maori leader of the besieged, took up his position on a raised platform within the *pa*, commanding a view of the enemy, and from this stage directed the efforts of the Ati-Awa in repelling the different assaults of the enemy. Other leading chiefs within Otaka were Tautara of Puketapu, the principal chief or *ariki* of the Ati-Awa tribe, Te Puni, Rawa-ki-tua,* and Nga-tata of the Rewarewa *pa*, Porutu, Poharama, Wi Hape,* Te Raru (a younger brother of Wi Tako), and others of Nga-Motu.

The first general assault on the position was delivered by the Waikato tribe on the north-east corner of the *pa*, known as Uka-mokomoko. It was one of those early morning surprises so dear to the old time Maori. The *karaka* trees growing along the edge of the trenches at this point were rapidly felled against the palisading of the *pa*, thus serving the purpose of scaling ladders, up which the Waikato scrambled, and dropped down on the inner side of the defences within the *pa*. The alarm was quickly given, and after considerable loss on either side the attacking party was driven out.

The siege was pressed with great vigour, and the *pa* would have fallen before the overwhelming number of the invaders, had it not been for the heroic stand made by the whalers. Time after time the enemy succeeded in gaining an entrance, but they were in every case driven out with loss.

Polack in his account of the siege (Vol. II., page 304) says:—“The next day several shots were again exchanged. One chief of Ati-Awa, seized with a fit of valour, ran towards the enemy, discharged his musket, and as hastily ran back; but not before a ball was lodged in his back, and as he fell his party from the *pa* rushed forward to protect the dying man from being taken by the enemy. A skirmish followed in which many were killed on either side, but the body of the chief was carried within the *pa*.”⁹ And again: “Several chiefs of the Waikato and allied tribes, who were known to be most bitterly disposed to the besieged, paid them a visit in the *pa*,

whilst excavating the foundations of the Moturoa Freezing Works, and is now to be seen in the Museum at New Plymouth.

8. Te Whare-pouri, afterwards the well known chief of Port Nicholson, who with Te Puni, were the principals in the sale of Wellington to Col. Wakefield in 1839.

9. The name of this chief was Tohu-kakahi; he was a younger brother of Te Whare-pouri, and ? father of the so-called prophet Te Whiti. This incident occurred about the present site of Barrett Road, and one hundred yards, or thereabouts, inland of the Railway crossing.

* Migrated shortly after to Kapiti, with the Tama-te-uaua *heke*.

and entered into conversation as if they possessed sentiments of the purest affection towards each other. The enemy were politely allowed to view the guns; the few muskets they possessed compared with their assailants, was also fully discussed, and the entrenchments and weakness of the defences were pointed out." On the fourth day of the siege a surrender was proposed, which had probably been accepted but for the English. Tautara¹⁰ met Te Kanawa of Waikato on the sea-shore opposite the *pa*, to talk over the proposed terms of peace. The Waikato chief pretended to feel ashamed at the duplicity he had hitherto made use of, and promised to withdraw his forces immediately, but before doing so he requested to be allowed to enter the *pa* with his people to hold a *tangi* over the dead. As soon as this news was known in the *pa*, a number of the inmates determined to invite the Waikato and their allies to join in a friendly dance, but this was opposed by the greater number who suspected treachery. This difference of opinion caused serious quarrelling amongst the besieged. Two sisters fell out over this incident, one of whom called Te Whau, ran out of the *pa* towards the enemy, whose part she had taken, but their pretensions, thus put to test, were thrown to the winds the moment they caught the woman. She was immediately killed, her body cut up in view of the *pa*, and the dismembered portions washed in the stream that the besieged drew their main supply of water from. By this act the stream was made *tapu* to the inmates of the *pa*, but they were successful in finding water along the foot of the seaward terrace upon which Otaka was built, by means of sinking a number of pits or shallow wells. These being well under the protecting fire of the *pa*, the besieged had no difficulty in keeping themselves well supplied with fresh water. After the incident just related a general assault was made on the position, which was successfully resisted. The enemy next attempted to undermine the palisading at the north-west corner of the *pa*; the remains of this mine are still to be seen at the point where the Barrett Road turns sharply down to the beach. To counteract this attempt the besieged excavated a new line of

10. Tautara, head chief of the besieged Ati-Awa tribes, was also closely related to those of highest rank of the northern invaders. He was thus able to meet these people on common ground. He tried to induce Te Kanawa to withdraw Waikato from before Otaka, but without success. In the final repulse of the enemy, when they were badly beaten and suffering loss, Te Kanawa called out to Tautara to stop the slaughter and spare them, but the old chief replied, "No! it is now too late for that; you should have listened to me earlier. You must now take your well-deserved punishment."—Incident related to the writer by Tai-ariki of Puke-rangiora, November 30th, 1899.

trenches, thus frustrating Waikato's intentions. After this the enemy built earthen towers—*taumaihi*—for the purpose of sheltering themselves from the stones, etc., ejected by the cannon, and from which their best marksmen could fire into the *pa*, and from under cover of which blazing firebrands and pine splinters were hurled upon thatched *whares* within the *pa*, but to no purpose. Those *whares* that took fire were extinguished, but not without loss, for the musketry fire from the enemy's towers proved fatal to many. The Waikato, in their several assaults, lost men daily. In vain they professed regret for what they had done, striving for peace and friendship. The simple besieged in general believed what was said, and felt inclined to trust to their professions, and the place was often on the eve of being surrendered but for the interference of Love, Barrett, and their companions.

In the midst of the fighting the schooner "Currency Lass," of Port Jackson (Sydney), appeared in the roadstead. This vessel had put in to load with flax and oil for Sydney, and to bring to the European collectors fresh supplies of trade and necessaries. The Waikato attempted to capture the schooner, but were prevented by the vigilance of the master. Foiled in this, they determined to cut off all communication between the *pa* and the ship. But Love, evading their sentinels, swam off to the vessel, reaching his destination in safety in spite of the showers of bullets with which he was saluted. He told the master the state of affairs around Otaka, and advised him to put to sea. Love succeeded in gaining the safety of the *pa* again uninjured. On the following day another parley was held between Love and the chief of the enemy. Love was told that should they surrender, the lives of the white men would be held sacred; they only would be spared and taken as slaves to Kawhia; but the Englishman remembered that 'the race is not to the swift, nor the battle to the strong,' and it is scarcely necessary to say the terms of surrender offered were not entertained.

About this time a small reinforcement of thirty or forty of the Ngati-Tama tribe, under the leadership of the renowned warrior chief Te Kaeaea, or Taringa-kuri (Dogs' ears), came by canoe from Pa-tangata, the island *pa* at the mouth of Tonga-porutu river. With some difficulty they succeeded in entering Otaka, having in the first instance run ashore in the midst of the enemies at the mouth of the Hongihongi stream. It is said by some that this party left again before daylight, by others that Taringa-kuri and the main body remained and assisted in the defence of the position, a few returning to the Tonga-porutu with the canoe.

The Europeans were now perfectly miserable—see Polack's account. Fatigued by continual watching, and fearful of a surprise, they sincerely wished for a pitched battle that their fate might be decided. Their own party of natives gave them no less anxiety than their avowed enemies without the *pa*; they were continually harassed by their mutual jealousy. No sentinel was kept in the *pa*; the natives slept as comfortably within the trenches as if they had no enemy to disturb their equanimity. Strange and incredible as it may seem, whilst all this fighting and bloodshed was going on around the *pa*, within, a brisk trade was carried on between the traders and their friends, on the one part, and the enemy on the other. The northern invaders possessed amongst them from three to four thousand muskets, partly originally purchased by them; others formed the spoils of the Puke-rangiora people. The besieged could scarcely muster one hundred of these weapons, and consequently there was a keen demand for them within the *pa*. They were soon supplied with as many as they required, and powder also, by their enemies, in exchange for blankets, tobacco, and other articles of trade. On one occasion, whilst a brisk business was being carried on between the opposing parties, a dispute arose respecting a musket and its payment in barter, a quarrel ensued, and three of the Waikato party were killed, the bodies being immediately cut up and roasted.

The siege had now lasted nearly three weeks and the enemy was becoming disheartened by their lack of success. Bad news had come from their own country; advantage had been taken by old foes in their absence to devastate their country, food was getting scarce, the last slave had been cooked and eaten, and their patience was now exhausted. At this stage, during an assault, one of the field-pieces—named Pu-poipoi¹¹—within the north-west angle of the *pa*, burst. This was an omen of the worst description for the besieged, and so elated the northern invaders that they decided to make a general assault and take the *pa* by storm on the following morning. In accord with Maori custom, information to this effect was conveyed to the besieged. The tidings were received with apathy by the bulk of the garrison, who at night rolled themselves in their mats and slept with their usual comfort in the trenches. With the Europeans, conscious that the morrow would decide their fate, this tedious night was spent in the misery of suspense. They had been told they were to be

11. Others have told me that this gun was captured in an assault and dragged down on the beach below. Here it was loaded to the muzzle and pointed at the defences of the *pa*. By means of a long train of gunpowder the charge was ignited, but with disastrous results to Pu-poipoi, the gun bursting with the over charge.

devoured, and the chiefs were pointed out into whose possession their heads were to be given and preserved by the process of steaming.

On the following morning at the earliest dawn the *pa* was assaulted by the whole force of the enemy. The attack was opened along the western front by Ngati-Mania-poto. Some of the old men of the garrison, who had been left on guard, fell asleep at their post, and the enemy were within the *pa* before the alarm had been properly given. The report of fire-arms aroused the inmates to a sense of their danger, and after a desperate struggle the attacking party was driven back. In the meantime the Waikato, as pre-arranged, assaulted *en masse* the Waitapu or eastern line of defence. The besieged, encouraged by their recent success, soon repulsed this attack with the aid of the gun Rua-koura, but not before Pehi-Tu-korehu—himself at the head of the whole strength of Ngati-Apakura—led the final assault along the inland face of the *pa*. The repulse of the two previous attacks allowed the besieged to concentrate their whole force in meeting this attack, and success added fuel to their valour. The assault was met with a fierceness and vigour that staggered the enemy, who wavered, turned, and fled, dragging their dead chiefs after them.

A panic seems to have taken possession of the invaders after this repulse of Ngati-Apakura. The bodies of those chiefs who fell on this fateful morning were gathered up and placed on the roofs of their temporary huts, fire was applied, and their camp on the instant became a mass of flames. This was done so that the bodies of their slain chiefs should be consumed by fire, and not fall into the hands of the enemy in the *pa* to be eaten and their bones turned to domestic and other degrading purposes. After the burning of the encampments, the whole force hurriedly retreated, leaving the dead and wounded—excepting the chiefs as stated above—on the field and along the line of retreat. Ati-Awa pursued only for a short distance, as far as Tara-whata, or Moon's reef, on the sea-beach. An incident is related of this retreat about a wounded chief of the invaders called Tamakahu. This man had been shot through the knee, and two of his people had fixed up a rough litter, carrying him for some distance until his weight began to tell. Ati-Awa were pressing close and the bearers told Tamakahu that he was too heavy to carry further; upon this he exclaimed, "No, I am not heavy; I am as light as the *whau* (New Zealand cork-wood)! Oh, do not leave me!" His entreaties were in vain; his tribesmen fled, leaving him to his fate, which was not long delayed by the avenging Ati-Awa. Another incident of the retreat told by Waikato is that Te Kaka—a celebrated warrior of Mokau Heads—killed, in a hand to hand combat, Tohu-kakahi, a chief of

Puke-ariki (Mount Eliot, New Plymouth) and father of Te Whiti of Parihaka.¹²

Polack says the invaders left behind them about three hundred and fifty dead and wounded, but this is probably an over-estimate. The Waikato account, given by Kau-parera of Mokau, who was present, says four chiefs of rank—Tawiwi, Weta-nui¹³ (son of Tu-korehu), Te Kaiamo, and Pongo, with sixty of lesser rank.

As usual on such occasions a scene of revolting cruelty and brutal lust followed, which the Europeans were powerless to prevent. Many prisoners but slightly disabled were put to death with dreadful torture, some being dragged and thrown alive on the large fires kindled by their enemies, with every mark of delight and sensuality. "One of the victors made one of the enemy fast to a gun, having captured him while in the act of escaping from the *pa* after the battle; he unloosened the fastenings and demanding of the hapless being what the enemy intended doing next. He received no answer, as the prisoner knew his doom was fixed. A tomahawk was held forcibly between his teeth and an incision pierced in his throat, from which this vampire slowly drank the blood. His body was then quartered and the heart sent as a present to an elderly chief as a delicious morsel."¹⁴ The appearance now presented by the *pa* was a sickening ordeal for the Englishmen. Human bodies cut in pieces and hanging opposite every house within the *pa* were disgusting to behold. Dogs feeding on the refuse, together with the sanguinary appearance of these extensive shambles, prevented the traders from pursuing their usual work for some time. The bones of the devoured to within recent years whitened the sand hills to the west of Hongihongi stream.

Other *pas* in the vicinity occupied at this time by Ati-Awa were Miko-tahi, Paritutu, Mataora, and Motu-o-Tamatea. Great inducements were held out to those on Paritutu to come down and have a friendly dance with Waikato, but the bait did not take. This fort was well supplied with food—the great trouble was with the water, which was obtainable only half-way down on the south-west face, three hundred feet below the summit. Their mode of getting this was as follows: Two, or sometimes four, large *hue*, or calabashes, were fastened over the shoulders of the man or woman told off to descend the cliff;

12. See page 473 for the Ati-Awa version of this man's death.

13. Weta-nui was in the habit of posting himself behind a large rock, which is still to be seen about high-water mark where the Barrett road comes on to the beach. Exposing himself from this secure shelter he was shot, to the great delight of the besieged, to whom his "sniping" ways had been a great source of annoyance.

14. Polack, Vol. II., p. 318.

a strong rope was then made fast to the carrier, who also made use of a second stout rope, which was fastened to stakes driven securely into the face of the cliff. By this means they reached the spring, and after filling the gourds, they returned by the same way. This would be repeated perhaps several times during the night. Those living on, or occupying, the island *pas* of Mata-ora and Motu-o-Tamatea could prevent any depredation on this spring by the enemy, as it lay quite exposed to and within easy range of their musketry fire.

The bulk of the women and children, with the elders and non-combatants generally, took shelter on the semi-island fort of Mikotahi—an impregnable position in Maori warfare—remaining in safety here until the conclusion of the siege.

(With the exception of extracts quoted from Polack, the information given in the preceding narrative was obtained first hand from Piripi Ngahuku, a member of the Nga-Motu *hapu*, who was present all through the siege and afterwards assisted in the defence of Mikotahi, which fell to Waikato in 1833; and also from Watene Taungatara, who, escaping from Puke-rangiora, fled through the forest to Kete-marae (not far from Hawera), and with others, returned by the coast and threw in his lot with his relatives, occupying the fortified position on the summit of Paritutu. By the help of Ngahuku the outlines of the defences, the position of the cannon, the ground occupied by the different sections of the invaders, and the general topography within and around Otaka, were fixed as indicated on sketch plan of locality (see Map No. 7).

To Mr. Skinner's description above, I add the following:—Pehi-Tu-korehu, mentioned several times in this narrative, was a leading chief of Ngati-Mania-poto, and was a very great warrior in his time. As this is the last occasion but one on which we shall meet with him, it will be of interest to quote the following from the journal of the Rev. James Hamlin (in Dr. Hocken's library). Mr. Hamlin, then stationed at Manga-pouri, on the Waipa river, says, "21st May, 1836. Heard of old Pehi-korehu's death. He was the head chief of Ngati-Mania-poto. Poor old fellow; he was returning from a feast at Aotea, and in crossing Kawhia Harbour with his friends, his canoe upset a little before it reached the shore and he was drowned, together with his two wives and two slaves. His daughters swam ashore and were saved. But such is the unreasonableness of the natives that they are talking of making war on the friends with whom he had been feasting, on account of his death. (This was the law of *muru*.) Poor old Pehi

had often been spoken to on the subject of religion, and had promised Mr. Brown and myself that if a missionary came to live with him, he would believe. But he has always turned the subject into ridicule."

At Pehi-Tu-korehu's death, his people lamented him in the following *waiata-tangi* :—

Tahuna mai te ahi ki runga i a Te Poa,
Ko te ahi i tahuna mo Whakaturia,
Ko te peka tena i makere ki raro ki te whenua,
Takiritia ra he kai ma te ope taua,
E 'Rehu ! e tangi, ka whiti tou manawa
E kore tou mate e wawe te rautipu,
Me uta ke ake ki nga pu mahara,
E taka mai i tua.
E whakaroaka ana i nga mate tawhito.

Taka huirangi ai te po i Rangi-toto,
Mawai e whakamana i te waka ka tukoki ?
Whakahaerea ra, na runga o Taranaki,
Kia whangaia koe te ika i Rangiriri
Hoki mai E Tama ! i te ara ra uta,
Ka whara tou kiri i te pāra-tai
Tena nga kauri kei Wai-harakeke
I kitea iho ai, he mango ihu nui
I te one na—i,
Raru nui te iwi—e—i.

Tangi tikapa ana te wahine i te uru,
Tu ake ! tirohia te hua i Motu-tawa,
Ka kite Wharo, ka papare i a Ngaehe,
Me aha te huanga ka meha o namata ?

Haea mai ra ki te mira tuatini
Kihai i hoatu te huru o Tapeka,
Kia rato ratou, kia kai Puponga.

E Tama ! ka hupeke i tou whanaketanga,
Ka tanumi rawa koe ki tua Tongariro,
Kia korero koe i te ngutu o te manu,
Kia hoki ana mai to wairua ki te ao nei—i—i !

TRANSLITERATION.

Now light the fire above at Te Poa,
Such a one as was lit at the death of Whakaturia,¹
For he was the branch (chief) then laid low.
Prepare the food for the war-party's use.
O 'Rehu !² Weep, then, thy heart will start,
For thy death will not be speedily avenged.

It must be treated in accordance
 With laws handed down from of old ;
 Kept ever in remembrance as of old defeats.³

Dark clouds as of night over Rangitoto hung.
 Who shall avenge the canoe upset ?
 Perchance in the south at Taranaki,⁴
 There shall thou be fed on the fish of Rangiriri ;⁵
 Thou didst not return, O son ! by the inland way,
 Hence is thy body with sea-foam covered.
 The *kauris* (chiefs) at Wai-harakeke⁶
 Have witnessed thy might ; like long-nosed sharks
 They laid on the sands.
 But, now, alas ! are the people confounded.

Bitterly weeping are the women in the west.
 Arise thee ! Consider what befel at Motu-tawa,⁷
 When Wharo saw and Ngaehe parried the blow.⁸
 What gain now is there in the things of old ?

In mourning, deeply cut the flesh with the *tuatini*.⁹
 The cloak of Tapeka was not given,
 That all might be equally served,
 Or that Puponga should consume. . . .

O son ! In thy youth thou didst gird thyself !¹⁰
 But now hast thou disappeared beyond Tongariro,
 That thou mayest discourse with bird-like voice,
 And thy spirit to this world return.

NOTES.—1. Whakaturia, a Whanganui chief killed in battle, inland Mokau. The fire refers to the *ahi-pure*, or fire of purification at death—or, the fire may be emblematical for war. 2. 'Rehu, short for Tu-korehu ; the brief form of address is always some part of a person's name, not necessarily the first syllable. 3. Someone must suffer for his death by drowning, no matter who. 4. The Taranaki tribes are suggested as such victims to appease the *manes* of the dead. 5. Rangiriri is the mythological spring from which all fish originate. 6. Refers to some of the troubles between the deceased's tribe and the people of Wai-harakeke—a river south side of Kawhia—see Chapter XIII. There is a group of five *kauri* trees growing there, the most southerly known ; here used emblematically for chiefs. 7. Motu-tawa, the island *pa* at the mouth of the Mokau river, where Ngati-Mania-poto—Tu-korehu's tribe—defeated Ati-Awa, see Chapter XIX. 8. There is a story about Wharo and Ngaehe, the particulars of which I have forgotten. 9. The *mira-tuatini* is a saw made of sharks' teeth set in a wooden handle, used to cut up human bodies for the oven, but here used to tear the flesh in mourning. 10. " Gird thyself "—*i.e.*, for war. Tu-korehu was a great warrior, as this narrative has already shown.

Te Keha was also a leading chief of Ati-Awa engaged in the defence, and Wai-taha-nui, a prominent chief of Waikato, was killed there. On the Ati-Awa side were also killed Wereta-nui and Tawhiwhi—both said to have been shot by Tu-korehu.

Many of the defenders of Otaka subsequently migrated to Kapiti

in the Tama-te-uaua *heke* (see Chapter XIX.), dreading a further invasion of Waikato—which indeed took place shortly after—whilst others removed to the two islands known as Miko-tahi and Motu-roa, on the latter of which they dwelt for years, living in caves and little huts built on the precipitous sides of the island.

Paritutu was first fortified on top during these Waikato invasions; it had never been occupied previously. In addition to the water supply mentioned by Mr. Skinner, they had very large *kumetes*, or wooded troughs hewn out of logs, in which to catch rain-water from the houses.

A few pages back, Mr. Skinner alludes to the probability of some of the Ngati-Tama tribe being within the beleaguered *pa*. In 1908 an old man of Ngati-Tama, named Taiata, who was born at Puke-ariki *pa*, and at the time of the siege of Otaka was about ten years old, told me that he, with his parents, and all the other people of Puke-ariki fled to Otaka and remained there during the siege. He says that after the retreat of Waikato the Ngati-Tama and some of Ati-Awa of Otaka followed up the retreating *taua* as far as Mokau, where they managed to kill a Waikato man, named Whatu-moana, at a place called Te Karangi.

On their return, these Ngati-Tama went into the Taranaki country and settled for a time near Wareatea. Whilst here an Ati-Awa man, named Korau, who was living with Ngati-Tama, was killed by the Nga-Mahanga branch of Taranaki. In revenge for this, Ngati-Tama took a *pa* named Puke-arenga. The Ngati-Tama were few in number, and not feeling themselves safe in their new home, all migrated to Kapiti not long before the migration known as “Tama-te-uaua” (see Chapter XIX.)

From the same source I learn that both Puke-ariki (Mount Eliot) and Pu-kaka (Marsland Hill) *pas* were both occupied when Waikato advanced to the attack of Otaka, but were abandoned, and the inhabitants all moved on to Otaka. Ngati-Te-Whiti *hapu* of Ati-Awa occupied the east end of Puke-ariki in those days, and the principal chiefs of the two *pas* were Te Whetuki, Te Whatarauhe, Roriki, and Te Teira-Kiaho of Ngati-Tu-pari-kino *hapu*. At that time (1832) there were large numbers of people living in the *pas* mentioned, and all the lands extending from St. Mary's Church to the Manga-o-tuku stream, and on the north side of the Huatoki stream, about where the Kawau *pa* stood in the early forties was all cultivated in *kumara*, *taro*, and small patches of potatoes, for this tuber was not at that time common. When the people moved off to Otaka, this was the final abandonment of these two grand old *pas*.

THE SIEGE OF KAIAPOHIA.

1831.

The celebrated siege of Kaiapohia (misnamed by Europeans, Kaiapoi) occurred in 1831, a little previous to that of Otaka. As a full description has been published by the Rev. J. W. Stack, it is not necessary to repeat it here, although a large number of the tribes we are dealing with were engaged there assisting Te Rau-paraha. The Ati-Awa contingents were under the following chiefs:—Te Puho (of Ngati-Tama), Huri-whenua (of Ngati-Rahiri), Rere-tawhangawhanga (of Manu-korihi), Te Manu-tohe-roa (of Puke-tapu), Ngatata (father of Pomare, who later lived at the Chatham Islands), Te Poki, Te Arahū, Te Awe, Takaratai, Te Hau-te-horo, Te Tupe-o-Tu, Manu-kino, Kāpūia-whariki, Wharepa, Mohi-Ngawaina, Riwai-taupata, Raharuhi Te Taniwha (of Ngati-Tama), Te Waka-tiwha (brother of Pomare). Many of these were back again at Nga-Motu to take part in the defence of Miko-tahi, but not of Puke-rangiora or Otaka.

Mr. Skinner furnishes the following note on Puke-ariki (Mount Eliot, New Plymouth), the inhabitants of which took part in the defence of Otaka:—

PUKE-ARIKI PA.

The name of the *marae* of this *pa* was Para-huka, and the following story gives the origin of it:—"Takarangi and Raumahora—whose history was related in Chapter X.—had a daughter named Rongo-ua-roa, who was married to Te Whiti, and they had a son named Aniwanīwa (the ancestor of Te Puni family of Wellington, and Te Kepa family of Mangaone, Wai-whakaiho). By his second marriage, Te Whiti (see above) had a son called Ruaroa (the ancestor of the Poharama people—Ngati-Te-Whiti of Moturoa—and Te Whiti, the so-called prophet of Parihaka).

These two half-brothers—Aniwanīwa and Ruaroa—were of quite opposite dispositions. The former was a talker, a boaster, and a loafer, spending most of his time in visiting distant relatives and people, journeying as far as the Bay of Islands on these holiday tours. When addressing these distant people he used to boast of the great fruitfulness of his own soil and the abundance that always reigned at Puke-ariki, and would give pressing invitations to visit his home and partake of the abundance that was there to be found. As a consequence visitors were always arriving at the *pa*, and in accord with ancient Maori custom hospitality had to be given to these visitors, resulting oftentimes in its inmates having to undergo great privation owing to lack of food, for come what may, rigid custom laid down that the visitors were to be fully and abundantly fed, whether or not the hosts had to go without

their meal or on short commons for the balance of the season until the new crops were gathered in. But this did not trouble Aniwaniwa; he acted the lordly host and bade welcome to the visitors, come they many or few. The brunt fell on Ruaroa, the stay-at-home worker and provider. So in derision Ruaroa named (or re-named) the *marae* of the *pa* Para-huka—spital, the frothing of the mouth—as it was here his bombastic brother used to speak empty, frothy words; and that name remained down to the time of the desertion of this great stronghold about the year 1830.

The site of the *marae*, or square, of the old *pa* is marked by that of the Union S.S. Company's and New Zealand Express Company's offices, and the part of St. Aubyn Street in front of the same.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SECOND SIEGE OF MOTU-TAWA AT MOKAU.

Early in 1832.

THE fall of Puke-rangiora in December, 1831, and the serious losses sustained by Ati-Awa at that place, together with the siege of Otaka at Nga-Motu by Waikato, induced the leading men of the tribes from Waitara to Nga-Motu to consider the necessity of migrating to Kapiti and that neighbourhood to join the large numbers of their own people who had left the Taranaki district and settled in the vicinity of the Ngati-Toa tribe. Notwithstanding the success of Ati-Awa in driving off Waikato at Otaka, they began to see that now Waikato had become possessed of so many muskets, they were bound to return to Taranaki, and eventually would exterminate Ati-Awa. Even after the success at Otaka the whole of the people from Nga-Motu to the White Cliffs were living away from their homes near the coast at inland villages and cultivations, for the fear of predatory parties of Waikato was great. There were differences of opinion as to whether the migration should take place at once, or, as others contended for, after an attempt had been made to avenge some of their losses on Ngati-Mania-poto living at Mokau. Finally, this latter course was decided on; and not long after Waikato had retired from Otaka, a strong force of Te Ati-Awa (including some people from Nga-Motu, Puke-tapu, Otaraua, etc.), with contingents from Ngati-Ruanui and the Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of the Taranaki tribe, who were allied to the Nga-Motu *hapu* of the Sugar-loaves, started northwards on vengeance bound and proceeded, on arrival at Mokau, to invest Motu-tawa *pa*. This was at the *hauhaketanga* of the crops, or the month of March.

Old Rihari of Mokau, who was actually at Motu-tawa at the time of the siege, says this Ati-Awa *ope* had another reason for the attack as well; and that was the great defeat of Ngati-Tama and Ati-Awa at the battle of Nga-Tai-pari-rua in 1815, as related in Chapter XI. hereof. The *ope*, which had a good many muskets among them, went on down the coast to the Mokau river. Their coming was known to the local people, who hastily collected into their island fortress of Motu-tawa, taking all their canoes with them. This island *pa* has already been described in Chapter XI. Not being able to procure canoes to cross

the Mokau, the invaders proceeded to make *mokihis* of *raupo* and flax-stems, with which the majority succeeded in reaching the northern shore; but others were not so fortunate, for the river, being in flood, carried several of the rafts out to sea, where some of the people were drowned—indeed, some of the rafts were carried away north by the current and finally came ashore at Awhitu, Manukau South Head—a distance of one hundred and fifteen miles—but no bodies were found on them.

Arrived on the north bank of the Mokau, the *taua* occupied the high land to the west of Motu-tawa, and from there fired down on to the *pa*, doing some execution. But after a time, and taking advantage of low water, they crossed the mud-flats and attacked the *pa* itself, when a fierce fight took place, resulting in the lower (south-east) part of the fort being taken, and in which action two chiefs of the *pa*—Tikawe and Te Whatu-moana—were killed, besides some of the attacking party. Te Huia, who was chief of the Puke-tapu section of the invaders, on finding that Tikawe (to whom he was related) was killed, was very wrath, and immediately withdrew his *hapu* from the attack, which weakened the rest of the party so much that the whole were obliged to retire, much to their chagrin, which they vented on Te Huia in a storm of words. Seeing the enemy retiring, the people on the *tiki* (or summit) of the *pa* were greatly elated, and now poured on to the retreating *taua* volley after volley of musket shots, during which the Ati-Awa lost Tu-paoa, Nga-Ika-hui-rua, Te Poka, Te Rangi-tua-kaha, Te Waha-hou, and Nga-Rau. The losses of Ngati-Mania-poto in the lower part of the *pa* had been serious also, but very few of those occupying the *tiki* were killed. Before leaving, the Ati-Awa managed to seize and drag along with them the bodies of the two chiefs named above. Ihaia-Te-Kiri-kumara of Otaraua *hapu*, so well known to early Taranaki settlers, was at this siege.

Tikawe's body was put to the usual purposes by the invaders, and his two arms were left on a rock on the south side of the river at a place named Pekanui, as a sign for his relatives.

On the way north, or whilst at Mokau, someone of the ladies of Ati-Awa composed the following *kai-oraora* about Tikawe:—

Taku pere ra, e tu nei
 Ki te riu ki Mokau,
 Kia riro mai nei taku kai ko Tikawe
 E tomina kau ake nei te korokoro.
 Ki te kai-angaanga o Tai-papaki-rua,
 Ka haoa mai ki te "kupenga
 A Tara-mai-nuku."

Ko iho te waihoe
 Te kongutu-awa ki Whakahutiwai,
 Hei rahui pipi.
 Ko iho te haere ki Waitara,
 Kia whakaparua ki te pihapiharau,
 Tutakina ai te puta i te whati-toka,
 Kei puta te upoko-roro,
 Ki roto ki te angaanga tohe riri
 Mai ki te pakanga
 Ko te kai-whakamoe, Whakatimu,
 I keua mai ki te pu a taku kai nei,
 A Tawa-waraki.
 Ka kite koe te ngare o Ngati-Hau,
 Ko te puru ki te Ao-marama.
 Kei whea he utu mo aku kai,
 Whakapae ki Manga-rapa,
 I pehi kau ake ai
 Nga paiaka o Papa-kauri,
 I hahua te roro o Hari—
 O tona tama, ki Te Maire,
 Ka kai te Tini-o-Makehua
 Ka kai taku tini taureka.

This is the regular style of *kai-oraora*, or abusive, cursing song; but I hesitate to translate it in the absence of anyone who could explain the local references.

My informant for some of these particulars tells me that, in return for this invasion of the country by Ati-Awa, the Mokau people directed an attack on the Ngati-Maru tribe of Upper Waitara, but I did not gather the particulars. This expedition to Mokau, however, was the immediate cause of the Waikato and Ngati-Mania-poto attack on Miko-tahi at Nga-Motu in the following year.

THE HEKE, OR MIGRATION, CALLED "TAMA-TE-UAUA."

1832.

For much that follows as to the above migration, the narrative dictated to Mr. A. Shand and myself by Rangi-pito of Ngati-Rahiri, and written down in shorthand (in Maori) at the time, will be followed. On the return of the war-party from Mokau, nearly all the tribes of Northern Ati-Awa gathered together at Tikorangi—on the north bank of the Waitara, four miles from the mouth of the river. The object of this meeting was to arrange details for their proposed migration to Kapiti, already alluded to. There were gathered there nearly all Ati-Awa, some of the remaining Ngati-Tama, Ngati-Mutunga, and others. After the decision to remove had been decided on (mainly

through the urgency of Te Pononga, Te Hau-te-horo, Rangī-wahia, and Te Ito), the whole body moved down to Waitara preparatory to starting. Here they were joined by some of the people of Nga-Motu, but not all; for some decided to remain, and should necessity arise, take shelter on the Sugar-loaf Islands. The whole party now moved on to Kapua-taitu, on the Wai-o-ngana river, where all who were to form the *heke* assembled, for from here the forest road started for the south.

The expedition had not yet started in March, 1832, as we may infer from the following, quoted from "Brett's Historical Series, Early History of New Zealand"—by R. A. A. Sherrin—1890; page 172. "In 1832 H.M.S. 'Zebra' was at Taranaki, having gone thither in consequence of a report which had been circulated (in Sydney) that the Waikato tribes meditated hostilities on the settlers—*i.e.*, flax dealers and others in the district; but finding the alarm groundless, she pursued her voyage to Kapiti, where she arrived on the 16th March, 1832, and learned that the chiefs and warriors had gone to Banks Peninsula, whereupon she consequently proceeded through Cook's Straits on her voyage to Tahiti."

"I was a boy at that time," says Rangī-pito, "but well remember all the circumstances. Before we started we were joined by R. Barrett, Love, Billy Keenan, and their families from Nga-Motu. We then started on our long journey—men, women, and children being altogether in one party. There were many of us; some fourteen hundred fighting men, without counting the women and children, who must have numbered quite as many, or more, than the men. The following was the order of march: Each tribe marched as a body and close to each other, so that none might be left behind, nor was there any straggling allowed. The men of each tribe marched in front and behind, the women and children between them, and certain men were told off to see that the distance (*tiriwa*) between each party was maintained. The *heke* was composed of members of the tribes: Nga-Motu, Puke-tapu, Manu-korihi, Puke-rangiora, Ngati-Rahiri, Kai-tangata, Ngati-Tu, Ngati-Hine-uru, Ngati-Mutunga, Te Whakarewa, and Ngati-Tama. The principal chiefs were: Tau-tara, Raua-ki-tua, Te Whare-pouri, Te Puni, Rangī-wahia, Hau-te-horo, Te Ito, Te One-mihi, and others. All our men were armed, for we had to pass through an enemy's country part of the way. Many of us had guns, for the whalers from whom we principally obtained fire-arms had been settled at Nga-Motu for several years. Our course was by Te Whakaahu-rangī* track,

* See the origin of this name in Chapter IX., and description of the track in Chapter I.

which leads southwards from Matai-tawa through the forest inland of Mount Egmont, and comes out into the open country near Kete-marae (not far from Normanby). We slept in the forest the first and succeeding night. It was very cold, being winter (June), and the frost was on the ground. The *kakas* (parrots) were very fat at the time of our passage through the forest."

Rangi-pito does not mention any of Ngati-Maru as being with the *heke*, but there were several—under their chiefs Haere-tu-ki-te-rangi (who died at Whareroa, Otaki, a very old man), Te Rangi-huatau, Te Whita, Rakuraku, and Pukere; some of whom eventually settled at Titahi Bay, Porirua—others were assigned lands at Tipapa, between Wainui and Whareroa by the Ngati-Toa chief Te Pani. Most of these people returned to their homes at inland Waitara after Christianity was introduced. But all of Ngati-Maru did not go south; many remained in their forest-clad homes on the Upper Waitara, and amongst them one of the principal men named Te Ika-tere, who lamented the departure of his people in this *waiata-tangi* :—

E kai noa ana i te kai,
 Heke rawa iho,
 Te mohiotia nga wa o te he—e—i.
 Uia, pataia, ki a Tāne,
 Te ipo māna e ki mai;
 Kei au te hara—e—i.
 Ka kai manu i te pua,
 Ka inu i te Wai-orā-o-Tāne,
 Ka ko te manu-e-i
 Wareware ki runga,
 Ki tauranga a te hoa tau muri e—i
 Roua ki Whiti, roua ki Tonga,
 E tu i te pa o aitua,
 Ka irirangi te mahara e—i,
 Ka tautuku ki raro,
 Ka tuku nga turi
 Ka noho i te he,
 Ka moe i te moenga na—i.

TRANSLATION.

Even as I sit at my meals,
 The fast flowing tears descend.
 Who could have foreseen this trial?
 Ask, enquire of the god Tāne,
 The loved one, who will say,
 If mine was the fault.

The birds still feed in the preserve,
 And drink of the Living-waters-of-Tāne,¹
 Singing blithely as is their wont,
 They heed not the thoughts of the south
 (Whither ye all are now departing)
 Where my friends will shortly be.
 The thoughts extend to Fiji and to Tonga,²
 But still encompassing evils find,
 Suspended is the imagination.
 And when it returns to the present,
 My knees fail to support me.
 I am dwelling in the midst of sorrow,
 And wish for the long death-sleep.

NOTES.—1. The-living-waters-of-Tāne, where life was renewed. 2. Whiti, or Fiji, and Tonga, the islands of those names, often referred to in old poetry, meaning here, they vainly seek safety in the neighbouring tribes. A very old, old reference.

But to return to Rangi-pito's narrative: "So we arrived at the Ngati-Ruanui country, coming out to the open lands at Kete-marae, where we stayed one month. Te Hana-*taua* was the chief of the *pa* in those days. From there we passed on to Whiti-kau, then to Whenua-kura by way of the mouth of the Patea, in preference to the inland track by Hukatere, because we feared trouble with the people of that part, and so on to Te Karaka, near Wai-totara. So far, we had passed through the territories of Ngati-Ruanui without trouble, but we were now in those of Nga-Rauru, who were inimicable to us. Here some of us went to procure food (*ao-kai*), and falling in with Nga-Rauru a skirmish ensued, in which some of them were killed.

"We then passed on to Whanga-nui without further trouble, where we found that a large party of Ngati-Mania-poto and Ngati-Tu-wharetoa of Taupo were in the district, but were absent on our arrival, having gone on an expedition to Kapiti in order to escort some of the Ngati-Raukawa tribe who were migrating to that place to join Te Rau-paraha. In consequence of this no fighting took place on our first arrival. Their canoes, by which they had come down the river, were on the opposite side at Putiki, where they had been left. Some of our party swam over the river and secured these canoes for our own use. We plundered them all; so that when their *ope* returned they found their canoes gone, and their return up the river prevented. When they reached Putiki (just opposite the present town of Whanga-nui) our people were encamped at Te Karamuramu (seaward of the present town).

"When my younger brother was born he was killed by my father, Te Ito, who was at that time somewhat out of his mind; he crushed

the body into a hole which he had dug for it—this was before we left our homes. On account of this his *atua*, or god, was angry with him, and so he fell at Whanga-nui, as will be seen. One morning shortly after the Taupo people had returned, a little canoe with some of the Whanga-nui people in it paddled across the river; in it were three men of Ngati-Ruakā. Te Ito, who was wandering about, saw the canoe, and went towards it. He asked them, ‘Is Tia, or Rere (Hukarere), there?’ ‘Yes!’ they replied, ‘he is here!’ They said this so as to entice the old man to approach them. Te Ito went towards them without suspicion, and when close enough, one of the three men in the canoe shot him, whilst another afterwards tomahawked him in the forehead as he lay. Hearing the shouting, some of Te Ati-Awa made towards the place; but the three men effected their escape in the canoe, leaving his friends to carry Te Ito—who was not quite dead—back to their camp, where he soon after died. Rangi-wahia was absent at this time collecting food. After the death of Te Ito, the *karakias* for the dead were said over him, and when they were finished Rangi-tamaru remarked, ‘*Hei apopo ka whawhai*’ (‘There will be fighting to-morrow’); he knew this by the signs when he repeated the *karakias* over the old man.

“The following day we saw Whanga-nui and Ngati-Tu-whare-toa crossing the river in force to our side. Rangi-wahia said, ‘Let them all come over together in force’ (before we attack them). ‘No!’ said Te Tu-o-te-rangi, ‘not too many together; they will be too much for us.’ One man amongst the party was noticed, as they crossed the river, who was inciting (*whakahanu*) them on, to be brave. On landing, the enemy came on in solid bodies, but in two divisions. Then Ngati-Tawhiri-kura (connected with the Hamua and Nga-Motu *hapus*, from near New Plymouth) commenced firing on the advancing foe. Te Heuheu—the head chief of Ngati-Tu-whare-toa of Taupo—and his younger brother Te Popo returned the fire. The guns used were *uruuru-purumu* (flint locks). Ngati-Tawhiri-kura, in their advance, happened on a thicket which was occupied by Whanga-nui, and here they suffered a repulse which caused them to fall to the rear of our party. Ngati-Tama and Te Ati-Awa, in the meantime, were forcing their way to the front, led by Te One-mihi, with his broad battle-axe—which he flourished all the way, making cuts and guards with it. He advanced boldly in front of his people towards Ngati-Tu-whare-toa without any fear, and succeeded in killing the friend of Te Popo. Whilst he was disengaging his axe, Te Popo advanced and shot him dead. Te Ketu of Ngati-Tama, who was near, in return, shot down Te Popo and killed him. The two opposing parties were by this time in

close quarters and actively engaged, when Ngati-Tawhiri-kura, who had rallied after their first repulse, now came up and renewed the fight, and between them they and Te Ati-Awa drove their foes back and thus secured the victory over Taupo and Whanga-nui. In this fight the Taupo people lost the chiefs Te Popo and Tu-tawa—the latter a very fine-looking man, with light hair. The heads of both these people were preserved by Ati-Awa and eventually taken to Kapiti.

“The Whanga-nui and Taupo people now fled, taking to their canoes or jumping into the river, whilst Te Ati-Awa followed them up and kept firing at them in the canoes, or as they swam in the river. Numbers were killed, the bodies floating away down stream, and were afterwards found drifted ashore on the beach. Some of the canoes capsized in the crossing, a few of the occupants escaping by swimming, whilst their friends stood on the opposite bank watching and *tangi*-ing over them, unable to assist them. What was to be done? Were they not killed?

“The *tau*a of Te Ati-Awa and the others remained on the field of battle by direction of the old chiefs Rangi-wahia, Raua-ki-tua, and Te Hau-te-horo. Whilst there, and as evening came on, Te Ati-Awa recited the *ngeri*, or war-song, of Waikato, used by them during the expedition to Puke-rangiora, as a *matakite*, in which their success was foretold :—

Haere ki Manga-reporepo—i aha !

Ka haere te tiere,

He whiu aha ?

He aha kei roto atu ?

He nihinihi !

He aha kei waiho mai ?

He kiri tapa !

E kai o tapa, eke a ! o ! o ! * ”

The above fight took place to the eastward of Puke-namu, which is the Maori name of the hill in the town of Whanga-nui and now used as a park, and on which formerly stood the Rutland Stockade—in fact, the fighting occurred in what is now the densest part of the town, between the Stockade and the river. The chief men of Te Ati-Awa killed there were : Tama-kite-roa, Te Makere, Marama-ra, Rangi-tuaka, Tu-taiaroa, Te Ito, together with Tu-tawa and Te Rangi-apukea of the Patu-tokotoko *hapu*, and some thirty other men. The white men—Barrett and others—materially assisted their friends in this battle. It is said (but not on

* The translation of this is not suitable to European readers, though not at all shocking to the Maori.

first-rate authority) that Te Rau-paraha incited the Taupo people to this attack on Te Ati-Awa.

"After the fight," says Rangi-pito, "the Ati-Awa returned to their camp and at once commenced fortifying it, at which they worked right on through the night, putting up palisades interwoven with flax leaves,* and completed the whole by digging a trench and making a *parepare* or wall.

"The next morning the Taupo and Whanga-nui tribes advanced to the attack; but after trying an assault they failed in carrying the Ati-Awa defences. They advanced down a ridge near the place now called St. John's Wood, having crossed the river higher up, and then came across the flats now covered by the town of Whanga-nui, and occupied Puke-namu hill. Iwikau and Papaka,† principal chiefs of the Taupo people, led the advance, but they did not come very near the Ati-Awa position, being afraid of the muskets, but some skirmishing took place outside."

Towards evening there was a cessation of firing, when a scene occurred which is truly Maori. The two parties were not very distant from one another in their camps, and in the still evening voices could be heard some distance. It must have been an interesting scene as the grim old warriors of either party held a parly, which is described by Rangi-pito as follows:—

"After the skirmishing was over, Te Heuheu's (head chief of Taupo) voice was heard calling out, '*Whākina mai taku tangata, kowai?*'—('Declare the name of my man, victim of my prowess.')

"Said Te Tu-o-te-rangi of Ngati-Tama to his friends, '*Whākina! kaua e huna. Ka pa he tangata noa iho, e huna. Ko tenei, he rangatira. Whākina atu!*'—('Declare the name! Do not conceal who he was. If he had been a nobody, it were well to hide his name; but as he was a chief, declare it!')

"Then Rangi-wahia of Ngati-Mutunga answered Te Heuheu, '*Ae! to tangata, ko Te One-mihi. Heoti ano a Pou-tama; heoti ano a Nga-Motu!*'—('Yes! Your man was Te One-mihi. The only famed one of Pou-tama; the only one of Nga-Motu!') Te One-mihi belonged both to Ngati-Tama of Pou-tama and Nga-Motu of the Sugar-loaf tribes.

"Te Heuheu then went on to say, '*I rangona tera Te One-mihi ki hea?*'—('Where has that Te One-mihi been heard of?')

"To which Rangi-wahia replied, '*Nga putanga a Te One-mihi, ko*

* Flax leaves woven thickly in this manner are almost impervious to bullets fired from the old-fashioned musket.

† Killed at Hao-whenua by Ati-Awa not long after this.

Mokau, ko Nga-Motu.—('The places where Te One-mihi has distinguished himself were at Mokau and Nga-Motu.')

"These were *nga ara kai riri* (the ways of war—the paths in which he had distinguished himself). Both he and Te Ito were celebrated warriors; indeed, they were the last of the braves of old times. Te One-mihi was a small man, but well built, and square in the shoulders.

"Then said Te Tu-o-te-rangi, '*Uia atu ano hoki!*'—('Ask him also!') So Rangi-wahia called out, '*Kowai taku tangata? Whākina mai taku tangata; kowai?*'—('Who was my man? Confess the name of my man; who was he?')

"The answer came from Te Heuheu, '*To tangata, ko Te Popo! Heoi ano to tangata, ko Tongariro. Kua whati te tihi o Tongariro!*'—('Thy man was Te Popo! Thy man was Tongariro itself. The peak of Tongariro has been broken off!')*

"Then again Rangi-wahia asked, '*I rangona a Te Popo ki hea? Kei hea tana ara kai riri?*'—('Where has the name of Te Popo been heard of? Where was his way of war?')—literally, battles).

"To which Te Heuheu replied, '*Kua whati te tihi o Tongariro!*'—('The peak of Tongariro has been broken off!')—implying that Te Popo had not distinguished himself in war, but was of exalted rank).

"Thus ended the conversation, for Te Heuheu could not cite any battle in which Te Popo had shone. No firing took place during this interlude, as it was getting dark, and also because Te Ati-Awa recognised Te Heuheu's voice. He was a huge man. At the same time the enemy knew quite well that it was Rangi-wahia who was replying; his fame was great, as one of the principal leaders at the battle of Te Motu-nui (1821-2—see Chapter XIV.), at Puke-rangiora (1831), and other places. He was a big, tall man, with much hair on his neck and shoulders—he *pukeke, he maia*—a veteran; hard and tough; a warrior. He was the depository of all knowledge.

"We were seven hundred (*i.e.*, fourteen hundred) warriors strong, without counting women and children. Amongst them were seven hundred who escaped from Puke-rangiora. The chiefs of Whanga-nui in this affair were Pehi-Turoa as supreme leader, and his younger brothers and relatives—one of whom was Ha-marama, who killed Tu-whare, the Nga-Puhi leader (in 1821—see Chapter XII.) Pou-tama

* There is a saying, 'Te Heuheu is the man, Tongariro is the mountain,' implying the intimate connection between the high chief of Taupo and the volcanic mountain; he was, like the mountain, the head and summit of his tribe. Te Popo belonged to the same family. Te Heuheu himself was overwhelmed in a land slip at Taupo in 1845.

was the leader of Ngati-Mania-poto, and most of his people were killed at Puke-namu the previous day.

"After the events above related, the people of the place and their allies returned to their *pa* at Puke-namu, whilst we remained in our camp at Koko-huia, near where the old Maori track leaves the beach (? of the river), and came inland to Puke-namu.

"While the fight at Puke-namu was going on during the first day, messengers were despatched to Kapiti to inform our people living there and Ngati-Toa of our doings, for it was then uncertain what the result would be; and also to inform them of the death of Te Ito and Te One-mihi. There were some seven men sent as messengers, and they proceeded by sea in one of the canoes we had taken from Ngati-Tu-whare-toa. They made some sails of *raupo* (bullrushes), and by this means reached Kapiti in two days (the distance is over seventy miles). The principal man of the messengers was Tapiri, a son of the celebrated Tupoki of Ngati-Tama.

"Having delivered their message, the Ngati-Toa, under Te Hiko-o-te-rangi (son of Te Pehi-kupe, killed at Kaiapohia, see Chapter XVI.) and that portion of Te Ati-Awa under Hone-tuwhata and Rere-tawhangawhanga,* who had settled at Kapiti and Wai-kanae, after some time came up the coast to assist us, being eight hundred *topu* (sixteen hundred) strong. But Ngati-Raukawa did not join in this force. When the party reached Whanga-nui we ferried them across in our canoes.

"Before the arrival of these people, Ngati-Rua-nui from Patea and that neighbourhood, hearing of our troubles, came down one thousand *topu* (two thousand) strong. They came to assist us, having heard that we had been defeated. When all had assembled, we fed both parties on the bodies of our slain enemies.† After this was ended a great *ngarahu*, or war-dance, was arranged, several *ngohi*, or companies, taking part. After the companies had been assigned their positions, we furnished the first *wero*, or spear-throwing party. Altogether, with the southern and northern people, there were *e rua*

* Father of Wiremu Kingi Te Rangi-tāke.

† Bodies were cooked, says Rangi-pito, in the Maori steam oven, and then hung up in houses so that they became *pakapaka*, or dried, in which condition they would keep a month. "Other foods we had were *aruhe* (fern-root), *korito* (*raupo* roots cooked), and dried *kumara* (*kao*). There was abundance of fern-root and *raupo*-root to be obtained close to our camp. Sometimes bodies were cut into strips and hung in the sun to dry; or in other cases they were first cooked, then put into *ipus*, or calabashes, and the fat poured over them; in such cases the flesh would remain good for a long time."

mano tauere—i.e., over four thousand men—camped in separate places. Then said Te 'Tu-o-te-rangi of our party, '*Tikina werohia te mano o Ngati-Rua-nui, kia kitea ai te heanga o tera!*'—('Cast a spear at the thousands of Ngati-Rua-nui, so that we may see if they go wrong!'—i.e., whether their runner would turn to the left or not (*korapa*) an evil omen). There were four hundred men in each company of Ngati-Rua-nui, and five companies in all. When the *tangata-wero*, or spearsman, advanced, there was no *korapa* with them. After this the *wero* for the Kapiti people took place, but there was a *korapa* with them, which was the reason they suffered so much afterwards. These people were in four companies of four hundred men each, and they had a great many guns.

"After this, it was proposed by many in the assemblage to attack Puke-namu where the Taupo and Whanga-nui people still remained; but strong objections were raised by Raua-ki-tua and Tautara, so nothing came of it—the proposal being vetoed, so that we might not be detained there fighting and thus delay our arrival at Kapiti, for it was now about the month of August, and the time for crop-setting near. On this general decision being arrived at, Te Hana-taua—who was the principal chief of Ngati-Rua-nui—gave the order for his tribe to return home, and we of the *heke*, together with our allies and relatives from Kapiti, departed on our way south after having been at Whanga-nui about a month.

"The main body proceeded by land, whilst the women and children, together with the old people and some of the warriors, went by sea in the canoes we had looted at Whanga-nui. The white men (Barrett and others) were with us all this time, and, stripped to their skins, had fought with us at Puke-namu. We next reached the Manawatu river, travelling during the night and part of one day, Ngati-Toa showing us the paths. We passed one night there, having to wait till those in the rear joined us, and all were ferried across the river in the canoes. The next day we reached Ohau, the canoes following along near the coast. Staying one night at Otaki, we passed on to Te Mahia—a place on the coast between Otaki and Wai-kanae—where we stayed, whilst the Ngati-Toa people who were with us crossed over to Kapiti Island. It was early summer when we reached here, having been delayed so long at Whanga-nui by the fighting and other obstacles. During our stay at Te Mahia we subsisted principally on *pipis* (cockles) and fern-root.

"After some time the whole party moved on to Wai-kanae to a *pa* named Whangainga-hau, situated near the coast. The *pa* occupied by those of Ati-Awa, who had preceded us at that place, was very large indeed; and on our arrival they gave us a great feast, consisting of

potatoes, shark, *warehou* (a fish), and whale's flesh. Our residence here became permanent, for food was very abundant. It was in the eighth month (January or February) that we reached here (this would be in 1833), and were able to plant the seed potatoes given to us (? by Ngati-Toa), and they grew luxuriantly. The Puke-tapu and Nga-Motu *hapus* settled down at Te Uruhi, whilst we (Kai-tangata) took up our abode with Te Ati-Awa inland of Wai-kanae. Ngati-Tama settled down at Te Pou-o-te-moana, further to the north—they were a numerous people in those days.

‘TE HEKE-PAUKENA’ MIGRATION.

“It was some time after our settlement at Wai-kanae that the next *heke*, called by some ‘Te heke paukena,’ arrived from Puke-tapu, Taranaki” (Rangi-pito says three years, but this cannot be right—it was probably in 1833-4—and with it went Wiremu Te Rangi-tāke and all his people, some of the Taranaki tribes, and a large number of the Ngati-Rua-nui tribe). “Te Ura was the principal chief; it was the last of the many migrations from the northern parts of the Taranaki coast”—says Rangi-pito.

‘TE HEKE-HAUHAUA.’

But the migration named above was possibly the last. If not, it came shortly after the “Tama-te-uaua,” and consisted largely of the Ngati-Tama tribe under their well-known chief Te Puoho. This was the second migration in which he took part. It was so named because all the available lands near Otaki and that neighbourhood had already been occupied.

THE SIEGE OF MIKO-TAHI, SUGAR-LOAF ISLANDS.

1833.

In the beginning of this Chapter, the expedition of Ati-Awa to Motu-tawa at Mokau was described. At that place some of the Ngati-Mania-poto people fell to the prowess of the invaders, notably the chief Tikawe. According to Maori law, this death could not be passed over without notice, so Ngati-Mania-poto and some of the Waikato tribes determined on again visiting Nga-Motu (or the Sugar-loaf Islands), notwithstanding the defeat they had suffered at the siege of Otaka in 1831—see Chapter XVIII. In the meantime the news of the “Tama-te-uaua” migration, in which most of their late enemies had departed for Kapiti, reached the Waikato country; and this emboldened them to attack the few remaining people who were living in the neighbourhood of Nga-Motu. These people,

anticipating that revenge would be sought for Motu-tawa, and not being strong enough, after the departure of so many of the tribe for the south, to hold Otaka, removed to Miko-tahi—the half-tide island close to the foot of the present breakwater—which they fortified by strengthening the palisading, collecting provisions, and making arrangements for storing water, for there is no spring on this little island, nor could water be obtained within some distance on the main land. Ati-Awa had not in this case the advantage of the presence of the whalers who had so materially assisted them at the siege of Otaka, for they had all gone south with the great migration of the previous year, and (it is believed) had moved across the Straits to Te Awa-iti on Tory Channel—which, a few years later, became a whaling station of some importance.*

Although so many of Ati-Awa had departed for the south, a considerable number still remained living about Nga-Motu, under their chiefs Te Puke-ki-mahurangi (who married Tautara's daughter, and their daughter, Rawinia, married Richard Barrett), Tautara, Kāpūia-whariki,† Waiaua (Rawiri), Katatore-te-waitere, Te Huia, Ngahuka (Piripi), Poharama, Te Kiri-kumara (Ihaia), and others. They numbered altogether, says Watene Taungatara, nearly three hundred people—men, women, and children; and must have been very closely packed in so small a space as is offered by the flat top of the island, even though some few of them occupied the *pa* on the summit of Paritutu. Plate No. 15 shows Miko-tahi with its perpendicular sand-stone cliffs and level top. Palisaded, it was impregnable; for a few determined men could hold it against a great number in the days when Maori weapons and old flint muskets were used. It is clear from the names of the chiefs mentioned above that there were people right away from Onaero to the Sugar-loaf Islands included within the garrison, and some of these people had returned home from Kapiti after the fall of Kaiapohia (near Christchurch), in 1831.

The Waikato *taua* was under the chiefs Te Wherowhero, Waharoa (of Ngati-Haua, Upper Thames), Hau-pokia, Tariki, Tao-nui (of Upper Mokau), Te Tihi-rahi (of Waipa), Te Pae-tahuna, Te Kanawa, Kaihau (of Ngati-Te-Ata), and Tu-korehu (also of Waipa, Kawhia, etc.) The

* I have been unable to ascertain when Barrett's companions returned to their homes at Nga-Motu; but it is certain that they were not there in April, 1834, as we shall see. In fact, it seems probable that they did not again occupy Motu-roa until after the year 1840, though Barrett himself came back with Colonel Wakefield, and landed there in November, 1839.

† In "Nga-Moteatea," page 106, will be found a song by this man; but it has, apparently, nothing to do with these events.

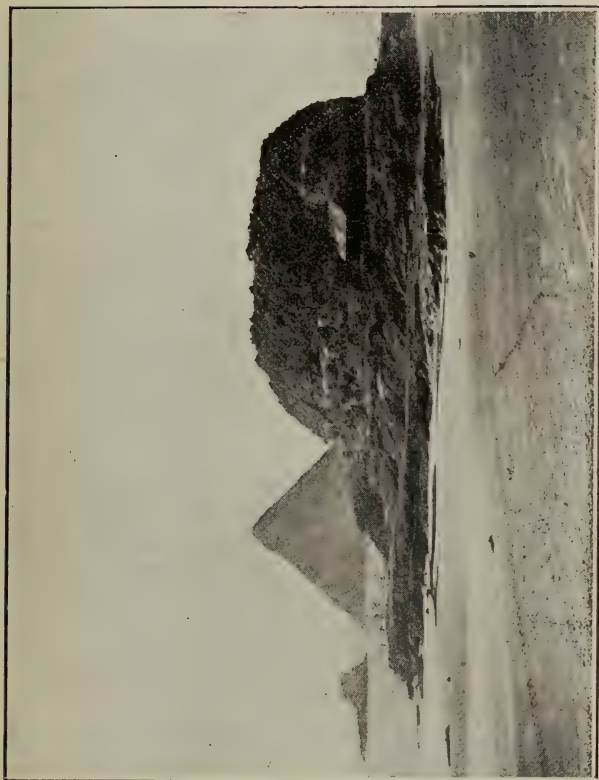


PLATE No. 15.

Miko-tahi Island and *pa*. Motu-roa Island beyond.

latter, who was the celebrated warrior so often mentioned in this narrative, was an enormous man, distinguished (according to my informant) by a profusion of grey hairs hanging down from his chest like a garment. The *taua* occupied the point of land on which is now the Harbour light, opposite the island and the adjacent shores, and kept up a musketry fire on the *pa*, but with little or no result. The place was too strong to take by assault; so the invaders sat down to starve out the garrison. Watene Taungatara says they were a whole year before Miko-tahi was taken, but probably this is far too long a period. The garrison would have been starved into submission in no very long time had it not been for canoes from the Taranaki tribe to the south and also from Waitara to the north, which, taking advantage of calm weather and dark nights, managed from time to time to convey supplies to the garrison, the canoes landing on the rocks outside the island where musket balls could not reach them. In one of these canoes, a woman of Ati-Awa named Koro-pikī—a daughter of Te Rangi-matoru, and married to a Kawhia man named Karu-where—got away from the *pa* and proceeded to Kawhia to obtain assistance through her relatives for the purpose of mediating between the hostile parties.

Whilst she was absent, the siege went on; but the Waikato forces began to tire of it, for they met with no success, and provisions were getting scarce. They, therefore, made overtures of peace, which the garrison, now much reduced by hunger, agreed to consider, and towards that end admitted a few of the Waikato into the fortifications to discuss the matter. Whilst this was going on, the garrison detected what they considered signs of treachery in the emissaries, so turned on them and killed Te Aria and others—only one man named Te Heru escaping, which he did by jumping from the cliff into the sea, and then swam round to join his friends. One of the garrison named Whakapapa killed Kere of Ngati-Haua in this affair. Just at this juncture the party from Kawhia arrived, and Koro-pikī, through her relationship to both sides secured a truce and took the garrison away to her camp. Here Waikato were most urgent to fall upon them and slay the whole party as *utu* for Te Aria; but Tu-korehu and his Ngati-Mania-poto party would not consent, and, indeed, prevented what might have been a massacre. Negotiations now proceeded, but I do not know the details beyond this, that several of the chiefs of the garrison were taken away to Kawhia by Koro-pikī; amongst them the Puke-tapu *hapu*, besides Poharama, Te Waitere, Miti-kakau, Waiaua, Tamati Waka, Iharaia, Te Waitere, and Te Huia; and they appear to have become vassals, if not slaves, to some of the Waikato chiefs, and did

not return to their homes "until the days of Wairaweke," as my informant put it, *i.e.*, "until Colonel Wakefield arranged to purchase all this coast in 1840." *

Those of the garrison who did not go to Kawhia, Waikato, etc., retired to Motu-roa Island, where they lived as best they could in the caves, rock-shelters, and in little huts built on any tiny spot that admitted of the erection of a roof, for many years to come, occasionally sojourning on the mainland to cultivate their little patches of *kumaras*, etc., etc.

The following incident in the career of Te Huia, mentioned above, during his sojourn in Waikato, is interesting as depicting the manners and customs of the times. It is taken from the Rev. James Hamlin's journal during his residence at Manga-pouri, on the Waipa river, the MS. of which was in the possession of the late Dr. Hocken: "August 17th, 1836. Wednesday evening about nine o'clock, Kaihau† came to tell me he expected a fight, and asked what he should do, whether or not he should commence making cartridges. I enquired into the case, and he then said it was on account of Te Huia (the head chief—*sic*—of Taranaki, but who had been routed and brought to Waikato as a slave) who had run away from his master after having witnessed the killing and eating of his daughter and her child at Otawhao, and he supposed he should share the same fate, and that his master had sent for him, but he would not go. . . . 18th August, "Te Huia's master came for him, and used both kind and rough words to him, as did the Manga-pouri chiefs. But Te Huia would not move, so fully persuaded was he that he would be killed. . . . The Manga-pouri chiefs were distantly related to Te Huia, or else he would have been dragged off by his master, who urged him again and again to go with him. But he replied, 'There are firewood and stones here' (meaning to roast him with) 'as well as at their place.' My feelings may be better imagined than described, for the natives here seem to think more of a pig than a slave. . . . After Te Huia's master had returned, Kaihau told me that Te Huia had been the means of saving the lives of as many as twenty of the head chiefs of Waikato at one time at Taranaki, and if he had said the word not one

* Colonel Wakefield mentions on his visit to Nga-Motu in February, 1840, that many of the returned slaves from Waikato were at that time passing through to their Taranaki homes.

† Of the Ngati-Te-Ata tribe of Waiuku, Manukau; grandfather of Henare Kaihau, M.P., which tribe was then in exile in the Ngati-Mania-poto country.



PLATE NO. 16.

Te Namu *pa*, from the north.



PLATE NO. 17.

Te Namu-iti *pa* from the base of Te Namu,
looking north-west.

would have escaped.* I said, 'Is this how he is served in return? Do you think they would have killed him if he had returned?' Said they, 'No doubt they would; for he has just told us someone warned him that if he returned he would be killed.' 'Then,' said I, 'how could you have the heart to tell him to go in the manner you did?' He replied, 'What is that to us what that man does with his slave?'

SIEGE OF TE NAMU.

June, 1833.

The Waikato *taua*, having been so far successful at Miko-tahi, were still not satisfied with the result, for few had been killed, and consequently little "long pig" had been consumed. The fact of the Taranaki tribe having assisted the garrison of Miko-tahi by occasionally supplying them with stores brought by canoe from further south was, in the opinion of the invaders, sufficient reason for attempting to punish that tribe. Besides, there were other reasons in the death of some of Waikato on the previous expeditions to the south. The *taua*, therefore, marched south for Te Namu—a very strong but small *pa*, situated a mile to the north of the modern town of Opunake, on a jutting rocky point that when palisaded formed a position of great strength. There are perpendicular cliffs all round, whilst a hollow some forty feet below the summit of the *pa*, and sixty yards wide, separates it from the general level of the country inland. Plate No. 16 shows this *pa*, and Map No. 8 the nature of the ground. To the north at less than one-fourth of a mile is another strong position named Te Namu-iti, separated from the generally level country inland by a deep ditch. It is shown in Plate No. 17. It does not appear to have been occupied during the siege of Te Namu. It will be remembered that after the defeat and scattering of the Taranaki tribe at Maru in 1826 (Chapter XV.), a large number of them migrated to Kapiti. But still there were a few left—not more than one hundred and fifty fighting men—and these, on the news of the approach of Waikato, gathered into their fortified *pa* of Te Namu, and stored it with a plentiful supply of provisions and water. The principal chief of Taranaki, who was appointed to conduct the operations in defence of the *pa*, was Wi Kingi Mata-katea—or, as he was more generally called in later days, Moke; the second in command being Te Kongutu-awa. For the benefit of their descendants, the names of the principal men within the *pa* at the siege are here recorded:—

* Probably this was at Motu-tawa, as described in the early part of this Chapter.

Wi Mata-katea	Mouri-o-rangi †
Te Iho-o-te-rangi *	Hohua
Te Kutu † (Hone)	Heremia Te Horo
Te Wetera † (Hone)	Reweti-Kuri ‡
Rupaha †	Tūi
Maru-whenua † (Hakaraia)	Tupara
Pororaiti	Patimiu
Tawai-mua (Mohi)	Rawiri Pikitū
Tapu-o-rongo	Reweti Huanga-pango
Te Uira (Parata)	Waitere Te Kongutu-awa ‡
Tai-hakapu	Tutara ‡
Te Ama-mako	Pera Wetoī
Kai-puke	

The scriptural names of the above people were given in after years. According to the Maori accounts the siege took place in the June before the wreck of the "Harriet," which occurred on 29th April, 1834.

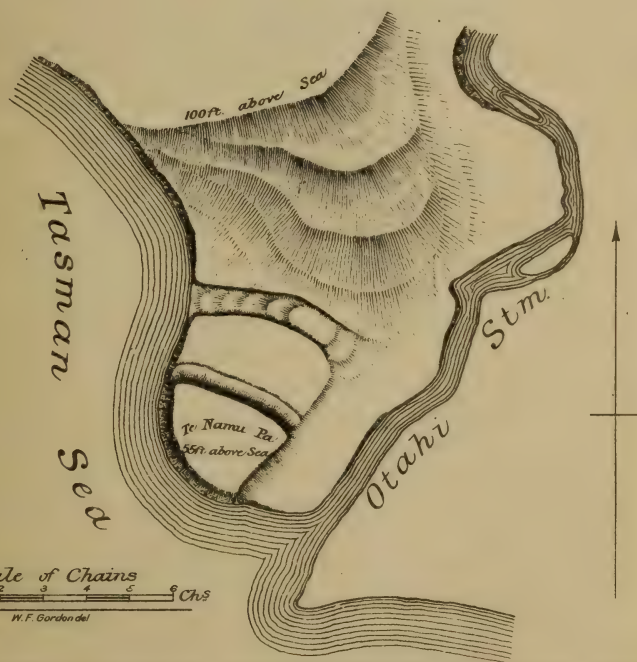
The Waikato forces came down and camped near Te Namu, but subsequently retreated to the banks of the Heimama stream, about a mile north of Te Namu, where they made their principal camp, and they also partially fortified a little hill near Te Namu called Kaiaia. From here as a base they sent forward strong parties, who occupied the plateau divided from Te Namu by the hollow referred to, and from thence kept up a musketry fire on the *pa*. Te Kahui of Taranaki supplies the following account of the successive operations of the siege: "The Waikato *taua* occupied the cliffs inland of Te Namu, indeed, almost surrounding the *pa*, except the seaward side. After a continuous firing lasting a long time, an assault was made on the *pa* by some of the invaders, whilst others supported it by musketry fire from the cliffs. But this attack was in vain; they could not take the *pa*. The besieged kept up a continuous discharge of stones on the advancing enemy, by which means many were killed and others wounded, which eventually led Waikato to retreat by way of a neighbouring valley. In this engagement Mata-katea distinguished himself by shooting many of Waikato. There was only one musket † in the *pa*, and that belonged to him. His aim never failed; a man fell each time he discharged his gun—even if half a mile off (*sic*)—so long as he could

* Took the name of Hori Nga-tai-rakau-nui. † All these five were assistant priests to Te Iho-o-te-rangi, chief priest. ‡ Three noted braves of Taranaki.

† This musket was obtained by Taranaki at Kiki-whenua—see Chapter XV.

Map No 8
Te Namu Pa
Taranaki Tribe

Sketched by W. H. Skinner



see his man, he shot him. The position he occupied during the fighting was high up in a *puwhara*, or tower, within the *pa*, from whence he had a clear view of the enemy.

“For a time the *punis*, or camps, of the enemy were near the *pa*, but they were subsequently removed some way off, to Heimama stream, on account of the fear inspired by Mata-katea’s musket. The Waikato besieged Te Namu for a whole month, during which time they made five separate assaults on it without success. There were eight hundred warriors in the Waikato *taua* opposed to the few in the *pa*, and they gave Mata-katea plenty of occupation in shooting at them. Arama Karaka of Taranaki, who had been taken prisoner by Waikato at Maru (Chapter XV.), was appointed by Waikato to hunt up food for the invaders, which he and a party of other prisoners did, as they knew the country well. But as his sympathies were of course with the besieged, he hid the best part of his finds, only supplying Waikato with a small quantity of potatoes in the hollow (*tangere*) of the baskets, so that they might run short of food and leave.

“Food thus becoming scarce it was decided, on the advice of Kaihau (of the Ngati-Te-Ata tribe of Waiuku, Manukau), to make a final assault (the sixth). Before the attempt Kaihau stood on the little hillock before mentioned—named Kaiaia—and shouted out to Mata-katea, ‘*Hei te tai-rakau-nui ahau.*’—(‘When the moon is full, expect me.’) The next attack was made at that time; but in the interim the besieged had collected large quantities of boulders and piled them along the defences on the inland side of the *pa*. The Waikato advanced as before, and some managed to get quite close up to the *pa*, where they commenced undermining the face of the cliff on which the palisades stood, but they found it very difficult to make any impression on the solid concreted boulders which forms the base of the *pa*. All this time Taranaki was hurling over boulders and stones and Mata-katea using his musket, so that Waikato found the object unattainable and commenced a retreat. This was just at dawn; it was a rout, for Waikato did not stop at their camp, but picking up their baggage, etc., started at once for their homes. Just after they abandoned the siege, however, Kaihau came back to the cliff and shouted out, ‘*Ka whati au! Ka hoki ki toku whenua. Nau ano te oneone!*’—(‘I am retreating! I am returning to my own land. The land remains thine!’) which was a promise that he would leave them alone in future” (but evidently this did not apply to Waikato as we shall see). Mata-katea and his people now followed the retreating Waikatos, firing into them and attacking them until they reached Heimama stream, when the pursuit was abandoned, and they returned

to pick up the dead killed in the pursuit. During the whole period of the siege Mata-katea is known to have shot sixteen men, whilst the whole number of Waikato killed was sixty-eight, bodies found; on the side of the besieged only one man, named Te Ao-moko, was killed by Waikato, and he was one of the chiefs of Te Namu.

“The bodies of the dead were burnt with fire” (my informant does not say if any were eaten, but no doubt they were). “Notwithstanding Kaihau’s speech, Taranaki did not believe him. Te Iho-o-te-rangi said (addressing Kaihau in imagination), ‘*Ko te ingoa, a Nga-tai-rakau-nui, kua irihia mai ki runga i a au, ka riro mai noku.*’—(‘Your name, Nga-tai-rakau-nui, that you named me, will be adopted by me).’ Which was done to bear in mind this promise of Kaihau’s not to return, and old Hori ever after used it.

“Soon after the return to the *pa*, Mata-katea proposed that a great feast (*hakari*) should be held to commemorate the victory over their enemies. All agreed to this, and when the time came there were to be seen potatoes, *kumara*, *taro*, *hinau*-bread (made of *hinau* berries), steeped *karaka* berries, *mamaku* (tree-fern cores), *pua* (bread made from *raupo*, or bullrush heads), *pohue* (convolvus roots), fish in numbers, and all the preserved products of the sea. There was plenty of food in the *pa*, and none of the besieged suffered in the least during the siege. After the feast, Mata-katea made a great speech to the people, pointing out the danger they were subject to in this small *pa*, and declaring his intention to lead them all away a few miles further south, to Nga-teko, a stronger place, and where the scattered people of Ngati-Rua-nui might join them; and thus with increased numbers they would be able to repel the next attack by Waikato, which was certain to follow in order to secure *utu* for their dead killed before Te Namu.

“Shortly after this all the people from Te Namu and that neighbourhood moved away to Nga-teko.”

The defeat of Waikato at Te Namu was the second they had suffered from those West Coast people within three years—and they evidently did not like it, for their losses had been considerable. It was therefore not long before they attempted to regain their lost prestige, as we shall see. We shall not lose sight of Mata-katea altogether until this narrative closes, for he had made a name for himself and became the principal leader of Taranaki—leading them to victory and preserving their country to them during the few remaining raids of the powerful Waikato tribes.

The chief *tohunga*, or priest, of the branches of Taranaki besieged at Te Namu was Mata-katea’s brother, Nga-tai-rakau-nui, who was engaged the whole time with his assistants in invoking the gods, to

whose assistance the people ascribe the victory they obtained over Waikato.*

ANOTHER WAIKATO RAID.

1834.

After the return of the Waikato forces to their homes, another expedition was despatched to the Taranaki coast, the particulars of which are only to be found briefly related by Te Awa-i-taia in A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 6, for there were none of the Ati-Awa in that part of the country to which the visit was made to record it. Te Awa-i-taia says, "After a while the Ngati-Mahanga, Ngati-Tahinga, Ngati-Te-Wehi, and Ngati-Mania-poto—numbering in all three hundred and forty men—again went to Taranaki. This party searched in vain for men; they could not find any. It was a mere remnant of a tribe that worked at catching lampreys at Waitara. Ihaia-Te-Kirikumara of Ati-Awa was present on this occasion (he was a Waikato prisoner). He accompanied our people in order to look at his home at Waitara. Waitara was again 'marked' (*i.e.*, taken possession of) by Wiremu Te Awa-i-taia and his people. This was done by burying a musket used for shooting men. This was the second taking possession of this district. The party then returned to their own homes."

INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY.

Wiremu Te Awa-i-taia—chief of Ngati-Tahinga branch of Waikato, whose home was at Raglan and that neighbourhood, a very fine old man handsomely tattooed, dignified and courteous, whom I remember well on his visits to Auckland to see the Governor in 1859-64, and who was our loyal ally in the Waikato war of 1863-4—was one of the early converts of those parts to Christianity, and used his powerful influence to check the constant state of warfare into which the whole of the North Island had drifted—mainly through the introduction of muskets. In his narrative (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 7) he says, "The party (from Te Namu) then returned to their homes. Then the Gospel was introduced, and after the arrival of the missionaries I always restrained my people from going to war—I, Wiremu Nero Te Awa-i-taia, and all my tribe have accepted the Word of God. After

* A description of the siege of Te Namu will also be found in Mr. T. W. Gudgeon's "History and Traditions of the Maoris" (Auckland, 1885), which differs in detail from the account given above, but not materially. My account is principally from Te Kahui—a very well informed man—and from other Native sources. Mr. Gudgeon's story places the taking of Miko-tahi after Te Namu; but the best authority on this coast—old Watene Taungatara—was quite clear it occurred in the order I have given it in the text above.

the introduction of Christianity the Waikato carried the war further on—namely, to Ngati-Rua-nui—because there were no men whatever at Taranaki.” (This is a general statement; there were people at Nga-Motu and at Wai-mate). “Subsequently a Waikato war-party went against Ngati-Rua-nui, and Te Ruaki *pa* was invested. When I heard of the *pa* being besieged, I took the Word of God to the Waikato party and to Ngati-Rua-nui (in Orangi-tua-peka *pa*). The work of the Gospel could not well be carried on at that time. Eighty of us went; we spoke to Waikato and said that should be the last war of the Waikato. Enough, that *pa* was taken by Waikato; they came back, remained, and believed in God.”

TE RUAKI.

1834.

This old *pa* is situated on the Whareroa Native Reserve, immediately south of the junction of the Mangimangi stream with that of Tangahoe, three miles E.N.E. of the town of Hawera. It is still in good preservation, and excepting here and there where the cattle have trodden paths up the terraces, the ramparts are intact. It is a large *pa*, capable of holding several hundred people. On the north side, and leading from the ramparts down to the Tangahoe stream, is a deep fosse with high embankments on either side, which in former times have evidently been palisaded. This was the covered way down to the water-supply of the *pa*, and is noticeable because of the rarity of such provision generally in Maori fortifications. Another peculiarity of this *pa* is the sloping ground to the west, which is fortified, and was evidently a modern addition to the main and more ancient part, due to the fear that this part should be occupied by an enemy possessed of muskets, who could from there command the main position.

Not far from Te Ruaki is another old *pa*, named Ohangai, which, when I stayed there in 1858, was fully fortified in the old-fashioned way with ramparts, fosse, etc., besides being palisaded with great posts, many of them carved in the usual manner with grotesque heads. A large number of people were then living there, who kept the place beautifully clean and neat. It was surrounded by *karaka* groves, many of which trees grew in the *pa* itself and furnished a grateful shade. The views from the *pa*, where the groves of wood admitted were picturesque and charming in a high degree; and never, in the extensive course of my travels, which have taken me to every corner of New Zealand, did I ever behold so charming a site, or so complete and beautiful an example of an old-fashioned *pa*. Gillfillan's beautiful picture of the Putiki *pa*, Whanga-nui, is very like this place as it

was in 1858. It may be added that this picture is the best graphic representation of Maori old-time life that has appeared.

But to return to Te Ruaki. The bitterness of Waikato against Ngati-Rua-nui was principally due to the loss of some of their people through the latter tribe, when they came down at the instance of the Nga-Motu Ati-Awa to assist them to avenge the death of Te Karawa, as described in Chapter XV. To this, their late defeat at Te Namu added another *take*, or reason. So, not long after the return from Te Namu, Waikato again assembled and started for Taranaki under the chiefs Te Wherowhero, Pae-tahuua, Te Kanawa (of Waikato), Waharoa (of Ngati-Haua), Te Kohu-wai and Ti-kaokao (of Ngati-Mania-poto), and others—numbering altogether some twenty-five hundred men. Their avowed intention was to capture or kill Te Rei-Hana-tauu, principal chief of Ngati-Rua-nui, who then lived at Te Ruaki *pa*. The Waikato forces came down by the old war-trail known as Whakaahu-rangi, inland of Mount Egmont, and soon after they got into the open country near Kete-marae they fell across some of Ngati-Rua-nui, and with that extraordinary delight of foolish boasting so often noticed in the Maori, one of the advance guard of Waikato called out, “We have come to fetch Te Hana-tauu!”—which of course alarmed the local people, who flew to Te Ruaki and gave the alarm there, whilst another man departed for Orangi-tua-peka to warn those under Mata-katea to be on the alert; and then the *tauu* advanced on Te Ruaki—which was only about three miles away, and where a large number of Ngati-Rua-nui had assembled under Te Hana-tauu and Tikitiki—but it is said the majority of the tribe were away at the time. An assault was at once made on the *pa* at break of day. During this assault Te Hana-tauu shouted out to the advancing host, “Whose is this army? Is it Te Wherowhero’s?” One of Waikato replied, “Presently thy head shall be food for our guns!” Te Hana-tauu replied, “It is well, O people! Tread on your peace-making!”—in which he referred to the doings after the siege of Te Namu, in which Kaihau had stated that they would not return to trouble Taranaki.* After this Te Hana-tauu returned within the *pa*, and the enemy at once commenced firing into it, whilst the bravest rushed up to the palisades and tried to effect an entry. But they were repulsed with heavy loss. Waikato, seeing that assaulting the *pa* was useless, now proceeded to starve the garrison into submission. They went to the trouble of building a palisade all round outside the *pa*, so that no one might escape, and kept careful guard all the time, knowing

* One account I have accredits Mata-katea with this conversation, who, says the same story, had come from Orangi-tua-peka to the assistance of Te Hana-tauu.

full well that the provisions must fail in the end. During this siege an incident occurred which is very characteristic of Maori life in the old days: Within the *pa* was a man named Nga-Motu who was related to some of the besiegers, who desired to save his life; so he was *karangatia*, or called by name, and told to come out, when his life would be spared. But, mistrusting Waikato, he replied that he preferred to remain with his Ngati-Rua-nui relatives, and, if necessary, die with them.

So the siege continued until Ngati-Rua-nui were reduced to straits for want of sustenance. Three months—the Native accounts say—did they hold out, and then one of the Waikato chiefs, Tikaokao of Mokau, was admitted to the *pa* to discuss terms of surrender. Some of Ngati-Rua-nui proposed to kill the emissary.* This was not agreed to by the others, but when the surrender of the *pa* took place shortly after, it led to the killing of some of those who had entertained the treacherous design. The rest of the principal people of the *pa* were taken as prisoners, and amongst them their high chief Te Rei-Hana-taua. It was principally the Tangahoe division of Ngati-Rua-nui who suffered in this affair.

It is said by one of my informants that Te Hana-taua † was not taken at Te Ruaki, but after the *pa* fell Waikato raided into that part of Patea occupied by the Paka-kohi *hapu* of Ngati-Rua-nui, when, in an engagement, he and others were captured. After these events Waikato moved off to try conclusions again with Mata-katea, who then occupied Waimate *pa*.

The following is the lament composed by Waikato and sung for those of their tribe who fell at Te Ruaki. It was obtained from the well-known Waikato chief Honana Te Maioha in 1895:—

Tera ia te pae-whenua
 He ata ka marama,
 E mihi ana au—e—.
 Ki te kino kainga i raro i nga muri
 Ma Tama na Tu—e—,
 Hurihurihia iho ra
 Te kiri o te makau—u—
 Kia hongī atu au—e—i,
 He kakara ka rurū,
 Te kakara o te ipo,

* One account says he was killed, but I saw the man at Upper Mokau in 1858, then of a considerable age.

† Te Hana-taua had a son named Tai-te-ariki, who, says my informant, was named after the son of Whiro—an ancestor who lived in Hawaiki, shown on Table XVI., Chapter III., hereof—from whom he descended, as do the Ngati-Tangia tribe of Rarotonga.

Te rangi e tu, te papa e takoto,
 Nau mai e haere,
 E tae ki raro ra,
 E uia mai koe, ka hinga te rahui,
 He aha i hinga ai?
 Mo nga korero whakataki rau,
 I runga o Tawhiti, he moenga rangatira,
 E whai ana ahau—e—i,
 Te mata o Tuhua, kia haehae au—e—i,
 Mo koutou ra e haupu mai ra,
 Te wetekia atu, tau o "Te Awhiowhio"—
 Te "ika o Ngahue," he ika hu atu.
 Mo koutou ki te po na—e—i.

TRANSLATION.

On the bounding line of vision,
 The clear light of dawn appears,
 Whilst I in sorrow here lament,
 For deeds done in that ill-favoured land.
 'Twas there the sons of the war-god Tu
 Were overwhelmed and slain.
 Handsome was my loved one:
 Oh! that I could now salute him,
 And feel the sweetness that was his.
 The fragrance of my lover
 Was of the heaven above and earth below.
 Welcome then, and now depart,
 And when thy spirit reaches the north,
 Thou wilt be asked, "Have the noble ones fallen?
 And what was the cause that laid them low?"
 (Thou shalt reply),
 "'Twas the many urgent incitations
 Beyond there at Tawhiti¹ stream,
 The death-bed of the chiefs."

And, now, alas, I seek
 Obsidian of Tuhua, my flesh to score
 In sorrow for ye all, that there in heaps do lie.
 Why didst thou not unloose
 The wrist-band of "Te Awhiowhio"²—
 The "fish of Ngahue," the weapons that
 Caused ye all to death to descend.

NOTES.—1. Tawhiti stream flows near Te Ruaki *pa*. 2. Is probably the name of a *mere*, called in the next line "the fish of Ngahue"—an emblematical name for the greenstone, often said to be a fish.

SIEGE OF WAIMATE PA.

After the departure of Waikato from Te Namu, in 1833, as described a few pages back, Mata-katea and his people, whilst elated at their victory over the northern tribes, at the same time felt that Te Namu was not of sufficient size, nor such an impregnable place as others in the event of Waikato returning to seek *utu* for their losses. With the idea of securing a place of greater security, the tribe decided on occupying Nga-teko or Nga-ngutu-maioro *pas*, which are generally known as Waimate; Orangi-tua-peka is another name for the second of the places named above. It is a very strong position, formed by the separation of a point of land from the mainland through the action of the Kapuni river, which, however, now runs on the west of the *pa*, having abandoned its old channel which cuts off the *pa* on the east, leaving a gorge some two hundred feet deep, with almost perpendicular sides, whilst the abrupt cliffs of the sea-coast form an impregnable barrier on that side. Orangi-tua-peka is quite level on top and perhaps two acres in extent. The ascent to it is on the eastern end, up the narrow ridge shown in Plate No. 18. Major Heaphy has preserved a drawing of this celebrated *pa*, as seen by him in 1840, when its palisading was intact; but his sketch must have been taken from the bottom of the gorge, and thus omits the level top of the *pa*, as seen in Plate No. 18, which, however, excludes the deep gorge, a little to the right of the picture. Nga-teko is seen just over the top of this *pa*, and is also shown in Plate No. 19, taken from the beach under Orangi-tua-peka. Both of these places were formidable positions when palisaded. The Kapuni river runs between the two *pas* and its mouth formed a landing place for the fishing-canoes. The *pas* are two and three-quarter miles S.E. from the modern town of Manaia, and are situated within the Ngati-Rua-nui tribal territories.

When the Taranaki people from Te Namu, under Mata-katea, arrived at Waimate, they found no one there, but soon ascertained that Hukanui Manaia—the chief of those parts—together with all his people, were living away in the wilds of the forest, for the dread of Waikato was great. Mata-katea went out himself and sent out other parties also, and gradually brought all the people in, who were found here and there living in twos and threes in separate places. It took them a fortnight to gather together all these fugitives, who numbered about two hundred, and then the whole party agreed to throw in their lot together and renew the fortifications of Orangi-tua-peka and Nga-teko ready for the inevitable return of Waikato. There were thus in the *pas*—says my informant—three hundred and fifty men, besides women and children, composed of Taranaki and Ngati-Rua-nui. In Mr. T. W.



PLATE No. 18.

Orangi-tua-peka, or Waimate *pa*, from the south.



PLATE No. 19.

Nga-teko, from below Orangi-tua-peka.

Gudgeon's account of this affair (*loc. cit.*, p. 78), he says (or implies, for he confuses the names of the two *pas*) that there were eighty Taranaki and forty Nga-Ruahine warriors in Nga-teko, under Mata-katea, Ngatai, and Tihe; two hundred of Ngati-Rua-nui under Titoko-warū, Pakeke, Tiako, and Te Awaroa in Waimate or Orangitua-peka. Every preparation was made by provisioning the *pas*; Mata-katea was appointed fighting chief, and Nga-Tai-rakau-nui as his assistant, to whom fell the duties of the *karakia* to the Maori gods and the government of the internal affairs of the *pa*—"to incite the men to be courageous; to abandon their bodies to death; to feel no fear; and act as true warriors. Such are the encouraging words of a leading chief to the common people" (says my informant) "Mata-katea had two duties, the one internal and the other external, of the *pa*. When danger arose it was his duty to lead men forth to fight to the death, whilst Nga-Tai-rakau-nui taught them to be cautious so that they might live long to fight their enemies and preserve the land. The reason of this was, that nearly all had fled to Kipiti, to Wai-kanae, and even to Arapaoa in the South Island, for fear of Waikato. Commencing at Pari-nihi (the White Cliffs, forty miles north of New Plymouth), right away south to Wai-totara, all the tribes of Ngati-Tama, Ngati-Mutunga, and Ati-Awa, with most of Taranaki and Ngati-Rua-nui, had fled through fear of Waikato. The two last mentioned departed after the others; but some remained, having been restrained by Mata-katea and others under Te Hana-taua, and were now under his guidance."

So Waikato returned on their tracks from Te Ruaki determined to beard the lion in his den. As the *tauā* reached Kaupoko-nui river, they were seen by Mata-katea's scouts, and soon after they camped at Manga-porua—not far from Kauae *pa*, a little distance from the mouth of the river. Mr. Gudgeon says another party camped at Te Matihe—above Inaha stream, to the south of Waimate. Mata-katea, taking a chosen band of fifty warriors, marched during the night along the beach to the mouth of the Kaupoko-nui (about seven miles west of Waimate). Arrived there they were able to see the fires of the Waikato camp, and hear the chiefs addressing their warriors, and mentioning Mata-katea's name. "Stay all of you here whilst I creep forward," said Mata-katea. He then went stealthily toward the enemies' camp, and happened right on one of their men who was fishing by the side of the river. As he drew near the fisherman the latter detected the slight noise made by his footstep on the gravel; he sprang up and called out, "Who is that?" Said Mata-katea, "Friend! It is I. How many fish have you caught?" The man answered, "I have none!" He mistook Mata-katea for one

of their own people, for the latter had assimilated his speech to that of Waikato. Then Mata-katea sprang forward, and with a blow of his *taiaha* felled the man—he cut off his head, took out his heart, and left the body on a prominent stone. The head, on his return, was stuck on a pole on the palisades to dismay the enemy, whilst the heart was offered to the gods, Aitu-hau and Aitu-pawa in the *Whangai-hau** ceremony; Waikato did not discover the death of the missing man.

“When the light of the sun appeared next morning, the *taua* marched down towards the *pa*, which was soon encompassed, and they commenced firing, which was returned by those of Nga-teko. Mata-katea shot one of the Waikato chiefs named Tai-puhi. This caused the *taua* to fall back inland, to the side of the Kapuni stream. Mata-katea shouted out, “Search for one of your men; last night he was killed. Here is his head stuck on top of this post, and his heart has been offered to the gods.” On return to camp, the *taua* collected together and searched amongst themselves as to who was absent, and then found that Te Waka was missing; they came to the conclusion he had been killed at Kaupoko-nui.† Then the *taua* came to this conclusion, “It is Mata-katea and his people who will prevail in this war, since the heart of this man has been offered to the gods. We shall not be able to take the *pa*.” Te Kanawa and Pae-tahuna were for retreating and leaving the *pa* alone, for the omens were unpropitious; others wished to continue the assault. The first said, “Even if we remain, the *pa* will not be taken. As for this great *taua*, Mata-katea alone appears to be able to beat it! Are not two of us already killed by his hand?”

“However, when next morning came, the *pa* was attacked. As soon as the *taua* was seen approaching, Mata-katea and Manaia ascended the tower, and from there kept up a fire on the enemy, shooting one man as they advanced. But this did not stay the *taua*; they came along pouring a heavy fire into the *pa*, and continued to do so for a long time. But the assault failed, and the *taua* had to retreat again to Kapuni. The gun used by Mata-katea was a *urumu-ngutu-parera* (? blunderbuss). Six of the enemy were shot by Mata-katea, Manaia, and Whetoi. Some of the dead were carried off by the *taua* when they retreated, but three of their muskets and some ammunition

* *Whangai-hau*, “feeding the wind,” is a ceremony performed over the first slain in battle. The *hau* is any part of a corpse which may be taken by the priest, over which to repeat incantations; it is therefore an offering to the gods who reside in the wind (*hau* meaning wind). J. White’s Lectures, 1860.

† All these sayings and doings of the *taua* would be learnt from the Taranaki prisoners after they escaped from Waikato, as we shall see—I am quoting Te Kahui here.

fell into the hands of the besieged—making four then in their possession.” This looks as if Taranaki had followed up and fought the *tau* outside the *pa*, which is confirmed by Mr. T. W. Gudgeon (*loc. cit.*), who says: “On the following day the *Matihe* party attacked *Orangi-tua-peka*, but were met in the open and driven back, leaving five of their number behind them; the others they carried off and burnt. The brunt of this fight fell on Taranaki, who, highly delighted at their success, cut off the heads of the slain and sent them over to their allies at Waimate to decorate their palisades.”

Mr. Gudgeon continues: “On the following morning Waikato made another combined attack. A party of one hundred men was told off to lay in ambush near the *pa* during the night, while at early dawn the main body was to make a vigorous attack on Waimate, hoping in this manner to draw the garrison away from their *pa* (? that at *Nga-teko*), and so give the ambush a chance. Probably this scheme might have succeeded had Waikato’s courage been equal to Taranaki’s cunning; for no sooner did Waikato attack in earnest than both Taranaki and *Nga-Ruahine* (of *Ngati-Rua-nui*) rushed over (from *Nga-teko*) to assist their friends, but before leaving made their women and boys go outside the *pa*, as though ready to meet the enemy. The ruse succeeded admirably, and the ambush, believing the occupants of Waimate were waiting for them to attack, remained hidden, while their people, assaulted by the full strength of the allies, were thoroughly beaten and fled unpursued, *Nga-Ruahine* being suspicious of ambuscades.”

“Thus ended the battle of *Nga-ngutu-mairo*,” says Mr. Gudgeon. “Waikato lost in all about sixty men, including the chiefs *Mere-kai-kaka* and *Pungatara*, chiefs of *Ngati-Hine-tu* (of Waikato); *Te Kohu-wai*, a leading chief of *Ngati-Mania-poto*; *Hihia*, *Toa-rangatira*, *Tu-pekepeke*, *Te Oi-tai* and *Rae-taha*. The allies lost only one chief, *Te Kamia*, and five men. That day it was ascertained that Waikato really had retreated; and the same night they were followed by the most able-bodied men of the allies, two hundred and fifty strong, and found camped at *Otu-matua pa* (situated on the coast, at the point fourteen miles W.N.W. from Waimate, and two miles S.W. of the present village of *Pihama*). *Nga-Ruahine* hid themselves carefully, intending to storm the camp at sundown; this plan, however, was defeated by a few straggling Taranaki, who, for reasons best known to themselves, gave warning to Waikato, and they taking alarm left everything and stole away, so that when the allies rushed the camp, the birds had flown. The hurry and confusion of the retreat had, however, one good effect, and that was that *Te Hana-taua* and most of his people (captured at *Te Ruaki*) succeeded in making

their escape, and eventually took shelter with Nga-Ruahine and Taranaki at Waimate."

Te Kahui says, "Nine days were occupied by Waikato in assaulting the *pas*, but without success; and on the last day the besieged sallied forth and fought their enemies in the open and beat them (as described above), losing six men killed, and thirteen wounded—who all recovered." Mr. Gudgeon says (*loc. cit.*) that after the above fight Waikato departed for their homes, but Te Kahui tells a different tale, as follows:—

"After the defeat of Waikato, the principal chiefs of the *taua* desired to make peace with Taranaki, and communicated with Mata-katea to that end. Mata-katea proceeded by himself to the enemies' camp, where he was greeted by the whole *taua*, and a *tangi* for the dead was held with some of the Taranaki prisoners still in the hands of Waikato. Then arose Te Wherowhero, and addressing their visitor said, 'For the first time has my weapon been broken on this day.' This was all he said. Next Mata-katea addressed the assembly, 'On the morrow we will talk; after which I shall know if this is a true peacemaking.' To this the chiefs of Waikato—Te Wherowhero, Te Kanawa, Te Waharoa, and Pae-tahuna—consented. Mata-katea now proposed to the *taua* that their arms should be left in charge of the Taranaki and other prisoners, to guard, at the meeting. After this had been assented to, Mata-katea returned to his *pa*, and reported proceedings, saying to the people, 'The enemy desires peace, let us consider this very carefully, whether it is to be a permanent peace or not. If so, it will be well.'"

The proposition being favourably received, "When morning came the whole of the people from the *pas* marched out and went to meet Waikato, carrying with them a great abundance of food—potatoes, *kumara*, *taros*, *karaka* berries, dried fish, dried shark, etc., and finally, on reaching the Waikato camp, laid it all down before them. It formed a great, high pile; and as the people came up they were welcomed by the women of Waikato, Mata-katea going over and joining the ranks of Waikato. Te Wherowhero now stood up to address the two bodies of people, saying, 'This is my final peacemaking; I have ended—ended for ever; and shall return at once and not come back. Your lands remain with you on account of your prowess. Were I to fight again after this my arm would be broken under the shining sun.' He was followed by Nga-tai-rakau-nui, who assented to the peace. Next Mata-katea called on Te Wherowhero and Nga-tai' to approach and stand on either side of the pile of food. He, together with Manaia, Toi, Titoko-waru, and Whetoi, being joined

by some Waikato chiefs, stood not far off, and then Te Wherowhero and Nga-tai' (as the chief priests) repeated some *karakias* usual on peacemaking, all the others joining in. And so peace was concluded."

Neither of these narratives mention the fact that Te Awa-i-taia, after visiting the Waikato camp at Te Ruaki, had come on to Waimate, and was actually in the *pa* during the time of the Waikato attack. As he says himself, his object was to induce them all to accept Christianity, and no doubt his influence helped to cement this peace. Taranaki people say Waikato committed a breach of Maori *tikanga*, or etiquette, in attacking the *pa*, whilst one of their own chiefs and his party were inside its ramparts.

Te Awa-i-taia says (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 8), "Beyond Orangi-tua-peka there were no inhabitants on our return. We passed through the deserted district of Taranaki and came to Nga-Motu. We found a remnant of the people living on Motu-roa Island. We passed through the uninhabited district of Waitara and came to Mokau—there we saw the face of man; the people residing there were Ngati-Mania-poto. When we arrived at Waikato, Christianity had greatly spread."

It will be noticed above that Te Kohu-wai, a high chief of Ngati-Mania-poto was killed before Waimate. Very shortly after the return of Te Wherowhero's *taua*, the celebrated warrior Tu-korehu, and Taonui, of the above tribe, made a raid with a small party into the Ngati-Rua-nui country to seek revenge for Te Kohu-wai's death. They fell on a small party of the local people, and there killed Piri-mai-waho—a Ngati-Rua-nui chief—and thus squared the account, and at the same time ended the Waikato raids into the Taranaki district for ever.

BATTLE OF PAKA-KUTU, OTAKI.

1834.

We must for a time change the scene of our narrative to the neighbourhood of Kapiti island, where some of the Taranaki tribes became involved at this time with another of the migrating tribes from the north, the Ngati-Rau-kawa, which tribe had removed from their old homes in the neighbourhood of Maunga-tautari in consequence of complications arising with the tribes of Waikato, Ngati-Haua, etc. By this time—1833-4—Ngati-Rau-kawa were in considerable force around Otaki; they had come down in several parties, and their adventures on the way form an interesting study, but it does not belong to this history.

At this time the Ati-Awa tribes of Waitara, and that neighbourhood, were very numerous about Wai-kanae, Otaki, etc., for their own territories on the west coast were practically abandoned through the

repeated raids of the Waikatos, as has been related. Living, as were these migratory tribes as *manene*, or strangers, in a conquered country, and before any permanent settlement had taken place; obtaining their food from hand to mouth, and ever on the watch against their neighbours, the Ngati-Toa and Ngati-Rau-kawa, the leader of the former of which tribes, Te Rau-paraha, was far from being trusted by Ati-Awa, though ostensibly allies, led to more than ordinary savage and lawless ways. Hence, about this time, our Ati-Awa friends became embroiled with their Ngati-Rau-kawa neighbours to the north. The description of the troubles that ensued will be left to old Rangipito—parts of whose narrative have frequently been quoted before. He says:—

“Some time after the arrival of the Tama-te-uaua migration (see this Chapter, *ante*), and before we moved on to Port Nicholson, there came down from Taranaki another *heke* named ‘Heke-paukena,’ which was the last from that district.* Not long after their arrival a man named Tawake, of the Ngati-Tawhake *hapu* of Ati-Awa from Puketapu, but formerly of Kairoa inland of Lepperton, and others went inland to a place on the north side of the Otaki river—to the territory then occupied by Ngati-Rau-kawa—to *ao-kai*, or steal food. As the party returned, Tawake remembered that he had left his pipe behind, and so went back to fetch it, when he was caught by Ngati-Rau-kawa, who killed him with their tomahawks. Finding he did not return, his companions went to look for him, and found and brought away his headless body to the coast where the migration was camped. Great excitement was caused by this death, and, as usual, revenge was determined upon. Messengers were at once despatched to Wai-kanae, ten miles to the south, where the main body of Ati-Awa was living. The tribe arose at once and came to Otaki, where they attacked Ngati-Rau-kawa in the open near their *pa* at that place. The latter tribe was driven into their *pa*, in which at that time Te Rau-paraha was staying, and was eventually reduced to great straits, for Ati-Awa completely surrounded the *pa*, and cut off all communication with the outside. Matters continued thus for some time until the feeding of the many people in the *pa* began to become a serious affair, and it was seen that if the siege continued much longer, the *pa* would have to capitulate. Te Rau-paraha, who as usual took the most prominent part in directing the defence (although he was fighting against his late allies), seeing matters begin to look very serious, despatched ten messengers to bring down the Waikato tribes to his assistance. This

* See *ante*. Probably the “Heke-hauhau” was really the last.

meant at least a month or six weeks' delay. The men travelled by the coast, but were captured and killed by Ngati-Rua-nui. He next sent two messengers, who travelled by way of the mountains, and they managed to get through their enemies, proceeding by way of the Whanga-nui river, Lake Taupo, and finally to Waikato. The messengers were successful in rousing these tribes, and a considerable number of Waikato and Taupo people (the latter under Te Heuheu) came to Te Rau-paraha's assistance. In the meantime the siege went on. At this time Ngati-Rua-nui, which tribe was assisting the Ati-Awa, wished to make peace; and for this purpose sent Tu-rau-kawa and ten other chiefs to the *pa* to make overtures towards that end. But Te Rau-paraha—in keeping with his usual character—incited Ngati-Rau-kawa, whilst the emissaries were in the *pa*, to kill them. This was done, and thus died one of the most learned men, probably, that the Maoris have ever known. Tu-rau-kawa was a *tohunga* of the first rank, and a poet of no mean order. His compositions are full of most interesting references to the ancient history of the people. As the Maoris say, they show a greater knowledge of ancient history than any others, and contain 'all the wisdom of the Maori world.' ”

The arrival of these reinforcements from the north altered the state of affairs for a time and caused the Ati-Awa to withdraw from before the *pa* at Otaki, and retire to Paka-kutu—a *pa* on the north side of the Otaki river, not very far from the sea-coast, and between there and the Rangi-uru (or Whakarangirangi) stream.* The Ngati-Rau-kawa and their northern allies now advanced and attacked Paka-kutu, which was occupied by Ati-Awa, Ngati-Rua-nui, and Taranaki. Both sides suffered severely in the fighting that ensued for two whole days. And then Ati-Awa retreated to the south side of Otaki river to a *pa* of theirs named Hao-whenua, situated close to the site of the old accommodation house there.

HAO-WHENUA.

1834.

In the fighting that occurred at this period both sides were well armed with muskets. Rangi-pito says, “Then the enemy in their thousands advanced against Ati-Awa in their *pa* at Hao-whenua, but Te Rau-paraha remained in his *pa* at Otaki, whilst Ngati-Rau-kawa and Waikato advanced to the attack—he was afraid of Waikato, *kei apititia mo nga he o mua*—(lest he should be killed on account of his former evil deeds against that tribe). So the *ope* came on to Hao-whenua

* The long, sandy beach outside Rangi-uru is named Pare-mata. Here were killed two of the Ati-Awa by Pakiha and Manu-ariki.

full of bravado and anxious to exterminate Ati-Awa and their allied tribes—Taranaki and Ngati-Rua-nui. The *pa* was held by the chiefs Tu-whata (Hone), Huri-whenua, Te Hau-te-horo, Raua-ki-tua, Rere-tawhangawhanga, Rangī-wahia, Tau-tara, Te Tupe-o-Tu, Te Manu-toheroa, and others. It was a very large *pa*, palisaded with *pekerangi* (the lower line) and *kiri-tangata* (the upper and inner line), about two miles long (*sic.*) On the arrival of the enemy before the *pa*, three *ngohi*, or companies, were sent out by the *pa* to meet them, each two hundred men *topu* (four hundred), under Hone Tu-whata, Te Ua-piki, Rere-tawhangawhanga, and Huri-whenua as leaders. So they went forth, and were given over to death by the guns (*ka tukua ratou katoa hei ngaunga ma te pu*). As they went forth, those divisions under Hone and Te Ua-piki led the advance—the other two remaining in the rear as a *whakahoki*,* or support. Then the enemy fled, followed by Hone's party. After watching his advance for some time, the two other *ngohi* gave chase also as a support—for by that time they knew it was a real retreat and not a feint. They only followed the enemy as far as a swamp, however; and from there the enemy returned to their *punīs*, or camps. The first attack on Hao-whenua was at an end, and the victory lay with Ati-Awa.

“The following day the enemy returned. They advanced by way of Pahiko, which is the same place as Muka-kai, a place on the south side of Hao-whenua, where Hau-te-horo and Te Tupe-o-Tu were posted with a small party of Te Ati-Awa. The enemy fell on them and killed most of them. This event occurred early in the morning. Ati-Awa only got one man in payment for these deaths—one Kuri, of Taupo, who was shot by Te Whaiaipo. Te Tupe-o-Tu was shot by Puke-rua of Ngati-Mania-poto. Then the enemy came on towards the sea-shore, where they fell across a party of women belonging to Ati-Awa, who were bringing food to the *pa*; many of these were killed, whilst several escaped to their friends—*na tana kaha ki te tahuti ka ora ai etahi*—(by their powers of running did several escape). This occurred on the beach at a place named Te Mahia, which was not far from Hao-whenua *pa*. The enemy got on all sides and enclosed them, as it were. This event occurred in the forenoon.

* If the *hunuhunu*, or advance party, were driven back, then the *matua*, or main party, served us a *whakahoki* (to return, or, in fact, as a support), and they would then join in the advance. If any evil omen had occurred to the *hunuhunu*, such as a *kohera* (when the leading men turned to the left by mistake after he had cast the spear of defiance at the enemy), then would the people say, “*E! He tūi tahae! Unuhia!*” — (“Ah! There is the devil to pay! Withdraw! (free translation) and advance no further!”)

“Then the enemy came on towards Hao-whenua, when Ati-Awa went forth in force from the *pa* to stop them. The two parties met about a mile distant from the *pa*, when the firing commenced. About noon they came to close quarters, and here Papaka—younger brother of Te Heuheu of Taupo—fell, shot in the forehead (by Te Naeroa, says old Taiata of Ngati-Tama, and his death squared that of Te Tupe-o-Tu). The Ngati-Tu-whare-toa, the Ngati-Mania-poto, and Ngati-Rau-kawa (the two first the allies from the north) suffered severely in this engagement—*toto ana i te ngaunga a te pu*—(the ground was covered with blood through ‘the biting’ of the guns). The enemy then retreated, carrying off Papaka’s body with them, but leaving the rest of their dead lying in heaps on the battlefield. There were no other men of consequence who fell there besides Papaka (*kaore he ingoa a roto i a ratou*).

“The enemy retreated under the cover of night, for evening had come by the time the fighting had ceased—it was in the month of March—lest they should be seen by Ati-Awa, who had remained watching on the battlefield, but did not follow the retreating enemy. The following is the order in which the Ati-Awa allies remained on the field:—Ngati-Tama, nearest the sea; then inland of them the sub-tribe Kai-tangata; then Puke-tapu; then Manu-korihi; then Otaraua; then Ngati-Rahiri; then Nga-Motu; then Ngati-Mutunga. After some time, finding the enemy did not return, they all went back to the *pa* at Hao-whenua, for they did not care to follow up the enemy in the dark for fear of ambushes. The enemy retired to Pahiko, and thence to their *punis* (camps) at Otaki, where was Te Heuheu, the head chief of Taupo lake, to whom was shown the dead body of his brother Papaka, who had been persuaded to join in this affair by his elder brother. No one equalled Papaka in arrogance; he was a fine, handsome man of great personal attractions and of an aristocratic bearing. Te Heuheu was much cut up at the death of his brother, and proceeded to lament his death in the following *tangi*:—

Taku tirotiro noa i te hono tatai,
 Ka wehe koe i ahau!
 Te murau a te tini—
 Te wenerau a te mano.
 Taku manu tioriori
 Mo nga hau kopanga-rua ki te tonga
 Ko Te Tupe-o-Tu, ko Hau-te-horo
 Ka whakairi te toa.
 Rangahau atu ra
 Nga titahatanga ki Pahiko
 He kauterenga nui na koutou

Nga taumata i Te Horo
 E whakamakuru ana ko aitua tonu
 Ko Tiki raua ko Te Toa,
 Ko whana-ihu, ko whana-rae
 Ko te tama i aitia
 E tera wahine, e tera tangata
 I whakatutuki ana
 I nga waitete a Tu-matauenga.
 Taku whatiwhati-ki ka riro,
 Taku poroporo tu ki te hamuti
 Taku wai whakatahetahe,
 Ki te kauhanga riri.
 He unuhanga a toa.
 He rutunga patu,
 Na koutou ko ou matua
 Ki te one i Purua
 Ka whakina atu ra,
 Kia whana ai ou ringaringa,
 Kia hokai ai ou waewai,
 Hare ra, E Pa!
 I nga tai whakarewa kauri,
 Ki te uru,
 Tutanga pononga e, roto i a au,
 Kei te aha to hara?
 Kei nga hara tata nunui,
 A Tiki-maeroero
 Kei o hianga i tuku atu ai,
 Ka moe koe i te kino,
 Te Hoa—e—!

To continue Rangi-pito's narrative :—" Ngati-Rau-kawa, Waikato and their allies now remained in their camp considering what they should do. It was finally decided to proceed against Te Kenakena (a place near the mouth of the Wai-kanae stream, and close to a little lake there now—1897—covered by the sand hills), which was occupied by that branch of Ngati-Toa under the chieftainship of Te Hiko-o-te-rangi, son of Te Pehi Kupe who was killed at Kai-apohia, South Island, in 1830. This branch of Ngati-Toa had divided off from those under Te Rau-paraha, because of the relationships of Te Hiko-o-te-rangi's mother to Ati-Awa.

"In the morning the *toro*, or scouts, went forth from Te Kenakena *pa*, and discovered the advancing enemy" (who apparently had slipped past Hae-whenua in the dark); "but nothing came of this just then—the fight commenced later in the morning, and continued until the afternoon. During this engagement, Waikato made a dash at Ngati-Toa (under Te Hiko), who were sent reeling backwards in

confusion, but none were hurt. As they retired they carried their guns at the trail (*raparapa toia te pu*). They fell back on the main body of Puke-tapu, Manu-korihi and Nga-Motu" (who had apparently come to assistance of Te Hiko'). "Then Ati-Awa charged down on the enemy, and Ngati-Mania-poto, Waikato and Ngati-Tu-whare-toa were worsted in the fight and fled right away.

"Meanwhile Hone Tu-whata and Te Ua-piki were engaged with Ngati-Rau-kawa. Ruru of the latter tribe distinguished himself by flourishing about with his tomahawk; Rakatau and Hakaraia (of Ati-Awa) both fired at him, but missed him, being too excited to take aim. In this affair Waikato and their allies were on one side of a hill, and Ngati-Rau-kawa on the other facing Wai-kanae. Hone and his party of Ati-Awa repulsed Ngati-Rau-kawa. These fights all took place on the same day, and on the following came the peace-making by Nini.

"Nini was a high chief of Ngati-Tipa, of Waikato Heads, and had come down with the Waikato party to help Ngati-Rau-kawa in their distress. After the defeat of that tribe and their Waikato allies, they came to the conclusion it would be well to make peace." After all, though both sides had scored against the other, Ati-Awa were getting the best of it. "It was now arranged that overtures should be made, and with that view Nini was despatched to Hao-whenua to open the negotiations. On his arrival the usual feast was given by Ati-Awa, and numerous speeches made. Then Nini declared his errand, which was favourably received by Ati-Awa and their allies. Nini requested that some one of rank should accompany him back to the Ngati-Rau-kawa stronghold to set on foot the negotiations. So Te Patu-kekeno (son of Te Manu-toheroa of Puketapu) accompanied Nini on his return. After this thirty chiefs of Ngati-Rau-kawa and their allies returned to Waikanae, where many speeches were made, and the peace concluded. Nini declared this should be an enduring peace; his final words to Ati-Awa on leaving were, '*Hei konei, E Ati-Awa! E kore au e hoki mai. Ki te tae mai he iwi hei patu i a koe—ka mate.*'—('Farewell, O Ati-Awa! I will not return. If any tribe comes to make war on you, they will die').* On Nini's return home to Waikato Heads his father, Kukutai, approved his action.

* Te Whetu told me that after leaving the Hao-whenua *pa*, Nini advised that the emissaries should return by the inland road; but Ngati-Rau-kawa insisted on going by the beach, where they fell into an ambush and some were killed. This was at a hillock called Taranaki. But it requires explanation, after a peace just made.

“This peace was not ever broken by Ati-Awa; but Ngati-Raukawa trod on it by attacking Ati-Awa at Te Kuititanga in October, 1839 (see Chapter XX.); and the Taupo people did the same against Ngati-Rua-nui at Patoka in 1841.

“It was shortly after Hao-whenua that the bulk of us (Ati-Awa) moved over to Port Nicholson to join our relatives there.”

TIWAI AND POMARE.

Arising out of the fighting just described was the following incident, which is very characteristic of Maori life in the old days: Tiwai was a brother of Pomare (one of the young chiefs of Ngati-Mutunga of Ati-Awa at that time, afterwards to become a leading man at the Chatham Islands, a nephew of Ngatata) and was killed at Hao-whenua. After his burial, the brothers of Pomare's wife (who was named Tawhiti, and was a daughter of Te Rau-paraha) dug up the body and desecrated the grave. The perpetration of this indignity by his brothers-in-law so enraged Pomare that he abandoned his wife, sending her and the two younger children back to her people, while he retained the eldest. At this time Pomare was about thirty years of age, and a fine looking man. He had taken Hera Wai-taoro, the daughter of Te Manu-tohe-roa (of Puke-tapu) as a wife. Topeora, sister of Rangi-haeata and aunt of Te Rau-paraha, the lady celebrated for her compositions referred to in Chapter XI., came to see Pomare to try and heal the family quarrel, bringing with her Tawhiti, and two younger women—one of whom was another Topeora (afterwards married to Te Hiko-o-te-rangi, Pehi-Kupe's son) who was a daughter of Mokau, or Te Rangi-haeata—and offered them all to Pomare. The latter refused them with disdain, not looking at or speaking to them on account of the indignity offered to his brother's remains. Whereupon, the elder Topeora threw off the cloak round her shoulders, leaving only a very short mat round her waist, and commenced to *pukana*, or grimace, singing the following song:—

Aue taku tane ! taku tane !
 I kukume kau ai taku kaki, ka roa,
 I kite pea te makau i tohoku,
 Ka whai ngaio, ka putere te haere,
 Whawhai, E Koeke ! te teke
 I whakapiria ki te ware-kauri
 Ka hua ai i ara
 E kore e takatiti
 Te hua o te inanga ki waho na
 Ana ! ka whatero te arero-pipi kei waho.

The above was told to Mr. Shand and myself. Some time after, Mr. Shand sent me the following note :—"Tapu-Hirawana (a Moriori who knew much of the Ati-Awa history) recited to me Pomare's lament—about 1843-4—when he went from the Chatham Islands to Wellington, and his former wife, Tawhiti, came to see him. She fell on his neck lamenting most bitterly, whilst he was overcome by her affection after—it must have been—nine or ten years' separation. In her sorrow she cursed her people for the separation, and also her then husband who was really a *rangatira*, though she called him a *mokai*, saying he was not like her first husband Pomare, who had always been kind to her and had never maltreated her until the remains of Tiwai were desecrated. At that time Pomare had buried some negro-head tobacco with Tiwai, and it was this that Tawhiti's brother dug up and smoked, in the Maori ideas, equivalent to eating the body. So Pomare, for a time, got the name of 'Nika-heti' (Nigger-head). The lament Pomare sung was that of a Ngati-Mania-poto chief for his wife who had been inveigled by her Ngati-Tama brother named Te Whare-kura (who died at the Chatham Islands) under the pretence of visiting him. When she did so, she was detained and given to another man of her own tribe."

The celebrated Topeora, according to Rangi-pito, was a short woman and (at that time) plain, with *mahunga-puru*, or short, crisp hair, not at all well favoured; her mental qualities and her birth alone made her celebrated. "*Ko Topeora, ko te aha? Ka pa ko Nga-rewai, ko te tamahine o Te Ahuru*"—"Topeora indeed! What of her? If it had been Nga-rewai, the beautiful daughter of Te Ahuru, chief of Ngati-Apa!") is a saying about this great lady, that enjoyed much favour about the time her tribe, Ngati-Toa, occupied Kapiti.

It was not long after the Ati-Awa removed to Port Nicholson, as stated a few pages back, that parties of them moved across the Straits to join their fellow tribesmen who had already settled there—see Chapter XVI.

CHAPTER XX.

THE WRECK OF THE "HARRIETT."

1834.

MANY of our Taranaki settlers know the name "Harriett Beach," but comparatively few of the later generation know the origin of the name, and still fewer have ever heard particulars of the wreck which gave rise to it. In what follows, the very full account given by Dr. W. B. Marshall, R.N., of the proceedings that the wreck gave rise to, are abbreviated, for this work is very scarce. It is entitled, "A Personal Narrative of Two Visits to New Zealand in her Majesty's ship 'Alligator,' A.D., 1834," published in London 1836. The Maori account of the affair also follows, as written by Te Kahui. This was the first occasion on which H.M. Troops were ever employed in New Zealand; they consisted of a company of the Fiftieth "Queen's Own Regiment" (sometimes called "The Dirty Half Hundred,") a regiment which also assisted in the Native war of the sixties. Their operations on the Taranaki coast in 1834 were not such as to add much lustre to their arms, as we shall see.

The "Harriett" was a barque of two hundred and forty tons burden engaged in whaling and trading on the New Zealand coast, and apparently belonged to Sydney. New Zealand at that time was the great whaling ground of Australasia, and was constantly visited by ships of many nations in pursuit of this industry. Mr. John Guard was the captain of the barque, which also carried a navigating officer—Captain Richard Hall—two mates, and twenty-three seamen, besides Mrs. Guard and her two children. They sailed from Sydney on 13th April, 1834, for Cloudy Bay, Cook's Straits, where Captain Guard had been employed in the trade for several years.* The following is Captain Guard's account (abbreviated) of the wreck, as stated before the Executive Council of New South Wales, 22nd August, 1839, Governor Richard Bourke presiding. It is given as an appendix to Dr. Marshall's work. The wreck took place close to the Okahu stream—five miles south of Cape Egmont (see Map No. 1):—"In proceeding from Port

*Mr. McNab's "Murihiku," third edition, received long after the above account was written, first mentions John Guard as sailing from Sydney on board the "Wellington" for New Zealand in the latter part of 1823.

Nicholson to Cloudy Bay the 'Harriett' was wrecked on the 29th April, 1834, near Cape Egmont. The crew—consisting of twenty-eight men, one woman, and two children—all reached the shore. About thirty or forty natives came the third day after the wreck. We had made tents on shore with our sails. The crew were armed with ten muskets saved from the wreck. The Natives soon began to plunder the wreck and the things on shore. They showed no violence at this time, the principal number not having arms. . . . On the 7th May about two hundred more Natives came down, who told us they came purposely to kill us. . . . The following day they came quite naked and at least one hundred and fifty armed with muskets, the rest with spears and tomahawks. . . . One of the crew had lived on shore about thirty or forty miles from where these Natives came about six years, and understood their language perfectly, and I also understood it partly. They told us plainly they came to kill us. They did not attack us until the 10th; they remained at night on the opposite side of a river (Okahu), we continuing under arms. At 8 a.m. on the 10th they came and struck one of the crew with a tomahawk and cut him in two. Another named Thomas White they cut down and then cut off his legs by the joints of the knees and hips. We immediately opened fire and engaged them for about an hour, and lost twelve men, and understood twenty or thirty of the Natives were killed. Later on they dug holes in the ground and fired out of them, leaving only their heads exposed. They closed on us and forced us to retreat, and they got possession of my wife and children. They cut her down twice with a tomahawk and she was only saved by her comb. We were making our retreat for Mataroa (Moturoa)—about forty miles north—firing as we went. We met another tribe consisting of about a hundred coming to the wreck. They stopped and stripped us of our clothing, and we gave ourselves up, having expended all our ammunition. They detained us three or four hours, then sent us on to Mataroa with a guide. They put us into a *pa*, where they kept us naked for three days, feeding us on potatoes. On the fourth day the party (of Maoris) returned from the wreck. Some of those who had taken our clothes returned some of them to us, and several times offered us the flesh of our comrades. About a fortnight after they told us one boat still remained at the wreck, the other was burnt. On my promising them a cask of powder, they went for the boat, and finally allowed five men and myself to go away in her, leaving eight men as hostages. After repairing the boat we left Moturoa on the 20th June accompanied by three of the chiefs, and were two days and nights at sea before we got into Blind Bay, where we remained one night on account of the wind. We were visited by another party of

Natives there and robbed of our potatoes and the only knife we had. These people belonged to Kapiti (*i.e.*, some of Ngati-Toa). We were eight days in reaching Cloudy Bay, arriving there on the 28th June, where we found Captain Sinclair of the barque 'Mary Anne,' who lent me a boat, and from whom I procured some things with a view of returning to Moturoa to ransom those left. In Port Nicholson we found the schooner 'Joseph Weller,' and the master (Morris) took us on board, agreeing to call at Moturoa on his way to Port Jackson, to land the three chiefs and ransom our friends, but the wind would not allow of it, so we were obliged to come on to Sydney.

"There are no Europeans living on that part of the coast except one Oliver,* at Moturoa. The name of the tribe who have my wife is 'Hatteranui' (Ngati-Rua-nui). . . . There are only about one hundred Natives in all Moturoa; the tribes could not raise more than three hundred men altogether, and about two hundred muskets. . . . I have been trading with the New Zealanders since 1823, and have lived among them. . . . Before we were attacked, two of the crew deserted to the Natives, taking some clothing and cannisters of powder. I am positive they supplied the Natives with the powder with which they attacked us."

We will now follow Dr. Marshall's narrative, abbreviated, however: The Governor of New South Wales—Major General Bourke—after obtaining this information, wrote to Captain Lambert of H.M.S. "Alligator," on the 23rd August, 1834, requesting him to proceed to the rescue of the survivors—and on the 31st the 'Alligator' sailed, having on board Lieutenant Gunton and a detachment of the Fiftieth Regiment, in company with the Col. Schooner 'Isabella,' on board of which was Captain Johnston of the same regiment and another detachment of troops. Mr. Guard, Battersby as interpreter, and Miller as pilot, accompanied the expedition. The two latter were landed on 12th September under a *pa* called Te Namu, belonging to the Ngati-Rua-nui tribe (*sic.*, but should be Taranaki) to acquaint the Natives with the object of the visit. It was deemed necessary that

* The fact of Oliver being at Moturoa when Guard and his party arrived there shows that he did not accompany the other party with Barrett and Love when they abandoned Moturoa, and went south with 'Tama-te-uaua' migration (see Chapter XIX.) He had probably remained behind with his Maori wife, and was either living with the refugees of the Nga-Motu tribe on Paritutu or Moturoa Island. The Maori accounts also state that the chief of the party from Nga-Motu who had charge of Guard and party, was Poharama, who, in Chapter XIX., is stated to have been taken away to Kawhia after the siege of Mikotahi. He must therefore have returned to Nga-Motu with Ihaia Te Kiri-kumara prior to the wreck.

they should proceed overland to Waimate and Orangi-tuapeka, where the woman and children were in captivity; the vessels sailed along the shore and anchored there, and an attempt was made to negotiate the affair through Guard, who was, says the writer, grossly ignorant of the language. The following day at 6 a.m. (13th September) the ships ran across to Port Jackson or Gore's Harbour, Queen Charlotte Sound. On the 16th they returned, and on the 17th arrived off Te Namu and took off the two interpreters, who said they had been frightened out of their wits by the Natives, and had consequently made for Waimate, but meeting a party of Natives who increased their fears by saying the Taranaki people were looking out for them to kill and eat them, they then took to the bush, but hunger drove them back to Te Namu. On the 18th the ship was piloted by Guard to a harbour on the west side of Admiralty Bay, named Port Hardy. They left again on the 20th, and and on the 21st arrived at Moturoa, where the Doctor describes Mikotahi (the *pa* which was besieged by Waikato—see *ante*) and Paritutu, the Main Sugar-loaf, which at that time was palisaded and inhabited as well as the minor rocks at its foot. Four Natives who came from Sydney were here put ashore, laden with rusty muskets, flints, powder, and ammunition, and the eight sailors left here by Guard were taken off. The ships then proceeded to Te Namu, on the 24th, and attempted to land, but the surf was too great; but they learned that Mrs. Guard was in the *pa*. On the 28th, the sea having subsided, a party of seamen, soldiers, and marines landed on a beautiful beach in face of a high cliff, the top of which was crowded with Natives, whilst two of them advanced to meet the landing party—one of whom (Oaoiti) announced himself as the guardian of the woman, and ready to give her up on payment of the ransom (a cask of powder promised by the interpreters). Instead of receiving this he was instantly seized, dragged into the boat, and sent off to the "Alligator," and on the way out he was brutally wounded with a bayonet. He jumped overboard, but was recaptured after receiving a bullet in the leg. On gaining the deck he fell down in a faint through the effect of his wounds. The Doctor found ten wounds on him made with bayonets, one of which he thought would prove fatal. (See Kahui's account.)

The landing party then went up to the *pa*, which they found deserted, and the party then divided into two to pursue the fugitives. In the meantime an attack was made on the boats, which the Natives succeeded in securing and plundering with the exception of one, which the midshipman in charge managed to get away with. On the return of the two parties after a fruitless pursuit, they occupied the *pa* (Te Namu), a very full description of which the Doctor gives, and shows it to have

been a very strong place. He says that on the only two sides where it was practical to escalade it, projecting stages had been erected with breastworks, behind which were great heaps of stones ready as missiles to be cast down on any invaders. The landing party now proceeded to make themselves comfortable for the night in the *pa*. At daylight the following morning, the 29th September, in consequence of a request made by Guard, a party was sent out to reconnoitre some huts he had seen, but returned without seeing any people; whilst the picket left at the *pa* reported a large number of Natives had been seen to the southward, with whom Captain Johnson tried to open communications, and on coming up with them the interpreter was sent forward to speak to them, the Doctor accompanying him. They found the Natives behind a strong breastwork, on the top of which stood a Native brandishing his tomahawk and addressing his comrades. They learnt that Mrs. Guard had been removed to Waimate, and laughed at the idea of that *pa* being taken, and accused the English of treating Oaoiti (or O-o-hit, as the Doctor calls him) very badly and declared that he had been killed. From the Natives they got back some of the things taken from the boats, but failed to make them believe that Oaoiti was still alive, or to secure an exchange of prisoners. Captain Johnson then returned to Te Namu and set fire to the *pa* and the palisades, which were completely destroyed. The party now returned on board. The Doctor says all the officers were disgusted at the brutality practised against Oaoiti by Guard and the boats' crew.

On the 30th September the ships removed to opposite Waimate, and the boats were sent ashore, the Natives crowding the heights and the two *pas* of Ngaweka and Orangi-tuapeka; Mrs. Guard was brought down to the beach, and was distinctly seen warning her deliverers off, for she knew that the Natives intended treachery, whilst the Natives called out "*Haere mai! Haere mai!*" and commenced a war-dance. The boats returned at 3 p.m. without effecting a landing, and after having put ashore the young fellow who voluntarily came on board at Te Namu, so that he might inform his countrymen of the safety of Oaoiti. At 5 p.m. another boat was sent in to try and learn the result, as the Natives were seen in excited groups evidently discussing the situation, but nothing was effected.

On October 1st two boats were sent in with Oaoiti whose anxiety to be released lent him sufficient strength for the occasion, though his wounds would have been sufficient to have killed outright an European—says the Doctor. He stood up when the boat came within hearing and harangued his people, on which numbers waded out, bringing with them in a canoe Mrs. Guard and her infant who were soon safely on

board the ship. "She was dressed in native costume, being carefully enveloped from head to foot in two superb mats, the largest and finest I ever saw; they were the parting presents from the tribe among whom she had been sojourning."* She stated that after her removal from Te Namu, she had been in the custody of Waiariari, the principal chief of the tribe, who, on seeing the firing from the boat, had forced her out of the *pa* and taken her to some huts, where they passed the night, and the following afternoon they arrived at Orangi-tuapeka. One of the Natives, under the impression that Oaoiti had been killed, snapped his musket at her, but it missed fire, and on his trying a second time she turned the muzzle away and rushed to Waiariari, who ordered the man to desist. She expected death in retaliation for Oaoiti, but beyond some threats they treated her as before. On the arrival of the news of Oaoiti's safety by the other young man, they all said, "Let the woman go," and on the night of his return everybody gathered to hear of his adventures on board and his description of the ship. Oaoiti now had his wounds dressed, and after putting on all the clothes that had been given to him, was sent ashore, his friends wading out to meet him.

Whilst the boats lay outside the surf after landing Oaoiti, supposed signs of treachery were reported by Battersby (the interpreter) and Lieutenant Thomas returned on board still leaving Mrs. Guard's elder child with the Natives, who were, they said, awaiting his owner to give him up. At 1 p.m. the senior lieutenant again approached the shore, when a musket ball whizzed over his head, fired from Waimate *pa*, and on the return of the boat to the ship, this having been taken as a signal of defiance, the drums beat to quarters and both vessels commenced a furious cannonade at the two *pas* and the canoes on the river, which lasted three hours. When the firing commenced, the Natives hoisted a white flag twice, but with no effect, and soon after a tall Native got on a house top and held up the little captive and waved the white flag. The cannonading, however, continued. The Natives displayed the utmost fearlessness and ran about on the beach tracking the shot, and occasionally returning the fire from the ship. The Doctor says . . . "Having crushed all the canoes that were in sight, busied ourselves with shooting at a rock, and wasted a large amount of ammunition with no beneficial result, we stood out to sea once more."

On October 2nd the ships again anchored at Port Hardy and remained there till the 5th, when they returned to Waimate, and on the 6th October, at 11 a.m., the gig was sent in to demand the child, but without result. At 1.30 another attempt was made, when the Natives brought

* See Te Kahui's narrative *infra*.

the child down to the beach, but apparently merely with a view to drawing the boats away from a better to an inferior landing place. On October 7 the boats went in early, and a Native, who said he belonged to Kapiti, voluntarily came off and said the owner of the child would bring it off himself if an officer was sent ashore as a hostage—a proposition which Captain Lambert declined. The Kapiti man having been put ashore with some presents, the ships put to sea again.

On October 8th six officers and one hundred and twelve men, including sailors, soldiers, and marines, were landed without opposition at a beach about two miles south-east from Waimate, together with a six-pounder, the first gig being sent to lie off the *pa* with a flag of truce. So soon as the party reached the top of the cliff, the Natives met them and expressed the desire to settle the affair amicably. Some of the party being still left on the beach, there suddenly appeared to them about a dozen armed Natives, headed by a stately chief, bearing the captive boy on his shoulder; behind him came Oaoiti. One of the sailors snatched away the child and ran off with him, and immediately a firing from his comrades on the beach took place, followed by those on the cliffs, upon the unfortunate Natives who had brought the child, who retreated hastily, some falling as the shots took effect, whilst others sheltered behind the rocks. All this time the flags of truce were flying, says the Doctor. The two officers of the 50th, Captain Johnson and Ensign Wright, did all they could to stop this insane firing, and only after some time succeeded. "Nothing can justify so foul a deed of blood," says the Doctor. It was then decided to retire to the boats, but a shot from the Natives having been fired, it was determined instead to advance, and the Natives were driven before the advancing party, some men being wounded and a young woman killed. After an hour's march the party reached an old fortification called "Oberakanui," and a mile beyond that they arrived before Waimate and Orangi-tuapeka *pas*, when a firing commenced from the latter, aided by a party concealed in some brushwood below. The Doctor gives a description of the two *pas* from the point they had then reached, which shows them to be very picturesquely situated (see Plates Nos. 18 and 19). The places were being abandoned as the English arrived, and the Doctor describes with great admiration the cool, stately retreat of the chief, who he supposes to be Waiariari, from top to bottom of the *pa*, loading and firing on his enemies as they poured volley after volley at him, without hastening his pace. He effected his escape safely. Both *pas* were now rushed, and the British Ensign was soon seen floating on top of Waimate as a token to the ship of their success. The Doctor then enters into a long description of both *pas*, from which we learn that they were places of

great natural strength situated on the sea-cliffs and cut off from the land by ravines, with a fine stream of water (the Kapuni) separating them. They were crowded with houses, and the store-houses full of provisions.

Before evening Lieutenant Thomas visited them from the ships, but stove his boat in so doing, so all the party had to remain in the two *pas* over the night, during which the whole place was nearly burned down owing to the carelessness of the men.

On the 9th the sea was too rough to attempt embarking the force. During the course of the day the men discovered the head of some unfortunate European, which, strange to say, neither Mr. or Mrs. Guard recognised. Who could this wanderer have been? Perhaps a runaway sailor or convict from Kapiti, where there were several at this time. It was not until the 14th October that the sea was sufficiently smooth to allow of the approach of the boats to take off the members of the expedition. Before leaving both *pas* were burnt to the ground. The Doctor's narrative is very lengthy and gives many details of interest, and he winds up with some just remarks upon the unnecessary loss of life and property, and the bad judgment displayed all through the conduct of the affair, in which the reader will perhaps be inclined to agree with him. The ships called in at Kapiti on the 12th October, and after interviewing Te Rau-paraha, sailed for the Bay of Islands, where they arrived on the 24th October, 1834.

Having given the official relation of the Harriett affair, we will now hear what the Maoris say, as written by Te Kahui some fifteen years ago. After describing the rejoicing of the Taranaki people at the discomforture of the Waikato tribes before Waimate (as related in last Chapter), the writer says, "So Mata-katea and his people remained in their *pa* at Nga-teko (or Nga-ngutu-maioro at Waimate), and both Taranaki and Ngati-Ruanui were proud of their feats of arms against Waikato. They remained quietly at their *pa* for many days, and then came news that a ship had been wrecked at Okahu, not far from Rahotu (near Cape Egmont). Mata-katea and his people at once went to the scene of the wreck, and on their arrival he and his own particular people of Taranaki commenced to save the casks of powder. They secured two casks, whilst Ngati-Ruanui turned their attention to the other goods; they did not secure a single cask of powder for themselves; and thus they became angry and commenced to kill the ship-wrecked crew, who were camped on the shore. Six of these people were killed, but Taranaki did not see this deed done. Ngati-Ruanui were about to kill a woman named Betty (Mrs. Guard), and two blows had been made at her, when a man of Taranaki, named Oaoiti, seeing what was going on, rushed

up and warded off the finishing stroke, so that it missed its object, and then the woman was taken away by Oaoiti. He then shouted out to Taranaki that the white people were being killed. The man who had wounded the woman followed with the intention of finishing his work, but she and her children were taken by the Taranaki people under their protection. Mata-katea shouted out to those who were following up the white woman, 'Return hence, all of you! If you persist I will fire at you!' The Taranaki people now all crossed the Okahu river to Pari-moto, where it was resolved by the chiefs that if Ngati-Ruanui followed them they would be fired on. They did advance to the opposite side of the river, when Mata-katea again told them to retire and not attempt to cross the river.

"Upon this Ngati-Ruanui retired, and then made ovens in which to cook the bodies of the white men they had slain; but before this could be done, Mata-katea went over with a party and burnt the bodies. The Ngati-Ruanui people were much vexed at this, for their desire had been to eat them. Thus Betty and her children were saved, but her husband (Guard) had gone to Nga-Motu, or away in one of the boats.

"Then everyone proceeded to help themselves to the goods from the wreck. Some made native ovens and attempted to cook flour, sugar and soap, all in one mass, but when the ovens were uncovered, the sugar had melted and disappeared, the flour was still white, and the soap a mass of foam. They tasted it and found it very bitter." Wiremu Hukanui Manaia, who was present at this scene, told me that they first thought the flour was some kind of sand, and threw a lot of it away. But when they discovered the soap, they concluded they had come across the real food of the white men, but on tasting it found it horribly bitter. One genius then suggested it was so because it was uncooked, and hence the cooking described by Te Kahui. Great was their disappointment on opening the ovens to discover nothing but foam, and many were the sarcastic remarks made as to the peculiar tastes of a people who could live on such stuff!

"As for the gold and silver coins found"—says Te Kahui—"they did not know what they were, so used them for draughtsmen, and finally threw them away into a swamp. The powder and other goods were stored in the *ruas*, or underground store-houses at Okahu *pa*.

"After a stay of about two weeks the whole of the Maoris returned to Nga-teko and Waimate, taking with them Peti (Mrs. Guard) and two children, for whom Ngati-Ruanui had ceased to have any thoughts."

Te Kahui's account of what follows confuses the several attempts to secure Mrs. Guard's escape, so it is not repeated here. He says that

when she was taken to the boat, her Maori women friends, sisters of Oaoiti, dressed her up in three valuable cloaks—two *korowai*, and one *parawai*, besides giving her a greenstone eardrop. He adds that Mrs. Guard was very apprehensive that some evil would befall Oaoiti when he waded out to the boat, and frequently warned him not to go too near—with what result we have seen from Dr. Marshall's account. At the bombardment of Waimate *pa*, only one man named Pohokura was killed by a fragment of a shell, according to Te Kahui. We learn by a paper published in the "New Zealand Mail," February, 1891, that Oaoiti was killed at Waitotara by a raiding party of Whanganui in 1834. The paper is entitled "Reminiscences of Old New Zealand; a Trading Voyage to Whanganui in 1834."

LOCATION OF THE TRIBES AT THE END OF 1834.

Our story has now reached a point which carries us away from Taranaki, properly so-called, for the wars of the first thirty years of the nineteenth century had left the whole of the country extending from Mokau river on the north to Patea river on the south practically without inhabitants. At the end of 1834 there were a few of the Ati-Awa people still refuging on the Sugar-loaf islands, and on Paritutu mount, a small number of the Taranaki tribe under their chief Mata-katea were still in the neighbourhood of Waimate, with a few of the Ngati-Rua-nui tribe scattered about their large territory in isolated forest villages. But this large district, a few years previously the most thickly inhabited of any part of New Zealand, was now practically without inhabitants. The bulk of the people were gathered towards the south end of the North Island, from Manawatu to Port Nicholson, whilst others of the Taranaki people were in slavery amongst the Waikato and other northern tribes. Many of the West Coast tribes had crossed Cook's Straits and settled at Queen Charlotte Sound, D'Urville Island, Nelson, and the West Coast of Tasman Bay. Ngati-Toa, under their redoubtable chief Te Rau-paraha, still held Kapiti Island as a stronghold, with some of his people living on the opposite mainland, having for their neighbours and allies the powerful tribe of Ngati-Rau-kawa, which by this time held the country from Manawatu to Otaki, under their principal chief Te Whata-nui (or Tohe-a-Pare, which was his other name). Nearly the whole of this tribe had abandoned their homes around Maunga-tautari in the Waikato country and had come south to join Te Rau-paraha. South

of Otaki were large numbers of Ngati-Rua-nui and Ati-Awa,* and the latter tribe also occupied Port Nicholson together with some of the Taranaki tribe. Here, also, were many of the Ngati-Tama of Poutama, the bulk of whom, not very long after the defeat of Ngati-Kahungunu at Pehi-katia in 1830-31, had abandoned Wai-rarapa and returned to Port Nicholson, their Ati-Awa allies following them early in 1835, whilst some of the tribe were living at Tai-tapu, on the west side of Tasman Bay, with part of the Ngati-Mutunga and other Ati-Awa tribes.

The original owners of the country now occupied by these migrant tribes had almost disappeared before the exterminating policy of Te Rau-paraha, in which he was seconded by his allies from Taranaki and Maunga-tautari. The Rangi-tane were in Wai-rarapa and the sounds of the South Island; Mua-upoko were living in the Tararua mountains, or refuging with Rangi-tane, whilst a few were still under the protecting care of Te Whata-nui of Ngati-Rau-kawa, who appears in this age of utter barbarism to have been one of the few great chiefs in whom some spark of humanity remained as a redeeming feature. The Ngati-Ira of Port Nicholson were practically extinct, as were the tribes formerly owning Tasman Bay and the north coasts of the South Island.

Nor did these migrant tribes live a very peaceable life among themselves; there being constant outbreaks, quarrels, and troubles. Old tribal enmities came to the surface every now and then and led to blows and constant ill-feeling, keeping the country in a turmoil. The tribes were in a constant state of restlessness engendered by their wanderings and the abandonment of their ancient homes, and were ready at any moment to accept new ideas of conquest and migration. Hence we learn (from Mr. Shand) that the Ati-Awa of Port Nicholson, having heard of the Navigator Islands through some one of their people who had been on a whaling voyage, were seriously discussing the means of obtaining a ship and proceeding thither to the conquest and occupation of that group. Had they succeeded in their project, my belief is that, with their training, and fully armed with muskets as they were by this time, they would have conquered the group, notwithstanding the fine fellows the Samoans are. But this idea was changed for another, which they carried into effect, as we shall shortly see.

* As late as 1893 the following *hapus* of Ati-Awa had representatives still living at Wai-kanae, near Otaki:—Ngati-Rahiri, Manu-korihi, Ngati-Uenuku, Ngati-Tuahu, Kai-tangata, and Otaraua; some Taranaki and a few Ngati-Maru at Whareroa—near Parapara-umu.

TE RAU-O-TE-RANGI'S SWIM.

This old enmity of tribe against tribe is well illustrated by the following incident, which occurred soon after the battle of Wai-o-rua in 1824. Living with Ngati-Toa on Kapiti Island were some of the Ngati-Mutunga people (of Ure-nui, North Taranaki), who, whilst connected with some members of Ngati-Toa, had often been opposed to them. It will be remembered that when Te Rau-paraha migrated from Kawhia in 1822, it was Ngati-Mutunga that gave him and his people a home for the time, and bore a conspicuous part in assisting him to defeat Waikato in the great battle of Te Motu-nui (see Chapter XIV.) One of these Ngati-Mutunga was a chief of some importance, named Te Matoha, who had taken part in the battle of Te Motu-nui; indeed, had been instrumental in the deaths of the Waikato chiefs Te Hiakai and Mama, and in consequence his family incurred the ill-will of the Waikato tribes, who would have been only too ready to utilise the first opportunity of wreaking their vengeance on him or his family. It will be remembered that in that great battle, although Ngati-Toa were doing their utmost with the powerful aid of Ngati-Mutunga to defeat Waikato, they had many relatives amongst the latter tribe.

At this time Te Matoha's daughter Te Rau-o-te-rangi was living at Kapiti, when there arrived rumours of a Waikato war-party on their way to attack the island to secure some revenge for their defeat at Te Motu-nui. Te Rau-o-te-rangi's slave dreamed one night that the Waikato would succeed in killing her mistress; so the latter remained on her guard, and with the intention of leaving the island at the first opportunity. One evening the slave saw some canoes approaching; so Te Rau-o-te-rangi, taking her little daughter Ripeka on her back, went down to the water to swim across to the mainland and join her relatives there. She was first (says her daughter) submitted to the ritual observances of the old-time Maori, and all the necessary *karakias* repeated to ensure success in her undertaking, and to secure immunity from the dangers of the sea, such as sharks, *taniwhas*, etc. She would not take a canoe for fear it should be seen by the enemy; so started away with her little daughter on her back on her long swim, and battled against the waves with a brave heart, and finally succeeded in crossing the Straits, which at the narrowest part is over four miles wide, and where she landed at Te Uruhi (two miles south of Wai-kanae, near where a white man named Jenkins had his home) is somewhat more. Here she stayed until her husband (who was also a white man, then absent at Cloudy Bay) returned.

Much has been made of Hinemoa's swim to Mokoia Island, Rotorua,

but considering the rough waters and the danger from sharks, etc., Te Rau-o-te-rangi's swim was a much greater undertaking.

Te Matoha's uncle (Te Ra-ka-herea) married Waitohi, sister of Te Rau-paraha, and consequently, according to Maori custom, Te Rau-paraha was a great-uncle to Te Rau-o-te-rangi, who made this daring swim.

THE OHARIU MASSACRE.

1835.

The above massacre occurred about the year 1835, but it is difficult to fix the date exactly. The causes leading up to it were these: It will be remembered that the Mua-upoko people had treacherously killed several of Te Rau-paraha's children in 1822 at Papa-i-tonga (see Chapter XV.) Although abundant *utu* had been taken for these deaths, and the unfortunate tribe almost exterminated, the wily old chief still bore them bitter animosity; indeed, but for Te Whata-nui, probably none of them would at this time have remained alive. Ohariu is a little bay directly west of the city of Wellington, on the shores of Cook's Straits. At that time it was occupied by some of the Ati-Awa, Ngati-Tama, etc.; all of whom, however, shortly after this time, moved over to Port Nicholson and resided at Rau-rimu—a village that was situated just at the junction of Molesworth and Murphy Streets, Wellington. During their occupation of Ohariu, the noted Whanganui chiefs Te Mamaku and Pehi-Turoa, with some of their people, also resided there. But they could not have been present at the massacre.

I quote from Mr. Travers* the account of the massacre as my notes are deficient. "But it is clear, nevertheless, that although Te Rau-paraha refrained from directly molesting them (Mua-upoko) he was not unwilling to join in any indirect attempt to exterminate them, for we find on one occasion Wi Tako (of Ati-Awa) in conjunction with some of the Ngati-Toa chiefs—having been instigated by Te Rau-paraha to do so—invited the whole of Mua-upoko to a great feast to be held at Ohariu; upon some one of the numerous pretexts which the Maoris know so well how to use for engaging in festivities, it having been arranged beforehand that the guests should all be murdered and eaten. The bait took, notwithstanding the advice of Te Whata-nui, who, distrusting the reasons assigned for the festival, cautioned the Mua-upoko not to attend, predicting some disaster to them. Notwithstanding this caution, upwards of one hundred and fifty attended the festival, all of whom were slaughtered and their bodies

* *Loc. cit.*, p. 88.

duly consigned to the ovens; but this was the last great slaughter of the kind that took place."

Ngati-Tama was the tribe that took the most prominent part in this affair, and their head chief Te Puoho (whom we shall shortly have to deal with more particularly) was present. Though no doubt taking a principal part in the massacre, it is related of him that he endeavoured to save a number of unfortunate Mua-upoko, some of whom were related to his latest wife, who belonged to Mua-upoko. As a matter of fact he saved her brother Nga-whakawa, whose wonderful journey will be alluded to later on. Many of these murdered people were relatives of the celebrated Whanganui chief, Major Kēpa Te Rangi-hiwi-nui, our loyal ally in the Maori war, and whose mother was a Mua-upoko woman.

KAPARA-TE-HAU.

1835.

The date of the above event is difficult to fix exactly, but in all probability it was before the exodus to the Chatham Islands; old Paori Taki says it occurred at the end of January or beginning of February. It will be within the recollection of my readers that Te Rau-paraha had inflicted terrible punishments on the southern tribe Ngai-Tahu at Kai-koura, Omihi, Kai-apohia, Port Cooper, and Onawe at Akaroa, thereby naturally incurring the bitter animosity of that great tribe or tribes; which, as the visits of European traders became more frequent to the south of the South Island, were gradually acquiring arms and ammunition, and thereby placing themselves in a position to take the first opportunity of wiping out some of the defeats they had suffered. But over and above the general animosity prevailing against Ngati-Toa an incident occurred just at this time which accentuated this feeling, and when the time came, as it shortly did, Ngai-Tahu sprang to arms to avenge their wrongs. Just about this time a Ngai-Tahu man of some importance named Tu-mataueka (a great-uncle of T. Parata, M.P.) visited Kapiti in a whaleship, and whilst there was so seduced by the charms of the Ngati-Toa women that he swam ashore from the ship, where the local people, urged by the barbarism that then prevailed, killed him in cold blood. This was a murder, even according to Maori ideas, and demanded revenge at the earliest opportunity.

"About this time," says Judge Mackay,* "an apportionment of the land (of the north end of the South Island) was made amongst the

*As quoted in A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 120.

tribes who had assisted Te Rau-paraha and the Ngati-Toa in the conquest of the Middle Island. To the Ngati-Toa was apportioned land at Cloudy Bay and at Wairau,* and they settled with their chief Rawiri Puaha† at Te Awa-iti (in Tory Channel, then and afterwards a large whaling establishment), Queen Charlotte Sound; and some of Ngati-Toa with Ngati-Awa also settled in Pelorus Sound (Te Hoiere); and Ngati-Koata (of Ngati-Toa) with the tribes called Ngati-Haumia‡ and Ngati-Tu-mania settled at Rangitoto (D'Urville's Island). The country in the neighbourhood of Takaka and Ao-rere (west side of Tasman Bay) was occupied principally by Ngati-Rarua (of Ngati-Toa) and Ngati-Tama" (of Poutama, near Mokau).

Now Te Rau-paraha occasionally visited his tribesmen at Wairau and other parts, and one of these projected visits became known to Ngai-Tahu. They ascertained that a party of Ngati-Toa had already arrived at Kapara-te-hau (the lake some twelve miles south-east of Blenheim, called Grassmere) for the purpose of catching the young of the Paradise ducks, and that Te Rau-paraha was expected. Messengers were at once despatched from Kai-koura to the southern Ngai-Tahu to arouse the tribe, who responded in force. Old Paora Taki of Ngai-Tahu—then living at Kai-apohia, since dead—described what followed, at an interview I had with him in 1894. He was about eighty years old at that time, and had been one of the young warriors engaged in this affair. "Ngai-Tahu came in force one hundred and seventy *topu* (i.e., three hundred and forty) men in six canoes, which were all *waka-unua*, or double canoes capable of holding fifty to seventy paddlers each. The expedition started from Te Waka-raupo, or Port Cooper; the people there supplying two canoes, as also did each of the settlements at Akaroa and Kai-apohia. They came along up the coast as far as Wai-harakeke (seven miles south of Cape Campbell), where they went ashore and camped, sending on at once some scouts (about six or seven miles) to Kapara-te-hau to find out if Ngati-Toa were to be seen. The scouts arrived at an opportune moment, for they beheld several canoes approaching from the direction of Port Underwood. Hastening back to the main body with all speed they made their report, on which the whole force arose and travelled across to the outlet of the lake where it runs into the sea at Te Paruparu, and here, hiding amongst the tall flax bushes, they laid in

* Now the site of Blenheim.

† Not to be confounded with Te Puoho, as Mr. Travers has often done.

‡ Probably the Ngati-Toa sub-tribe, the full name of which is Ngati-Haumia-whakatere-taniwha, so called to distinguish it from Ngati-Haumia of Ati-Awa.

ambush for Ngati-Toa. They waited until most of the latter were ashore and then fell on the astonished Ngati-Toa, and succeeded in killing a number of them (three hundred, says Paora, but no doubt this is an exaggeration), whilst only forty escaped by swimming to some of the canoes that were still afloat. Old Paora himself caught the *mata-ngohi*, or first victim, a woman of Ngati-Kahu-ngunu who was with Ngati-Toa, but he spared her life. Amongst those who escaped was Te Rau-paraha; he was seized by the flax cloak he wore by one of Ngai-Tahu, but by a violent effort he burst the strings of his garment, leaving it in the hands of his would-be captor, and dashing into the water swam off to a boat which formed part of the fleet, but finding it full he dived off and got into one of the canoes, and so escaped with the others. It is related that finding the canoe already full, he threw one of the crew overboard to make room for himself.

The principal chief of Ngai-Tahu engaged in this affair was Iwi-kau, and the others were: Karaki (or Nga-rangi), father of Matiaha; Te Rangi-a-moa, Noho-mutu, Te Ngaro-whakatomo, Kuau (father of Harutu), Kahu-tua-nui, Katata (Ngatata), Tu-auau, Tangata-hara, Tama-nui-a-rangi (father of Paratene), Kai-nawe, Tu-te-hou-nuku, and Hara-nui. The principal persons of Ngati-Toa killed were: Te Ara-hore, Te Tuki (killed by Tu-te-hou-nuku), Te Rangi-angaanga-nui (killed by Hui-te-ketekete), and Rangi-tara-whanga (wife of Te Tipi)."

Tāre Wetere Te Kahu also refers to the above incident in his paper published in *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. X., p. 98, which is practically a repetition of that of old Paora Taki's given above. But the former adds the names of the Ngai-Tahu *hapus* engaged, as follows:—Ngati-Kuri of Te Rua-hikihiki, Ngati-Moki, Ngati-Pahi, and Ngati-Tuāhu-riri; and gives the following names of chiefs not mentioned by Paora:—Tu-hawaiki, Paitu, Makere, Haere-roa, Karetai, Paora Te Koea, and Tirā-kapiti. No doubt these were the chiefs of the most southerly contingent, and consequently most interested in securing *utu* for the death of Tu-mataueka, killed by Ngati-Toa at Kapiti—see *ante*.

O-RAUMOA.

After the flight of Ngati-Toa, the Ngai-Tahu forces hastened back to Wai-harakeke, where they had left their canoes, and launching them, immediately came on to the north past Cape Campbell (Te Karaka), and then made all possible haste after Te Rau-paraha's party, which had gone into Port Underwood (Native name, Whanganui and Kakata), a distance of over thirty miles from Cape Campbell. It

was the morning after Te Rau-paraha's escape that the Ngai-Tahu force, flushed with victory, landed at the head of the harbour and found that Ngati-Toa had only just left by the old native track that led over the ridge by O-raumoa to Opuā, at the head of Anapua, a bay on the Tory Channel. The pursuers at once gave chase and came up with Ngati-Toa posted on the ridge, when a battle immediately ensued, which ended in Ngati-Toa having to retreat to the shores of Anapua, Tory Channel. From here Te Rau-paraha either crossed himself or sent messengers over the straits to Port Nicholson for help. In response two very large canoes, manned by a number of Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Rau-kawa, Ati-Awa, and Ngati-Mutunga, crossed over to the help of the others in Tory Channel. Thus strengthened, the allies proceeded to attack Ngai-Tahu, which tribe were apparently still occupying the ridge at O-raumoa, and a series of fights took place. Ngati-Mutunga, on one occasion, made a dashing charge led by Te Kaurapa (brother of Raumoa), but were badly beaten by Ngai-Tahu, who killed the leader of the charge. Tu-te-hou-muku (son of Tama-i-hara-nui, who had been so barbarously killed by Te Pehi-kupe's wives, see Chapter XVI.) was the leader of Ngai-Tahu in this affair, and their *ngeri*, or war-song, commences with, "*E! Ka tete te kakariki! i, i, i, e, ia!*" for which I am indebted to Mr. Shand. Old Watene Taungatara of Ati-Awa told me that Ngai-Tahu were greatly elated at this defeat of Ngati-Mutunga, and said, "We thought this was a tribe of warriors, but now we see they are not so."

Paora Taki says that after the defeat of Ngati-Mutunga they and Ngati-Toa retreated to a bay (Anapua, on the shores of Tory Channel) where the opposing parties occupied the two ends of the beach, and were followed by Ngai-Tahu, and several fights occurred there. He adds that Ngati-Toa and their allies numbered four hundred fighting men, all armed with muskets, whilst his party had only thirty blunderbusses. Tāre Wetere says, "This was a great battle—Ngai-Tahu at one end of the beach, Ngati-Toa, Ngati-Rau-kawa, Ngati-Rarua, and Ngati-Mutunga at the other, just over a point. There they fought and Ngai-Tahu killed many chiefs of the allies, Ngati-Mutunga suffering especially. Very many on Te Rau-paraha's side were killed—one authority says seventy men—but very few on that of Ngai-Tahu. When the powder and ball of Ngai-Tahu were exhausted they concluded to retire, but were pursued by Te Rau-paraha. This was at night. After reaching Port Underwood they took to their canoes, and at daylight the pursuers were seen following in their canoes. The Ngai-Tahu canoes were now put about with the intention of fighting the enemy at sea, but when Ngati-Toa saw this movement

they were afraid; they turned about and fled to their own district of Kapiti, and Ngai-Tahu returned home, which ended the campaign.”*

As Ngai-Tahu passed round Cape Campbell the sea was very rough, and one of the canoes capsized, when Tu-te-hou-nuku (already referred to) was drowned. Then followed an incident peculiarly Maori. When the fleet arrived at Kai-koura some of the relatives of the drowned man set upon the crew who had escaped and killed several as *utu* for the loss of their chief. This is a peculiar law and has often been recorded, not only of Maoris but of other Polynesians.

There is an incident connected with these fights which I have found very difficult to place in its proper position—I quote it below, from Mr. Shand (Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. I., p. 94). Watene Taungatara, a reliable authority on Ati-Awa history, says it occurred soon after the defeat of Ngati-Mutunga at O-raumoa, and if so, it is probable Ngati-Toa and their allies followed up Ngai-Tahu beyond Cape Campbell. He says, “The combined forces returned across Cook’s Straits at once to attack Ngai-Tahu.” (This was after Te Rau-paraha had escaped from Kapara-te-hau and the fight on O-raumoa ridge.) “On landing in the darkness at Wai-harakeke (seven miles south of Cape Campbell) they were so eager to attack the Ngai-Tahu that some of the Ngati-Mutunga—Te Whare-pa, Riwai, Tau-pata, Mohi Nga-waina, and many others—together with the people of other tribes, took the wrong track in the darkness, luckily for Ngai-Tahu, who, finding their enemies were in force, began to wail aloud in prospect of to-morrow. The attacking party heard them distinctly but were unable to get at them till day dawned. Meanwhile the Ngai-Tahu managed to get away silently in their canoes, which apparently, in the darkness, had not been perceived by Te Rau-paraha’s party, and made good their escape, the attacking party finding only the ashes of their fires early in the morning.”

Judge Mackay also says (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 121. , “After procuring reinforcements, Ngati-Toa started in pursuit of the Ngai-Tahu, whom they came up with at Wai-harakeke, where a fight ensued, the Ngai-Tahu getting the worst of it. The Ngai-Tahu say they gained the victory, and that not only was this attack unavenged, but on a subsequent occasion they successfully conducted an expedition against Ngati-Toa in the neighbourhood of Port Underwood, where a number of that tribe were killed, whose deaths have never been avenged,” etc. etc.

For the final expedition of Ngai-Tahu to Queen Charlotte Sound,

* Journal Polynesian Society, Vol. X., p. 90.

readers are referred to *Journal Polynesian Society*, Vol. X., p. 99. Nothing, however, came of it, and not very long after a formal peace was made between Ngai-Tahu and Ngati-Toa, which has not since been broken. During this last expedition Taiaroa, the well-known chief of Otago, separated from the main body and proceeded to kill all the Rangi-tane people he could find in the Wairau Valley. Twenty people were captured by him; of these, five men, four women, and two children were killed, the others enslaved, whilst many others were driven away inland. These latter remained in hiding in the mountains for many years, and it was not until 1841 that the survivors, some ten or twelve in all, were found living at the head of the Wairau gorge. They were brought out to the coast by some of their own people, for by this time the white man had settled on the shores of Cook's Straits, and they were no longer in danger of their lives.*

TE PUOHO'S WEST COAST (SOUTH ISLAND) RAID AND HIS DEATH.

1836.

Te Puoho was at this period the head chief of the Ngati-Tama tribe, whose home, it will be remembered, was originally in the Pou-tama country directly south of Mokau, but through the fortunes of war they had to abandon their country, and were, about 1835, living at Port Nicholson, Massacre Bay, and other places at the north end of the South Island. We last met Te Puoho at the Ohariu massacre, described a few pages back. From there he had apparently, in the summer of 1835, gone to live with his fellow tribesmen at Te Taitapu, Massacre Bay; for, so far as can be ascertained, he was not at Port Nicholson when the rest of the tribe left for the Chatham Islands at the end of 1835.

But before relating the expedition which led to his death, I will insert here his pedigree, as supplied by Hanikama Te Hiko to the Native Land Court, presided over by Judge H. Dunbar Johnson, through whose civility I am enabled to print it. It is important as the only one yet published showing a direct descent from one of the crew

TABLE No. LVI.

25 Tiotio

Kinokino

Tama-te-iho-rangi

Rua-puroa

Hape

of the "Tokomaru" canoe that came from Hawaiki to New Zealand about 1350, or, as we have now reason to believe, possibly a hundred years prior to that date. Exception was taken recently to the statement in Chapter VII. hereof, under

* Told to me by the late John Tinline.

- 20 Hapa
 Rakei-koko
 Rakei-whane
 Rakei-uru-ao
Tama-hou-moa *
- 15 Tama-kai-hau
 Te Koko
 Hikawera
 Tama-nui-te-ra
 Poro
- 10 Nga-tai-kato
 Whanga-taki
 Te Mahuru
 Te Uru-o-Tu
 Whanga-taki = Hine-wairoro
- 5 Te Puoho
 Wi Katene
 Huria Matenga

the heading "Ngati-Tama," that this tribe derives its name from Tama-ihutoroa of Te Arawa tribe, and Tama-hou-moa, shown in the marginal table, was declared to be the eponymous ancestor. I have three very good authorities for my statement, amongst them a very old man of the Ngati-Tama tribe itself, so without further evidence I am not disposed to withdraw the statement in Chapter VII. The lady shown last on the table was the wife of Hare Matenga; she is commonly called the New Zealand "Grace Darling" from her bravery in saving the crew of a wrecked vessel some years ago. She died in April, 1909.

There are naturally but few particulars of Te Puoho's celebrated raid, for only four persons survived it. It is said to have consisted of a hundred fighting men and some women of Ngati-Tama and Ngati-Mutunga of Ati-Awa. They travelled from Massacre Bay by the terribly rough country of the West Coast of the South Island as far as the Mawhera, or Grey River, where they fell in with some of their own tribe, under Niho, who, after his raid down this coast in 1828, had settled down there. From some notes gathered from the old Maoris living at Makawhio, in South Westland, by Mr. G. T. Roberts, late Chief Surveyor of that district, I cull the following brief particulars of Te Puoho's doings on that coast. It appears that Niho was living at Patu-rau—some five miles south of West Whanganui Harbour—when Te Puoho was arranging his expedition, and evidently fearing that the Poutini-Ngai-Tahu of Westland, who were then under Niho's protection, would suffer at Te Puoho's hands, Niho hastened on to the Grey River, where most of the people were then living and with whom he himself had settled. He built two fortified *pas*, one at the south spit, Hokitika River, called Mahina-pua; the other at the south side of the Mawhera, or Grey River, at a place named Ka-moana-e-rua. On Te Puoho's arrival he wanted to fight with Tuhuru (who had been a prisoner to Niho on the latter's first expedition to these parts, as related in Chapter XVI.), but

* Tama-hou-moa, from whom Ngati-Tama are said to take their tribal name. He had two other sons, Raroa and Ueha.

Niho prevented it and would not even allow Te Puoho's party to enter his *pas*. Te Puoho had over a hundred men, Niho over two hundred.

After a short stay, and being reinforced by some of Niho's people, Te Puoho continued his march as far south as Awarua, over two hundred miles in a straight line from the Grey River, and very much longer by the sinuosities of the tracks and coast-line they would have to follow. The few Ngai-Tahu Natives inhabiting the extreme south part of that coast no doubt suffered from this hostile incursion in the usual manner, but there are no details extant. From Awarua the party returned on their tracks, and then from the Haast River Te Puoho took advantage of an old Native track then existing to cross the Southern Alps into the head of the Makarore (wrongly called on the maps Makarora) River, down which and along the eastern shores of Lake Wanaka he passed to the narrow neck of land between that lake and that of Hawea, about half way up Lake Wanaka. Here the expedition first came in contact with the East Coast Ngai-Tahu, for at this place a few families were then living—probably engaged in fowling, for I think no Maoris ever lived there permanently—some of whom were killed, others taken prisoners. "Amongst the prisoners," says Judge Mackay (A.H.M., Vol. VI., p. 117) "was a boy, the son of the chief person of the place, whose name was Te Raki. The father with his two wives and other members of the family were then on the banks of Lake Hawea (the isthmus separating the two lakes is only about two miles wide here). To secure them and prevent the possibility of the news of their proceedings reaching the ears of the rest of the tribe, they sent two of their party with the boy as a guide; but he contrived to prevent his father being taken unawares, and the latter, a powerful and determined fellow, killed both the men sent against him, and escaped with his family."

For a good deal that follows I am indebted to Mr. Justice Chapman, who has sent me his notes on Te Puoho's expedition taken some years ago. "Rawiri Te Maire's narrative of the march of Te Puoho through Otago. Rawiri was older than Tāre Wetere Te Kāhu" (who has more than once been mentioned in this narrative, and who was a learned man of Waitaki, South Canterbury), "whom I once proved in the Native Land Court to have been born about 1820, as he took part in the fights against Te Rau-paraha at O-raumoa in about 1835" (see *ante*) "when he was not big enough to carry a Brown Bess musket, but used a smaller gun."

"Rawiri says, 'When I was a boy I lived with my father and my people at Lake Hawea. We fled from that place and came down the Waitaki River to the sea, and never returned.' (See this route depicted

on the map forming the frontispiece to Dr. Shortland's Southern Districts of New Zealand, 1851.) 'We all fled from Te Puoho, who had come over from the West Coast and captured several people at Lake Wanaka. A boy named Puku-haruru escaped and brought the news over to Lake Hawea. He was roaming about when he discovered Te Puoho's party. The latter sent one of his warriors with the boy, whom Puku-haruru managed to kill,* and then got away to Hawea with the news that the Wanaka people had all been taken at Makarore. Te Puoho had about a hundred men with him. These are the names of the people he captured at Lake Wanaka; there were ten of them:—Whakariharia, Omaeke, Te Kohu-tu, Whakaetieti, Puna-i-ere, Pitaka, Pirimuna-mai-waho, and two children, who were killed and eaten.' "

Mr. Roberts' old Maori informants supply a variant to this story as follows, though it appears rather to mix up two events:—"Te Puoho went over the Haast Pass to Lake Wanaka, where he met a lot of the Otago Maoris who had come there to catch eels. Te Puoho took two children, a boy and a girl, killed, roasted, and then ate them! When the mother saw this she cried and tore her clothes, and went away to collect men to kill Te Puoho. They had also taken some of the people as slaves, amongst them two brothers, and these men were sent out with four of Te Puoho's party to catch eels. Having succeeded they made an oven to cook them in, and just at this time one of the brothers made a sign to the other, and then they fell on Te Puoho's men, killing three of them, the other escaping back to his own people. The two brothers then made their way down country and gave the alarm."

To continue Judge Chapman's account:—"These were all taken at Makarore. From Taki-karara (which was the name of a settlement in Roy's Bay, then finally abandoned, so Topi told me—it was the principal settlement) were taken Te Mohene, Te Ao-tukia, Tia-tira (a woman), Pinaua, and Hine-te-kohu-raki (a woman). It was these people who showed Te Puoho the way to the south; they are now all dead [but], their families still live in the south: the Freemans at Waihao; one at Stewart's Island, Mrs. Brown (Kutia). You are wrong in thinking that Rakiraki was there; he had left a year before. It was his brother who was there.†

"From Lake Wanaka Te Puoho, with all his people and his

* The part of the narrative about killing this man was obscurely translated. The version Mr. Percy Smith has is probably more explicit. F.R.C. (See note below from Mr. Roberts.)

† This referred to a statement I had heard that one of the fugitives was a well-known man, then still alive, commonly known as Lakitap (Raki-tapu), who lived at Port Molyneux, about whom many myths had gathered. F.R.C.

prisoners, marched up the stream called Orau (Cardrona). Tara-puta (Mount Pisa) is the mountain on the left or east side of the Orau stream. From there they went up the mountain called Tititea, a name which is given to the whole of the range east of Lake Whakatipu and round by the head of the Shotover River to Lake Wanaka. Thence they followed the stream, also called Tititea (Kirtle Burn), to the Kawareu River, forming the outlet to Lake Whakatipu. After crossing the Kawareu they followed the course of the stream called Papa-pūni (The Nevis), which comes down from the south at the back of the Kawareu Mountains (The Remarkables). It is wrong to say they went down the Molyneux by means of rafts of flax stems—*mokihis*' (as narrated by Mr. Shortland, *loc. cit.*) ; 'they never went down that valley. From Papa-pūni they went across the south end of the Kawareu mountains and down to the flat called Takere-haka, at the south end of Lake Whakatipu, where Kingston now is. From there they went down the valley (where the railway now runs) to the Mataura River, and followed that river down to Pukerau.' "

The above agrees almost exactly with the route described to me by T. Parata, M.P., and others, a few years ago, and although a very rough road to travel, is not so impracticable as that down the Clutha, as described by Dr. Shortland in the work quoted above.

Judge Chapman continues: "T. Parata supplied me with the following information as to the march of Te Puoho and party down the Mataura (from information presumably gathered from one of Te Puoho's wives, who was alive at Timaru in 1865). When the party came to Whakaea (wrongly called on the maps Waikaia) they surprised an eeling party of Ngai-Tahu, twelve in number, just at the junction of that stream with the Mataura. Not one of them was killed, they were all taken along by the *taua*. These people had accumulated an immense stock of eels, which now provisioned the whole party."

Up to this time the party had been nearly starved, the principal food being the so-called wild cabbage, or *korau*, the *ti* roots, and a few *wekas*, and were so reduced that when they sat down to rest, with light loads on their backs, they had difficulty in getting up again.

Whilst camped at Whakaea, one of the elderly men of the party wandered away in search of food and never returned to his companions, who were too weak to go in search of him. In 1863 a shepherd found near here the skeleton of a man with a *taiaha* along side of him. This was told to Mr. Parata by the shepherd, and he afterwards found out from one of the Ngati-Tama prisoners named Pete Patu-rau, who had been saved at the Tukurau massacre by a young man of Ngai-Tahu and afterwards became his wife, that these were the remains of the

wanderer, who would be known by the *taiaha*. It is said this woman was one of Te Puoho's wives; she lived at Moeraki for many years and had children by her husband—no doubt the same woman mentioned by Judge Chapman above.

Not far from the place where the *taua* camped, and a little lower down the Waimea Plain, was, in former days, a thicket of *korokiu* shrubs of a size sufficient to make a shelter for camping. The Ngai-Tahu used to frequent this part occasionally for the catching of birds and eels, etc. As Te Puoho's party came in sight of this place, they saw smoke ascending. Carefully concealing their movements they approached and suddenly rushed the place, capturing a number of the people, as related by Judge Chapman *supra*. But the *taua* made the mistake, or were unfortunate enough, not to secure the whole of the Ngai-Tahu party, for some escaped, and after warning the people living at Tutarau, then a Ngai-Tahu village, sped on to Awarua (the Bluff Harbour), and thence crossing part of Foveaux Straits to Rua-puke Island, where the high chiefs of Ngai-Tahu were living, gave the alarm of a war-party being in their territories.

In the meantime Te Puoho and his party had occupied the Tutarau village (about four miles south of the modern town of Gore, on the Mataka), and were resting after their most arduous journey from the north. Immediately the news reached Rua-puke, an armed party at once started in boats, under the chiefs Tu-hawaiki, Haere-roa, Takata-kino, Mahere, Tawhiri, Topi-Patuki, Taiaroa, Hape, and Whaitiri—all well armed with muskets. After crossing from the island, with the utmost speed they traversed the thirty-five miles of open country of the Mataka Valley that lay between the mouth of the river and Tutarau. Ngai-Tahu attacked the *taua* at night. Te Puoho and his two wives were sleeping in the verandah of the principal house of the place, and he and one of the women were the first to be shot. A massacre now ensued, and the whole party, excepting Wahapiro, a nephew of Te Puoho's, Nga-whakawa, his brother-in-law, the woman Patu-rau, and a man named Parau, or Whareiti, were killed.

Wahapiro remained many years a prisoner with Ngai-Tahu, but Judge Chapman adds, "I have somewhere heard or read that some of the white whalers joined the Ngai-Tahu party from Rua-puke that attacked Te Puoho at Pukerau (Tutarau). I asked those about me when the story was told me at Wai-kouaiti what year that was. A voice from the crowd answered in excellent English 'It was 1836.' 'How do you know?' 'Because I am the man who shot Te Puoho.' This answer came from Topi-Patuki, who assured me that he shot Te Puoho with his own gun. Others said it was the year of the plague

(measles) that Te Puoho's party were destroyed, all except a few men and women who were captured." After the peace made between that people and Te Rau-paraha, Wahapiro was returned to his tribe. The fate of the woman has already been told. Te Puoho lost here a brother named Rangi-taka-roro (?)^{*} It is said that Taïaroa wished to save some of the Ngati-Mutunga with the *taua*, because his life had been saved at Kai-apohia—see Chapter XVIII.—but he was not allowed to do so. Thus ended in disaster this ill-advised expedition, which must have caused a great deal of suffering, hardship, and starvation to its members for no result whatever. It really was a very wonderful undertaking considering the terrible country the *taua* had to pass through, and has not been equalled by any other in Maori history.

Nga-whakawa, Te Puoho's brother-in-law (whose life had been spared at the Ohariu massacre, see *ante*), escaped in the darkness at the time of the massacre at Tutarau. His was a most unenviable position. A distance of nearly five hundred miles in a straight line separated him from his own people, the intermediate country being occupied by tribes bitterly hostile to his tribe, and who would welcome with joy an opportunity of sacrificing him. But, notwithstanding the exceeding difficulties that lay in his path, this brave fellow decided to try and rejoin his relatives at Massacre Bay at the extreme north end of the South Island. How long this arduous journey took, I know not, but it must have been months. He dare not keep near the East Coast which was inhabited by his enemies, but had to follow the base of the mountains inland, seeking his sustenance in roots of the fern, which is very scarce, and of the *taramea* (or spear grass), occasionally snaring a *weka* or other bird. So he made his toilsome way by mountain and valley, swimming the snow-cold rivers, ever on the alert for signs of wandering parties of his enemies, only lighting fires after dark by the arduous process of *hika-ahi*, or by rubbing two sticks together, enduring cold, fatigue, and hunger, until, after making one of the most extraordinary journeys on record, at last he reached the home of his people at Parapara, Massacre Bay. Here he was the first to bring news of the disaster that had befallen Te Puoho and his companions. The daughter of this man, born after his return, named Ema Nga-whakawa, was still living at Manawatu a few years since.

One of the other escapees at the Tutarau massacre, named Parau, managed to escape from Ngai-Tahu on board a vessel by aid of some white people, and finally reached his friends at Port Nicholson.

^{*} So in my notes, but they are not clear, however, and Arch. Henry Williams says in his diary that he saw Rangi-taka-roro at Manga, a *pa* opposite Mana Island, 15th November, 1839.

On the arrival of Nga-whakawa at Massacre Bay, great was the lamentation of the relatives for the loss of Te Puoho and his party. It was determined at once to attempt revenge, and for that purpose a hundred armed men started from Massacre Bay, travelling by the East Coast; but on arrival at Port Underwood, the Ngati-Toa prevailed on the party to return, for peace had then been made with Ngai-Tahu.

Judge Chapman also supplies the following :—"From T. Parata I heard a curious story. Te Puoho told his friends he had heard that the people of the south were a soft people. He built an immensely strong stockade like a cattle-yard at the place where he lived in the Nelson district—which has been located by Mr. Percy Smith—at Paturau, see *ante*). He said he was going to capture a lot of those southern people, yard them there, and use them as cattle. It is a remarkable confirmation of this story that, notwithstanding the fact of his people starving, he killed none of his prisoners for food except the two children at Lake Wanaka. He must have known of the practice of the greenstone raiders in using their prisoners as beasts of burden and cattle, as an army uses its horses.

"I had a curious narrative of the fate of a few prisoners from Tāre Wetere Te Kāhu. It is too remote from this subject of the History of the West Coast to give it here; it is sufficient to say that the prisoners were taken to Rua-puke Island, in Foveaux Straits, whence some were later removed to Stewart's Island. Thus the movement, which began with the march of Tamati Waka Nene (and Tu-whare in 1819-20, see Chapter XII.) to Kawhia in the north, died out at the remotest end of the South Island of New Zealand."

Te Puoho-o-te-rangi (which is his full name) had several wives, the second was named Kauhoe (of Ngati-Hine-tuhi *hapu* of Ngati-Mutunga), and on his death she composed the following lament for him :—

Tuatia au E Kio',
 Kei hoki mai to wairua,
 E whakapu mai ra nga tai ki Pa-kawau,
 Me tangi atu-i, he tira koroi-rangi,
 Kua tu nga tohu raia o Poua—i,
 Tenei te pipi te takoto nei,
 He haehae noa i te rae,
 Me tangi marire te tane,
 I te whare ra i hanga ai koe—i,
 I to whakapiringa i nga kakaho,
 I hau-patua iho ki nga kiri,
 E ngaro ana i a Te Waha-piro,
 E tu ana i a Nga-manu—i,

E piki ana i a Te Mate-whitu,
E kopa ana ia Nga-kono.

E ! ma Te Teke e aukaha mai,
Ma Tungia, ma Te Huā—i,
Ma Kai-apohia e whakanoho
Mai te whakarei ;
Ma Te 'Paraha e whakatu,
Mai te toiere—i.

Whakarewaina ra " Tainui,"
Whakarewaina ra " Te Arawa "—i,
Whakarewaina ra " Toko-maru "
" Mata-houra " ra ki te wai,
Kia rewa 'Rau-kawa, 'Whakatere,
Hei kawē i a koe ki Pare-mata—i,
Ma to nui e taupoki nga whakakoki,
Ki Taiari ra—i.

TRANSLATION.

(In vain) those southern rats¹ with incantations,
Prevent thy spirit from returning to me,
As I lie in a heap by the tides of Pa-kawau,²
Lamenting thee as one of a spirit band.
For the omens of Poua³ have been fulfilled.
Here lie the sharp-edged pipi shells,
To score my forehead with deep gashes,
Whilst I lament my beloved spouse,
Disconsolately looking at thy home,
With its seried rows of lining reeds,
They strike on my feelings with full force.
Thou art lost together with Te Wahapiro ;⁴
Thou didst climb up with Te Mate-whitu
And passed away with Nga-kopa.

O ! Te Teke shall prepare the canoe of revenge,
Tungia⁵ and Te Huā shall render help,
The men of Kai-apohia shall occupy
The stern of the canoe of revenge,
With Te Rau-paraha standing in the bow.

Launch forth the canoe " Tainui " !⁶
Launch forth the canoe " Te Arawa " !⁶
Launch forth the canoe " Toku-maru " !⁶
And " Mata-hourua " ⁶ drag down to the sea.

Let Ngati-Rau-kawa and Ngati-Whakatere arise,
 To carry thee on to Pare-mata,
 And by thy greatness overcome
 The turns and twists in Taiari⁷ River.

NOTES.—1. The composer depreciates Ngai-Tahu by calling them rats. 2. Pa-kawau is at Massacre Bay. 3. I can only suggest that this is Poua, of the "saying", *Kia mahaki ano te kauae o Poua!* 4. Te Wahapiro, taken prisoner when Te Puoho was killed. 5. Tungia of Ngati-Toa, who, with others named in the next three lines, is called on to avenge Te Puoho's death. 6. Four celebrated ancestral canoes here used for the descendants of their crews, who are called on to avenge the loss, Te Puoho being connected with all of them. 7. Is the river now called Taiari, south of Dunedin.

THE MIGRATION TO THE CHATHAM ISLANDS.

To preserve the continuity of this history, a few words about the great migration of some of the Ati-Awa tribes to the Chatham Islands will be said, but it is unnecessary to repeat the detail connected therewith, as it has already been given with considerable minuteness by Mr. A. Shand in Vol. I. of the Journal of the Polynesian Society.

The unrest that consumed the exile tribes at about this period (1835-36) has been referred to, and the Ngati-Tama, Ngati-Mutunga, and other branches of Ati-Awa living at Port Nicholson at that time were as much, or more, affected by this feeling than any others. In the end of 1835, indeed, these tribes, according to the oft-quoted Rangi-pito, were preparing for an exodus to the South Island, and had collected from the Ngati-Kahu-ngunu and other tribes a number of fine canoes in which to make their descent on that island. They were very nearly ready to start when one of their own people named Paki-whara returned to Port Nicholson from a whaling cruise, in which he had visited the Chatham Islands, as related by Mr. Shand. It was then decided by the people to abandon the South Island scheme and instead proceed to the conquest of those islands, as it seemed an undertaking much easier of accomplishment against an unwarlike people as the Morioris were, than against the Ngai-Tahu, who were rapidly acquiring arms, and had so recently proved themselves capable of using them at O-raumoa and other places.

It is clear to me that at this date—end of 1835—the news of Te Puoho's disaster had not reached Port Nicholson, where the bulk of his tribe, Ngati-Tama, were living, or they would have taken means to avenge his death.

The arrival of the brig "Rodney,"* of Sydney, at Port Nicholson

* Mr. Shand, in his account quoted, seems to have been under some slight doubt as to whether Harewood was the commander of the vessel, but Dr. Lang confirms it in his "New Zealand in 1839," as also does Mr. R. McNab in his "Murihiku," p. 434 (edition of 1909), where Harewood's narrative is given; but the date "28th January, 1838," should read "1836," as Mr. McNab informs me.

on the 26th October, 1835, offered the opportunity the Natives were waiting for, and they consequently seized her and sailed on the 14th November with about five hundred souls, belonging to Ngati-Mutunga, Ngati-Tama, and Ngati-Haumia (of the Taranaki tribe). This first expedition arrived at Whangatete, Chatham Islands, on the 14th November. Rangi-pito says, that before the brig returned for the second party, the Maoris killed a black man they found there and offered his body as a sacrifice to the gods to ensure a successful issue to the second voyage. The "Rodney" reached Port Nicholson on the 23rd November, and left again for the Chathams on the 30th November, 1835, taking the seven large canoes already referred to, together with a number of people estimated at four hundred souls, belonging to the Ngati-Mutunga, Kekerewai, Ngati-Tama, and Ngati-Haumia tribes. She arrived at her destination on 5th December, 1835.

It is not proposed to follow the fortunes of these branches of the Taranaki tribes any further, more than to state that most of them then alive returned to their old homes in Taranaki in the year 1868, where they are now settled. Mr. Shand, in the publication quoted, has given full particulars of their doings at the Chatham Islands, a record which is well worth perusal.

TE KUITITANGA.

1839.

From the date of the departure of Ati-Awa and Ngati-Tama in 1835 until 1839 there is little to record of the doings of those tribes left at Port Nicholson, Kapiti, and the adjacent parts. The conquest by the Taranaki and Ngati-Toa tribes of the shores of Cook's Straits was by this time complete. Any ideas of extending his conquests to other parts of the South Island that, it is said, had been entertained by Te Rau-paraha and his allies, were abandoned after the defeat inflicted on them by Ngai-Tahu at O-raumoa and other places. It is perhaps strange, in Mr. Travers "Life and Times of Te Rau-paraha," he makes no mention of the reverses suffered by Ngati-Toa and their allies at the hand of Ngai-Tahu. But, although he was writing of Te Rau-paraha especially, Mr. Travers was much too fair-minded a man to have ignored these defeats, had he been acquainted with them. The fact probably is that his informants, all of whom apparently were members of the Ngati-Toa or some other of their allies, slurred over or failed, in their tribal pride, to mention the matter at all. Mr. Travers says (*loc. cit.*, p. 89): "I do not think it necessary to refer in any detail to the events which took place between the Horo-whenua (read Hao-whenua) war

and the arrival of the 'Tory' with Colonel Wakefield in 1839. On the 16th November* in that year the ship reached Kapiti, and Colonel Wakefield was informed that a sanguinary battle had just been fought near Wai-kanae on that morning between large forces of Ngati-Awa on the one side and of Ngati-Rau-kawa on the other. This fight is commonly known as the Kirititonga (here read Te Kuititanga), and was caused by the renewal, at the funeral obsequies of Te Rau-paraha's sister Wai-tohi, of the land feuds between the two tribes."

When the exodus took place to the Chatham Islands at the end of 1835 many of the Natives were left behind at Port Nicholson. The Taranaki tribe were, in 1839, living at Te Aro *pa* (near where Te Aro Railway Station is now), and some of them were becoming Christianised through the efforts of some Native teachers, amongst whom were Matahu, who had been instructed at Paihia,† and Minarapa, of the Nga-Mahanga *hapu* of Taranaki (whose portrait will be seen in Plate No. 3 hereof, Chapter II.), who had also been to the north, and had been taught (I believe) by the Wesleyan mission. Minarapa was the father of Te Kahui, one of my authorities for this narrative, from whose written statement I take some of the incidents of this period. Te Kahui says, "At this period belief in Christianity was spreading along the coast from Port Nicholson, but had not obtained much hold as yet with those dwelling at Kapiti and the adjacent mainland. Minarapa came from Nga-Puhi at that time and brought Christianity to Port Nicholson, where he and his European friends (the Revs. Messrs. Bumby and Hobbs) built a church at Te Aro. It was a large building on one side of the stream at Te Aro; on the other side was the Maori *pa* occupied by the Taranaki people. The missionaries bought the land on which the church stood for eighty blankets, one cask of tobacco, one box of shirts, and one cask of powder" (*sic.*, but I doubt the powder). "The vendors were Minarapa's own people, the Taranaki people. There were perhaps three acres in this site, which extended down to the shore of the harbour. The church was built in June, 1839, and about six months afterwards came the news of the trouble between Te Ati-Awa and Ngati-Rau-kawa at Wai-kanae. Messengers came to the Taranaki people at Te Aro to ask them to proceed to Wai-kanae on account of the killing of some of Ngati-Rua-nui at Whanganui by Ngati-Rau-kawa. . . . The cause of this trouble was the death of some of Ngati-Rua-nui who were building a house at Whanganui, when a party of Ngati-Rau-kawa came to stop them, and a fight ensued. The chiefs of the former

* See note at end of Chapter—it should be October.

† Life of Henry Williams, Archdeacon of Waimate. By Hugh Carleton, Vol. I., p. 213. Auckland: Upton and Co., 1874.

tribe killed were Te Pu-takarua, Te Matoe, and Te Hau-maringi, and many were taken as slaves—men, women, and children.” (I am doubtful if Te Kahui is right as to the locality—it probably was within the Ngati-Rau-kawa territories, north of Otaki, that some of Ngati-Rua-nui had occupied.)

“ When the news reached Ati-Awa, Taranaki, and Ngati-Rua-nui, who were then living at Wai-kanae, they all assembled under their chiefs Rere-tawangawanga, Te Manu-tohe-roa, W. K. Te Rangi-take, Paora Kukutai, Te Hiko-o-te-rangi, besides many younger chiefs, when they decided to send their teacher Minarapa to demand the prisoners from Ngati-Rau-kawa. So Minarapa was sent for; he was quite willing to go and try to mediate, and with him went the Taranaki people of Te Aro. On their arrival at Wai-kanae, a meeting was held, and it was decided to try peaceful measures, and Minarapa undertook to negotiate. He proceeded to a village of the Ngati-Rau-kawa, where lived a man named Ruru, who was a man of peace and much desired to adopt Christianity. Ruru consented to accompany him, and then they both went on to the Ngati-Rau-kawa *pa* at Kuku-tauaki (about four miles south of Otaki. Kuku-tauaki was the boundary dividing the lands of Ngati-Rau-kawa and Ati-Awa, see Chapter XIX.) Here they found a meeting going on, and Nga-kuku, one of the senior chiefs of Ngati-Rau-kawa, was inciting the people to make war on Ati-Awa. Turning to Ruru he said, ‘ Who is thy friend ?’ Ruru replied, ‘ He is from Taranaki; he is a minister.’ ‘ What has he come for ?’ said the first. Ruru returned, ‘ He has come to take back the prisoners!’ Nga-kuku, with anger, exclaimed, ‘ Look at my guns! Look at my *taiahas*! Can the prisoners be taken away even by force of arms?’ ‘ He has some words to say to you,’ said Ruru. ‘ Let him speak!’ said the other. Minarapa then stood up and spoke, ‘ These are my words to you: First, give me the prisoners; second, let all fighting cease, I bring peace this day; third, let all turn to the Gospel!’ Then Nga-kuku replied, ‘ I will on no account cease war! The prisoners shall not be released! Return at once, O Ruru, with your preacher! Is not a preacher as good to eat as another man?’ Minarapa attempted to reply but the people would not hear him, and rushed at him, driving him and his friend out of the *pa*; so they both then returned to Ruru’s home.

“ Minarapa, after exhorting his friend to be steadfast in the new faith, returned to Wai-kanae, where his people were very glad to welcome him safely back. After holding prayers, he reported the result of his visit to Nga-kuku and described the aspect of affairs at Kuku-tauaki, which caused all the Ati-Awa, Taranaki, and Ngati

Rua-nui there assembled to at once become alert—for it was evident the enemy intended war—and prepare for the fight.”

As was so common in those days, the priest, named Kuku-rarangi, a noted man of his time, consulted the *atua* as to the result of the coming struggle, and, as so often occurred, recited in the morning his *matakite*, or vision, in which the *atua* had communicated to him the fact that victory waited on the Ati-Awa arms. This is the *matakite* as told by Te Karihana Whakataki of Ngati-Toa to Mr. Best:—

Nga whenua ka tere mai nei,
Nga moana ka tere mai nei,
Nau mai ! kia kite koe
I nga tai whakatu o Kupe—
I nga tai pakipaki.

Hoenga waka o Horopara tai ; ara !
A Tu-riri, a Tu-nguha, a Tu-mai-kirikiri,
E takoto mai nei na, e, e, a !
A, ko tena ka tuai, tuaia !
Tuaia rawatia te uri o te tangata,
Kei hoki Tu ki tona whenua ; aia, a !
A ! ko tena, ka tuaia, tuaia !

TRANSLATION.

The lands that are hastening hither,¹
The seas that are fast approaching,¹
Welcome ! For ye shall see
The towering seas of Kupe²—
The dashing waves of the sea.

Behold !

Tu-the-angry, Tu-the-raging, Tu-mai-kirikiri³
That there lies in view ! E ! E ! A !
A ! These shall be killed ! killed !
Utterly exterminated the sons of men,
Before Tu returns to his own land. Drive on !
A ! And then be killed, killed !

NOTES.—1. The “lands” and “seas” are the enemy. 2. Kupe, the navigator, who, says tradition, separated the North and South Islands, and left the boisterous waves of the Straits. 3. Tu, the god of war.

So Ati-Awa awaited the attack with great content, having faith in the oracle as disclosed by Te Kuku-rarangi, who, by the way, was a noted seer or oracle of those times, many of whose *matakites*, or visions, or prophecies, have been preserved—some of which are to be found in “Nga Moteatea.”

Te Kuititanga is a place close to Wai-kanae, then occupied as a *pa* by the Ati-Awa. Archdeacon Henry Williams, who visited the *pa* not long after the fight, says there were twelve hundred people, of whom five hundred were warriors, in it at that time. The Ngati-Rau-kawa forces, under their chiefs Te Whata-nui, Ngakuku, and many others, advanced to the attack, timing their arrival there so as to take advantage of the first streak of day, a very favourite time for such a purpose. They then sent on in the dark one of their men to reconnoitre the *pa*. He obtained access, and entered a house where some of the Ati-Awa were gathered under arms, and trusting to not being discovered, asked for a fire-stick. He was recognised, however, and immediately shot. "As soon as daylight appeared," says Te Kahui, "it was found that the army of Ngati-Rau-kawa was drawing near, and as it got quite light the assault commenced, the enemy firing as they advanced. It was now seen that the *pa* was surrounded. Ati-Awa commenced firing, and very shortly a heap of dead were seen lying in front of the *pa*. This repulse caused the enemy to retire to a distance, but they shortly after returned to the assault. Then did Ati-Awa and Taranaki distinguish themselves! Nga-kuku and his people were beaten off, and fled, followed by those of the *pa*, who continued the chase, slaying as they went, until sundown. Minarapa, who was with the party, on reaching their boundary (? at Kuku-tauaki stream), stood forth in front of the victorious army and said, "Cease! these people are beaten. Let it end here." The younger chiefs were most anxious to continue the slaughter, but they were overruled. . . . It was here that the brave chief of Ngati-Rau-kawa (Nga-kuku) was slain, together with some two hundred of his people, whilst thirty-six of Ati-Awa and Taranaki were also killed."

Both parties were fully armed with muskets and consequently great execution took place, and Ngati-Rau-kawa suffered a severe defeat, many prisoners being taken. Te Manu-tohe-roa of the Puke-tapu *hau* of Ati-Awa appears to have been one of the principal leaders in this affair. When the prisoners were all collected and seated in a row, he came to them and commenced to *pukana*, i.e., grimace and threaten them as was usual. They appealed to him to save their lives. He replied, "No! If you had come as men I would have spared you; but you are murderers* and must die!" Throwing back his cloak he drew his *patu*, and struck the nearest one on the head. "A! It was like smashing a calabash!" said Mr. Best's informant.† All the prisoners were killed, and fifty-five of them buried in one grave. Many more were killed as

* Alluding to the attack on Ngati-Rua-nui which originated this affair.

† This incident was obtained by Mr. Best.

they fled up the beach towards their own *pa* at Kuku-tauaki followed by Ati-Awa, who kept their enemies in the heavy sand of the sandhills, they themselves following the hard sands, which gave them a great advantage. The Ati-Awa women from the *pa* followed their own party, keeping the men supplied with ammunition. The weapons used were the old flint-lock Tower muskets. Te Rau-paraha landed from his home on Kapiti Island on the beach between Wai-kanae and Kuku-tauaki as the fight was in progress, but seeing his particular friends the Ngati-Rau-kawa were getting very much the worst of it, he made a hasty retreat to his canoe and departed with great expedition for Kapiti Island. He was nearly caught by Ati-Awa, who, no doubt, would have had no compunction in shooting him, for he was supporting their enemies. Mr. Travers says it was due to a vigorous rally on the part of Ngati-Rau-kawa that Te Rau-paraha was enabled to escape, and that eighty people were killed besides many wounded. Archdeacon Williams says (*loc. cit.*, p. 215), "Of the aggressors seventy fell, of their opponents twenty." Amongst the dead on the Ngati-Rau-kawa side besides Nga-kuku were Iwikau and Pahika, chiefs of that tribe.

Archdeacon Williams says (*loc. cit.*, p. 218), "November, 1839 : Embarked Mr. Hadfield's horses in a large canoe and passed them over to Wai-kanae (from Kapiti). We went over the ground on which the late battle was fought owing to the payment for Port Nicholson not being generally distributed.* For a Native affair it must have been very desperate, the unevenness of the ground bringing the parties into close combat. Te Rau-paraha's people (*i.e.*, Ngati-Rau-kawa) led the attack and were defeated by the people of Wai-kanae. The old chief himself was not present. I was shown the sepulchre of their enemies, whom they buried with military honours, with their garments, muskets, ammunition, etc., not reserving to themselves anything which had belonged to them. This is a new feeling, arising from the great change which the introduction of the Gospel has affected among them."

There is some conflict as to the exact date of this battle. The Ati-Awa say it occurred on a Sunday. "*Ta te whakapono pai hoki!*"—"How great is the Gospel!"—said they in irony, because Ngati-Rau-kawa attacked them on that day. Archdeacon Williams' diary says,

* This statement is open to question ; Ngati-Rau-kawa never had anything to do with Port Nicholson. But as the New Zealand Company claimed to have bought all the North Island south of the 39th parallel of latitude, which would have included the Ngati-Rau-kawa country around Otaki, Manawatu, etc. ; possibly there may have been some grievance on that account mixed up with other reasons for this fight. But the true cause of it no doubt was the death of the Ngati-Rua-nui people, as related a few pages back.

"November 7th, 1835: Saw Captain Palliser (Te Kawakawa). Bore up before the wind and were soon in smooth water. We drew in more to the land to get a better observation, and found an opening. We were soon in a most splendid harbour—Port Nicholson; . . . quite a different place to what is laid down by Cook. We came to an anchor in a perfectly sheltered place, with sufficient room for all the fleets of England. Some canoes came off and informed us that the 'Tory'* ship had been here and purchased the whole place; that they had desired to reserve a portion of the land for themselves, but the Europeans would have the whole. A *fortnight since*, a dispute arose among some of the Natives respecting the land. Not being able to come to any satisfactory arrangement, they took to their guns. Of the aggressors seventy fell, of their opponents twenty. The parties are now in open arms, though closely related and sitting† together. The land in question was intended for Europeans and would probably be sold for a few blankets. . . ." A fortnight before the 7th November would be the 25th October. The "Fat Book" (already quoted) says 16th of October, Mr. Travers quoting from E. J. Wakefield says 16th November. This latter is certainly wrong, and anyone who will read Mr. E. J. Wakefield's "Adventures" carefully will notice that he has himself wrongly written November for October; and none of the dates agree with the Ati-Awa. Sunday: We must be content to leave the date as about the 16th October, 1839.

Through the influence of Archdeacon Williams a peace was concluded between Ngati-Rau-kawa and Ati-Awa on the 30th November, 1839; which has not been seriously disturbed since—as between those tribes—so far as this part of the coast is concerned.

On his further journey north (after leaving the Rev. O. Hadfield at Otaki) the Archdeacon met at Rangitikei on the 11th December a large party of Ngati-Rua-nui on their way down the coast to assist their tribe in revenging the deaths of their people at the hands of Ngati-Rau-kawa, which gave rise to the fighting at Te Kuititanga, but by his influence, after a great deal of trouble, however, he persuaded the war-party to return. With this party was W. N. Te Awa-i-taia of Raglan, who has often been quoted in this narrative, who professed to

* This was the New Zealand Company's surveying vessel, in which was Colonel Wakefield, who had come out to choose a site for the Colony formed by the Company.

† "Sitting," so often met with in the missionary chronicles, is derived from the word *noho*, which means setting, it is true; but it also means "dwelling," a meaning which the missionaries seem to have ignored, though generally far more applicable.

have come south for the purpose of introducing the Gospel, but apparently he had not sufficient influence with Ngati-Rua-nui to prevent their starting on this war expedition. However, according to his own narrative, he was the means of first introducing the idea that the Taranaki tribes should return to their old homes, out of which they had been driven by Waikato. But this did not take place for some few years.

Te Awa-i-taia (or Wiremu Nero Te Awa-i-taia, to give his name in full) has often been quoted in this narrative. He was a very fine specimen of the old-fashioned Maori chief, a man of about middle height, stout, and very fully tattooed, of a benevolent expression of countenance, an eloquent speaker, and one of the firmest friends the Government had during the war of the "sixties." He died at Raglan, 27th April, 1866.

The "Waka Maori," No. 75, of May 5th, 1866, says of him: "He was born at Waipa, a son of Te Kata and his wife Pare-hina. He had four wives, of whom two (Rangi-hikitanga and Hinu) survive, and has left two sons and one daughter. His nephew Hetaraka Nero takes his place as chief of Ngati-Mahanga. From his early youth his bravery was displayed. On one occasion the daughter of Te Wehi of Waikato was killed by Ngati-Koata (of Ngati-Toa), then living at Whaingaroa (Raglan). Te Awa-i-taia gathered his forces and drove Ngati-Koata away to the south and took their land. At that time there was peace between Nga-Puhi and Waikato, but the former tribe came to make war on Te Rau-paraha at Kawhia, in which Ngati-Tipa (of Waikato Heads) joined under their chief Kukutai; in all of this fighting Te Awa-i-taia took part." (After the peace made at Matakītaki, 1822) "Waikato went to Taranaki under Te Wherowhero, Taonui, and Pehi-Tu-korehu (a distant *matua* of Rewi's); and the coastal tribes were under Te Awa-i-taia, Muri-whenua, and Te Ao-o-te-rangi. On another occasion Te Awa-i-taia went against Taranaki at the head of three hundred and seventy of his own men. One of the latter tribes' chiefs was a very brave man named Raparapa, and in a fight that took place" (at Te Kakara—see Chapter XIII.) "he dashed into the forefront of battle and killed four men of Waikato with his own hand, and engaged Te Awa-i-taia, who warded off the blow struck at him with a *pou-whenua*, and in return struck Raparapa with a *waka-ika* and felled him, but rising they wrestled, and Raparapa seized his man and was carrying him off when he slipped and fell, and then a struggle took place on the ground. At last Te Awa-i-taia's *patu* resounded on Raparapa's head and killed him. He was also with Waikato at Puke-rangi-ora in 1831" (see Chapter XVII.) "when two hundred of Ati-Awa were

killed by Te Wherowhero, and three hundred and forty prisoners brought away, Te Awa-i-taia finishing off those not killed by the former.

“It was during a subsequent visit to Taranaki to obtain revenge for some of his people killed that he met a European minister, and was then persuaded to abandon man-killing. He shortly afterwards built the first church at Raglan, and abandoned eight of his nine wives. He then proceeded to Taranaki to convey the Gospel to those people, and subsequently to Waikato and Taupo with the same object, and ever after became a firm friend of the white man.”

This narrative has now reached a point where new conditions were arising which gradually ended the old order, and under the influence of the incoming white man the terrible state of “battle, murder, and sudden death” prevailing up to 1839, was to give place to the Pax Britannica, and this led within the next few years to the return of the Ati-Awa, Taranaki, and other tribes to their old homes, from which they had been exiled for so many years. The influence of Christianity which was spreading all over the land induced the Waikato and northern tribes to release the vast number of slaves that had been carried north, and these now returned to their old homes. A large body of the Ati-Awa and other tribes were thus released, and on their way back *vid* the old coast track from Kawhia southward, they arrived one fine morning at the top of the hill called Moe-atoa—a little to the south of Maro-kopa River. Here they assembled to rest awhile, and in the clear morning atmosphere looking to the south across the sea the beautiful peak of Mount Egmont could be seen standing up like a bell-tent, its snows glistening in the sunshine. The exiles were deeply affected at the sight, and they, as is their custom, greeted their beloved mountain with tears and sighs as the guardian of their homes which lay around its base. Someone of this party gave vent to their feelings in the following song, which the Maoris consider very pathetic and which has always remained a favourite with their descendants to this day:—

Tenei ka noho, ngarohirohi te moana,
 Ki taku tai-whenua.
 Tu ke ana mai ko Moe-atoa,
 Ki taku tai-whenua.
 Tu ke ana mai ko Honi-paka,
 Ki taku tai-whenua.
 Ka te riaki mai Whenua-po,
 Ki taku tai-whenua.

Ra te whakataraki,
 Ka kaihore ke au,
 Ki te atuitui noa atu
 Taku ngakau ki a Te Ana-tahi ra,
 Ki te tangata nana i whakatiti,
 Te kai a Hine-rangi, te ana o Ihu-koi,
 Ko te tau-mareretanga i raro,
 Ko te wehenga ano,
 Kite au i te porangahu,
 Ako rawa ake nei ki te aoao-nunui
 Nau na, E Hine !
 Ngahae rahi ai toku ngakau,
 Erangi ma ka paia,
 Ka riri ki te hurihuri, he wehi
 Ka rapu koia koa,
 I poraruraru ai toku ngakau,
 E tika e te rau !
 Nau i auraki mai,
 Kaore i whakaaro.
 Ka rua-puruhitia te tinana—e—.

TRANSLATION.

As I sit here, screened off by the ocean
 From my fatherland.
 Solitary stands the hill at Moe-atoa,¹
 Away from my fatherland.
 Separately stands Honi-paka,²
 From my fatherland.
 Whenua-po³ in the distance rises up,
 Far from my fatherland.
 At taunting speech
 I turn from side to side
 Whilst my thoughts wander afar,
 In search of Te Ana-tahi there,
 The man whose action caused the fall
 Of the offspring of Hine-rangi, at the cave of Ihu-koi.
 Following on this downfall,
 Came the painful separation,
 Then first I knew of desolation,
 Now must I try again
 Encouraged by the great cloud
 Sent here by thee, O Lady !
 My heart is still in trouble,
 For the way is long and obstructed
 Causing me to turn about in fear,
 A way must be searched out,

1. Hill near Maro-kopa. 2. A place at Kawhia. 3. A place near Kawhia.

With this trouble in my heart,
'Tis true, O the multitude !
'Twas ye that cast it aside,
Nor did ye think
This body was decrepit.

THE END.

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